Mediaeval

Studies

Volume 65

2003

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

CONTENTS

TEXTS

ARTICLES

PSALM USES IN CAROLINGIAN PRAYERBOOKS:
ALCUIN'S *CONFESSIO PECCATORUM PURA* AND
THE SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS (USE 1)*

Jonathan Black

IN the first part of this study, I presented an edition of the short text entitled *De laude psalmorum,* in which Alcuin prescribed psalms for eight different uses or circumstances: for the first use—when penance is desired—he simply designated a preexisting group, the seven penitential psalms (6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142), and for the remaining seven uses he selected forty-two additional psalms, including the long Ps 118 for the eighth use.[1] In Alcuin's text, each use is outlined in a sentence or two describing the circumstances in which the particular psalms are to be recited, then listing the psalms, and concluding with a summary of their effect; but by the mid-ninth century the psalms in each of the eight groups were presented with *capitula* (series of psalm-verses) and Psalter collects as part of an extensive program of private devotion, with prayers and other material. In my discussion of *De laude psalmorum* and the prayerbooks, I suggested that the basis for this implementation of Alcuin's outline was an independent program consisting of the penitential psalms with *capitula* and collects, a litany, and an opening prayer; this independent program, apparently formulated before Alcuin's death in 804, would have been subsequently associated with the first use of *De laude psalmorum* and inevitably extended, with *capitula,* collects, and prayers being assembled for each of the remaining seven uses that Alcuin outlined in his short text.[2]

[1] Jonathan Black, "Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin and the Preface to *De psalmorum usu*," *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002): 1–60 (hereafter "Psalm Uses [I]"); on the authorship, title, and versions of text, see esp. pp. 1–18, 35–43. The following items were omitted from the list of manuscripts containing versions of the text: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) lat. 10725, fol. 104r ("Prophetiae spiritus"); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV) Chigi D.IV.79, fol. 239r ("Nihil est enim in hac vita"); and Vatican City, BAV Patetta 21, fol. 3r ("Omnes virtutes"). The psalm numbers used throughout this article are those of the Psalterium Gallicanum (Vulgate) and the Psalterium Romanum.

[2] "Psalm Uses [I]," 18–25. Cf. Jean-Baptiste Molin's study of six of the prayerbooks con-

The present article contains an edition of the program of penitential psalms as it appears in ninth- to eleventh-century manuscripts either independently or as use 1 in the fully developed program of eight psalm uses. In either context, the program of penitential psalms ordinarily included as an opening prayer the confession "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," which Alcuin is said to have written for Charlemagne and which is also found in a number of prayerbooks and psalters without the program of penitential psalms or the other psalm uses.[3] As some of the prayerbooks and psalters containing the confession have been edited, it has already been printed more than a dozen times in transcriptions of individual manuscripts, and some versions of the penitential psalm program have been printed as well, but a full critical edition of the confession and penitential psalm program utilizing most of the early extant manuscripts is presented here for the first time.

"DEUS INAESTIMABILIS MISERICORDIAE"

The confession beginning "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" has been traditionally attributed to Alcuin, and the copy in Paris, BnF lat. 1153 (Saint-Denis, s. IX med.), fols. 13v–15r, is included in Alcuin's *Opera omnia* under the heading "Confessio peccatorum pura Alc(h)uini" as part of the prayer collection entitled *Officia per ferias*.[4] Although André Wilmart determined that *Officia per ferias* as a whole was compiled in the mid-ninth century, a half-century after Alcuin's death, he accepted Alcuin's authorship of the confession itself.[5] The general acceptance of Alcuin's authorship is based on the

---

taining Alcuin's psalm uses, "Les manuscrits de la 'Deprecatio Gelasii': Usage privé des psaumes et dévotion aux litanies," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 90 (1976): 113–48.

[3] The confession is listed as ALC 16 (*Confessio peccatorum pura*) in the *Clavis des auteurs latins du moyen âge: Territoire française, 737–987. II. Alcuin,* ed. Marie-Hélène Jullien and Françoise Perelman, CCCM (Turnhout, 1999), 119–20. The entry includes a list of twenty-seven manuscripts (s. IX–XV) containing the confession; all but five of these are included with ten additional manuscripts (s. IX–XII) in the list of sigla below (p. 26 for those containing confession in addition to the penitential psalm program, and pp. 27–28 for those containing just the confession). There are also numerous copies of the confession in prayerbooks from the later Middle Ages not included in these lists.

[4] Alcuin, *Opera omnia,* ed. A. Duchesne (Paris, 1617), cols. 196–98; and *Opera omnia,* ed. Froben, 2 vols. (Regensburg, 1777), 2:63–64 (rpt. PL 101:524–26). Froben added some variants from the copy of the confession in Paris, BnF lat. 2731A, and in an appendix to his edition of Alcuin's works, he included E. Martène's edition of the "Libellus sacrarum precum" in Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 184, which contains another copy of the confession; see the siglum *Orl* in the list on p. 27 below. The "Libellus sacrarum precum" and *Officia per ferias* are listed in *Clavis* (among the inauthentic works) as *ALC 63* and ALC Ps22.

[5] On the date of *Officia per ferias,* see André Wilmart, "Le manuel de prières de saint Jean

evidence of several ninth-century attributions. "Explicit confessio peccatorum pura Alcuini" appears at the end of the confession in Paris, BnF lat. 1153, and this presumably served as the basis for the heading the confession has been given in the editions of *Officia per ferias*.[6] The Prayerbook of Charles the Bald in the Munich Schatzkammer and a ninth-century psalter, Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 18, provide a more detailed attribution by introducing the prayer as a confession that Alcuin composed for Charlemagne's usage,[7] and this is reflected in what Wilmart has regarded as a letter written in 822 by Hrabanus Maurus to Judith, the second wife of Louis the Pious:

> in the morning, when you rise, before you occupy your mind with other cares, you should say the confession that Alcuin of blessed memory gave to ⟨his lord Charlemagne⟩, in private, following that one's example, and if possible at the altar in the presence of God and the angels; and after that you should sing to the Lord the seven penitential psalms intently and devoutly with a litany and with *capitula* and collects for the psalms.[8]

Gualbert," *Revue bénédictine* 48 (1936): 263–65; for his acceptance of Alcuin's authorship of the confession itself, see p. 283 n. 5 (on the confession as it appears in Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale Sessoriana 71 and other manuscripts) and his earlier comments in "The Prayers of the Bury Psalter," *The Downside Review* 48 (1930): 210–11, and "Un livret de prières provenant de la chartreuse de Trisulti," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 49 (1935): 31.

[6] In the manuscript, the confession begins with the simple title "Confessio" (followed by "Feria II"), and "Alcuini" has been added before the title by a modern hand. In "Prayers of the Bury Psalter," 210, and "Un livret de prières," 31 n. 2, Wilmart noted that the attribution at the beginning of the confession is a sixteenth-century addition, but he did not mention the attribution to Alcuin written in the original rubric/title hand at the end of the confession.

[7] For the rubrics in these manuscripts, see "Psalm Uses [I]," 21 n. 45, and the apparatus to line 1 in the edition on p. 30 below. The rubric in Angers 18 was noted by Wilmart in "Prayers of the Bury Psalter," 211, and "Un livret de prières, 31 n. 2. The rubrics in these manuscripts have also been used as evidence of Alcuin's authorship by Donald A. Bullough in "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age," in *Carolingian Essays,* ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, D.C., 1983), 15, rpt in D. A. Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991), 170–71; and "Alcuin's Cultural Influence: The Evidence of the Manuscripts," in *Alcuin of York: Scholar in the Carolingian Court,* ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald, Germania Latina III, Mediaevalia Groningana 22 (Groningen, 1998), 20 n. 62.

[8] ". . . mane cum surrexeritis, antequam aliis curis animum occupetis, confessionem quam beatae memoriae Alcuinus ⟨domno Karolo⟩ dedit, in exemplo illius secrete et, si esse potest, coram altari et coram deo et angeli eius faciatis. Et postea septem paenitentiae psalmos intente et deuote cum letania et suis capitulis atque orationibus domino decantetis (A. Wilmart, "Lettres de l'époque carolingienne," *Revue bénédictine* 34 [1922]: 241; quoted in part in "Psalm Uses [I], 20 n. 44). See also the earlier edition by Henry Bradshaw in *The Early Collection of Canons Known as the Hibernensis: Two Unfinished Papers* (Cambridge, 1893), 44–56.

In this case the reference to Charlemagne is an editorial conjecture; the only known copy of the letter—Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 127, an eleventh-century manuscript of the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* that was destroyed in WW II—contained a blank space in place of the second name in this passage (and also in the title after "domna et nobilissima," in place of the recipient's name).[9] Nevertheless, the reference to the confession as it is presented in the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald and Angers 18 seems unmistakable, and the composition of the letter in the first half of the ninth century is certainly suggested by its content. A further association of the confession with Alcuin and Charlemagne, also noted by Wilmart, is its placement in some manuscripts immediately after a letter that Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne (Ep. 304), proposing a program of private devotion for the emperor.[10]

The context in which the confession is placed in the earliest extant manuscripts would seem to be at least consistent with the attribution to Alcuin: the confession appears along with the penitential psalm program in Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 1742, a manuscript that includes Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* and may have been written at Tours within a year of his death; and the confession also appears in Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 106 (ca. 810), a mauscript that includes several of Alcuin's works

---

[9] The reference to Charlemagne supplied by Wilmart had already been suggested by Bradshaw on the basis of the title for the confession in the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald; Bradshaw also asserted that the blank spaces were not erasures (49 and 53).

[10] E. Dümmler used Paris, BnF lat. 2731A and the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald for his edition of Ep. 304 ("Beatus igitur David") in *Epistolae Karolini aevi* 2, MGH Epistolae 4 (Berlin, 1895), 462–63. In the former the letter begins on fol. 40r ("In nomine dei summi incipit scriptum Albini magistri ad Karolum imperatorem") and leads directly into the confession beginning on fol. 41v ("Incipit confessio"). In the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, the letter (entitled "Praefatio huius libri") appears on fols. 4v–5v and the confession (with the rubric naming Alcuin and Charlemagne) appears on fols. 14r–19r, with several prayers intervening; but in the eleventh-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library D'Orville 45, a slightly abridged version of the letter on fol. 26r–v ("Scriptum Alcuini ad Karulum imperatorem") leads into the confession as in Paris, BnF lat. 2731A. Wilmart noted the title of the letter in Oxford D'Orville 45 in "The Prayers of the Bury Psalter," 211, and "Un livret de prières," 31 n. 2, and he included the readings from this manuscript and several others in the apparatus to the version of the letter he printed in *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini* (Rome, 1940), 33–34. Two copies of the letter that were not known to Wilmart are those in Paris, BnF lat. 5338, fol. 144r–v (originally part of the opening quire of *Officia per ferias*) and in Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 45, fol. 1r (s. x); although the letter is not followed by the confession in these manuscripts, they seem to be derived from a common source that would have most likely included the confession in this context, and in the Cologne manuscript the faded rubric for the letter appears to be similar to the titles the letter has in Paris, BnF lat. 2731A and Oxford D'Orville 45. For more information on the manuscripts containing the letter, see "Psalm Uses [I]," 21–22 n. 46.

and was modelled on a manual Alcuin sent to Arno of Salzburg in 802.[11] Yet Alcuin's own summary of the manual's contents makes no reference to the confession,[12] leaving us with no clear confirmation of the attribution in the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald and Angers 18.

The following discussion of the sources and text of the confession will give us an opportunity to consider its language and style in the light of some works written by Alcuin, and while these observations may serve to support the attribution, they too provide no confirmation. The problem is largely due to the fact that the confession is unique among the compositions that are generally regarded as the work of Alcuin: it is not of the same genre as the *Oratio Alcuini in nocte* (a verse prayer included in the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald[13]) or the prayers that Alcuin composed—from the hymns of Marius Victorinus and Augustine's *Soliloquies*—for his works *De animae ratione* and *De fide sanctae et individuae trinitatis;*[14] and although the confession includes terms corresponding to those found in Alcuin's letters and other writings on confession and sins, the similarities are so general—and so limited by the different writing styles proper to the respective genres—that they do not suffice to settle the question of the confession's authorship. The confession does share some stylistic features with the liturgical orations known as the Alcuin masses,[15] but it is difficult to distinguish these features from stylistic features found in earlier liturgical orations, some of which served as direct sources for the confession. The texts in Alcuin's *Opera omnia* that are most comparable to the confession are the private prayers included in *De psalmorum usu, Officia per ferias,* and the *Confessio fidei,* but

---

[11] See the studies on these manuscripts listed in "Psalm Uses [I]," 19 nn. 40–41.

[12] Alcuin, Ep. 259, ed. Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini aevi* 2:417. While the letter provides no positive evidence that the manual contained the confession, it need not be inferred from this that the confession was excluded; it might have been included as one of the prayers designated by the general statement "Habet . . . alias orationes."

[13] The verse prayer was placed at the end of *Officia per ferias* in Froben's edition of Alcuin's *Opera omnia* 2:126 (PL 101:612). It has also been edited by E. Dümmler in *Poetae latini aevi Carolini* 1, MGH Poet. 1 (Berlin, 1881), 350, no. 122.

[14] "Miserere domine, miserere Christe," ed. Dümmler, *Poetae* 1:303–4, and PL 101:649–50; and "Adesto lumen verum," PL 101:54–56. For the sources, see Pierre Hadot, "Les hymnes de Victorinus et les hymnes *Adesto* et *Miserere* d'Alcuin," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 35 (1960): 9–15. These "hymns" (or litany in the case of "Miserere domine, miserere Christe") are also included as the opening prayers of uses 2 and 3 in the prayerbooks containing the psalm uses (see "Psalm Uses [I]," 30–31) and will be included in the edition of these uses in the sequel to the present article. See also the references to the litany and hymn in *Clavis*, ALC 017 and 028 respectively.

[15] On the Alcuin masses, see the study by Henri Barré and Jean Deshusses, "A la recherche du Missel d'Alcuin," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 82 (1968): 3–44, and Deshusses's edition, "Les Messes d'Alcuin," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 14 (1972): 7–41; see also *Clavis,* ALC 68.

these are generally regarded as later compilations incorporating prayers composed before or after Alcuin's time.[16]

For the question of the confession's authorship, then, the ninth-century attributions will have to suffice. We can only be certain that Alcuin was regarded as the author of the confession in the half-century after his death, and that is perhaps as positive an indication of authorship as can be demanded for a composition of this sort, since most prayers found in Carolingian prayer-books contain no attribution at all or just an ascription—correct in some cases—to a much earlier authority. In the absence of substantial evidence to the contrary, it is appropriate to follow the long tradition naming Alcuin as the author.

The confession, edited on pp. 30–40 below, may be divided into three sections or paragraphs. The first section (2–17) begins with an invocation and several clauses drawn from the liturgy, including a main clause from a baptismal exorcism and a preceding relative clause from a reconciliation oration in the Gelasian/Frankish-Gelasian sacramentaries (and also in Old Spanish, Ambrosian, and Celtic sources)—presumably included among the sacramentary orations of reconciliation to which Alcuin refers in one of his letters on confession.[17] In the petition that follows, the penitent asks God to allow him to make a "pure confession" and "true and fitting penance" (5–8), using terms that are common to Alcuin's writings and many other sources,[18] and this leads

---

[16] *De psalmorum usu* and *Officia per ferias* are prayer collections compiled in the mid-ninth (for Wilmart's dating, see the reference in n. 5 above). The four-part *Confessio fidei* (PL 101:1027–98) is believed to be an eleventh-century compilation of Jean of Fécamp—a revision of his earlier three-book *Confessio theologica,* ed. Jean Leclercq and Jean-Paul Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle, Jean de Fécamp* (Paris, 1946), although Vincent Serralda has attempted to reassert Alcuin's authorship of this text ("Étude comparée de la 'Confessio Fidei' attribuée à Alcuin et de la 'Confessio Theologica' de Jean de Fécamp," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 23 [1988], 17–27); see also *Clavis,* ALCPs 4. I am preparing a study of Carolingian prayers and the *Confessio fidei* which addresses the question of its date and authorship.

[17] See the references to the liturgical orations in the middle register of the apparatus (notes to lines 5 and 3–4, respectively). The usage of liturgical formulas in "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" has been noted by Georg Manz in *Ausdrücksformen der lateinischen Liturgiesprache bis ins elfte Jahrhundert,* Texte und Arbeiten 1.1 (Beuron, 1941), nos. 435, 814, and 1041. On the liturgical tradition of the oration used at lines 3–4, see José Janini, "Las oraciones visigóticas de los formularios penitenciales del Reginensis 316," *Hispania sacra* 37 (1985): 200. Alcuin refers to the sacramentary orations in his letter of 789: "Si peccata sacerdotibus non sint prodenda, quare in sacramentario reconciliationis orationes scriptae sunt?" (Ep. 138, ed. Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini aevi* 2:218).

[18] See, e.g., Alcuin's letters on confession: "si puram volunt iuvenes facere confessionem et fructus dignos paenitentiae agere" (Ep. 131, ed. Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini aevi* 2:194; reprinted with an expanded apparatus by Michael S. Driscoll in "*Ad pueros sancti Martini:* A Critical Edition, English Translation, and Study of the Manuscript Transmission, *Traditio* 53

into a list of sin types (bad thoughts, words, and deeds) set out as a series of four rhyming pairs and concluding with the five senses (9–13). The penitent then acknowledges having spurned God, who gave humans individual body parts that would be useful for their salvation, and this sets up the second section (18–64), in which the penitent confesses to having sinned though excesses or abuses of the individual body parts. The bulk of this section is a series of sentences specifying two dozen body parts (discussed below), and this is followed by a request for *medicina* (58),[19] a further list of sins (including the eight principal sins), and a resolution to reveal all secrets of the heart to God. The concluding section (65–72) is a prayer for reconciliation, again utilizing an extended excerpt from an oration in the penitential liturgy.[20]

The style of the opening invocation and petition and the closing prayer for reconciliation is determined for the most part by the liturgical sources on which they are based. In contrast to these opening and closing passages, which have multiple dependent clauses and participial phrases worked into extended sentences, the majority of the confession consists of concise sentences often comprising paired parallel or antithetical clauses (or themselves arranged in

[1998]: 48, and *Alcuin et la pénitence à l'époque carolingienne*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 81 [Münster, 1999], 186); and "... pura peccatorum confessio ... nobis ad salutem proficit sempiternam" (Ep. 138, ed. Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini aevi* 2:218). The comment "Justificatio est peccatorum pura confessio Domino" in Alcuin's *Expositio in Ps* 118:118 (PL 100:612) is based on Cassiodorus (*Expositio psalmorum* 118.118, ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 97 [Turnhout, 1958], 1110). See also the expression "veram confessionem facere et dignam poenitentiam agere" from the *Vita Alcuini* 14 (ed. W. Arndt, MGH SS 15.1 [Hannover, 1887], 192, in a passage noted by Bullough, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven," 15–16, rpt. 171, and used by Driscoll as the organizing theme of *Alcuin et la pénitence*); and see the parallels from the prayers cited in the lower apparatus of the edition below (lines 6–8).

[19] Medicine for sins is a common theme in the writings of Alcuin and earlier authors, and there are many precedents for its usage (see Patrick Sims-Williams's reference to earlier scholarship in *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, 298 n. 103; on p. 319 of the same chapter he discusses the sources behind the image in line 60). There is, however, one particular source that might have been the basis for the reference in line 58: the liturgical oration from which the relative clause in lines 3–4 is drawn ends with a request for medicine to be given to those afflicted by sin ("medicinam tribue vulneratis").

[20] The oration from the "Reconciliatio paenitentis ad mortem" appears in the Reginensis 316 and Eighth-Century Gelasian sacramentaries (*Va* 367 and the corresponding numbers listed in the note to lines 65–70), and it is also included in the Turonian sacramentaries of the ninth century (*Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, ed. Jean Deshusses, vol. 3 [Fribourg, 1982], no. 3979bis). For the relationship between *Va* 367, *Va* 364, and the corresponding orations of the Old Spanish *Liber ordinum*, see Josef A. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bußriten in ihrer geschichtliche Entwicklung* (Innsbruck, 1932), 110–11; and Janini, "Las oraciones visigóticas," 195–99. The usage of this oration in "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" has been noted by Patrick Sims-Williams in "Thought, Word, and Deed: An Irish Triad," *Eriu* 29 (1978): 96 n. 110.

pairs) and utilizing prose rhyme and cursus. In his study of this style in Carolingian prayers and their models, Francesco di Capua has printed extensive excerpts of the confession, setting out the individual clauses on separate lines to illustrate this style, and most of the confession (lines 9–62) is formatted in a similar manner in the edition below to make the use of prose rhyme and cursus more apparent.[21] The extent of the prose rhyme and the manner in which it is applied in the confession is consistent with Alcuin's irregular use of it;[22] and the use of cursus—prominent but not employed throughout—is perhaps what might be expected with an author such as Alcuin, who does not seem to use cursus at all in some genres but utilizes it extensively in others.[23] The word order is also consistent with Alcuin's style, including numerous clauses with the verb placed between the adjective and final noun (e.g., lines 31/32, 33, 48, 50, 51, and 56 in the edition below). But the notable word order in the confession can also be extended into more peculiar constructions such as "aeterna mihi inimico incendia praeparanti suadente consensi" (17), in which the sense "I have consented to the urging of the foe preparing eternal burning for me" is expressed through an interleaving of accusative, dative, and ablative forms in an unusual combination of syntactical components.[24]

---

[21] Francesco Di Capua, "Lo stile commatico in alcune preghiere del periodo carolingio," in *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cunibert Mohlberg,* 2 vols., Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" 22–23 (Rome, 1948–49), 2:209–21, with excerpts from the confession on 217–18.

[22] See, in particular, Karl Polheim's account of Alcuin's use of prose rhyme in *Die lateinische Reimprosa* (Berlin, 1925; rpt. 1963), 328–29; although Polheim's assessment is based in part on works that are no longer ascribed to Alcuin, he was generally correct in stating that Alcuin's employment of prose rhyme varies considerably among his works and even within a single passage. See also the comments on Alcuin and prose rhyme in Philippe Bernard, "Benoît d'Aniane est-il l'auteur de l'avertissement 'Hucusque' et du Supplément au sacramentaire 'Hadrianum'?" *Studi medievali,* 3d ser., 39 (1998): 87–88.

[23] On the basis of his analysis of a group of Alcuin's letters (121–31, excluding 127), Tore Janson asserts that Alcuin "did not employ cursus at all" (*Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century,* Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis 20 [Stockholm, 1975], 52; the figures he presents on p. 115 indicate that the cursus planus type of cadence is used more often than any other single type in the sample, but Janson contends that this type would always be rather usual in Latin even with writers who do not care for prose rhythm [12]). By contrast, Jean Deshusses notes the use of cursus in the liturgical formulas believed to have been composed by Alcuin: "Il faut ajouter que le cursus rythmique régulier apparaît dans un très grand nombre de cadences" ("Les Messes d'Alcuin," 11). In the confession edited below, cursus is evident in a substantial number of clauses and extended prepositional phrases: regular planus forms at the ends of lines 8, 11, 14–17, 21, 29–30, 43, 51, 61, and 64; other planus forms at the ends of lines 9, 12, 22, 49, 52, and 54; cursus tardus at lines 33, 42, 47–48, and 62; and cursus velox forms at the ends of lines 40–41.

[24] The construction—probably resulting from the combinination of "aeterna mihi incendia praeparanti (inimico) consensi" and the common "inimico suadente"—is not necessarily the

The most notable feature of the confession is the list of sins or excesses associated with the individual parts of the human body. While other prayers found in ninth-century prayerbooks and based on earlier models provide some possible analogues (*loricae* listing the parts of the body for which protection is sought and especially prayers or confessions listing the parts of the body in which sins have been committed), "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" has been noted for its distinctive presentation of the body parts from the feet up and for indicating the sinful uses to which the respective body parts have been put.[25] There is, however, a much closer parallel—one that presents most of the same body parts and associated sins in similar or identical phrases, albeit without the distinctive order seen in "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae." This parallel only appears in two sources known to me: it appears as a section of the confession beginning "Confiteor tibi domine pater caeli et terrae coram hoc sancto altare tuo et istius loci reliquiis" in Paris, BnF lat. 9430, fols. 263r–266r, an addition to one of the ninth-century sacramentaries of Tours;[26] and it appears as a section of a substantially different confession with the same incipit in London, British Library Egerton 3763, the eleventh-

author's, since it is possible that the passage as it has come down to us is corrupt. The textual tradition of the confession remains open to question (as the discussion below will show), and in some of the manuscripts, the syntax of the clause is simplified by the use of "(ac) suadenti" in place of "suadente," but it is not certain whether this is the original reading or whether it is due to scribal emendation of a corrupt passage.

[25] Eleven of the body parts specified in "Deus inaestimablis misericordiae" (and a few additional ones) are listed in a confession included in the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library Ll.1.10, fols. 48r–50r) and other prayerbooks: "Deus deus meus omnipotens. Ego humiliter te adoro. . . . peccaui in oculis meis et in auribus meis, peccaui in naribus et in auribus [*sic*], peccaui in manibus et in pedibus, peccaui in lingua et guttore, peccaui in collo et in pectore, peccaui in corde et in cogitationibus, peccaui in ossibus et in carne, peccaui in medullis et renis . . . (ed. A. B. Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne* [Cambridge, 1902], 95–99, no. 10); versions of the same confession appear in several of the manuscripts whose sigla are listed below (*Gal* 75r–v, 66r–70r, ed. Muir, 83–86; *Maz* 62v–64r; *A* 180v–183v; *Bur* 169r–170v; *G2* 714–16) and in several other sources (see Sims-Williams, "Thought, Word and Deed," 108; and on the listing of parts of the body, especially in *loricae,* see 90–93). For a discussion of "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" in the context of the lists in the Book of Cerne confessions and in the *loricae,* see Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, N.J.), 89–90; in this discussion, Frantzen notes the distinctive order of the list in "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" and the manner in which it combines lists of two types in the analogues—body parts and sins.

[26] The confession was printed by E. Martène in *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 1.6.7 ordo 3 ("qualiter confiteri debet homo reatum suum"), 2d ed., 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1736–38), 1:775–79; for the original context of the *ordo* as an addition (s. IX) in the sacramentary designated *Tul,* see Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien* 3:56–57; and see the additional references in "Psalm Uses [I]," 23 n. 52.

century Prayerbook of Arnulf II of Milan.[27] Related confessions in other
prayerbooks or liturgical *ordines* do not contain the section corresponding to
"Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae,"[28] and this suggests that the section may
be viewed as an interpolation in the "Confiteor" texts. Nevertheless, its close
relationship with "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" makes it necessary for
us to determine whether the sentences in "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae"
were excerpted, rearranged, and inserted in a "Confiteor" at some point in the
ninth century or whether it was Alcuin, in composing "Deus inaestimabilis
misericordiae," who took this material from an earlier confession, reworking
it into a series that progresses from the feet up. The possibility that an early
version of the "Confiteor" section in the Tours sacramentary and later prayer-
book might have been the source of the corresponding section in "Deus
inaestimabilis misericordiae" would perhaps be consistent with what has
already been observed in Alcuin's composition: since the first and third sec-
tions are known to have been drawn from liturgical orations (with a certain
amount of reworking and interpolation, particularly in the first section),
should we not expect to find a textual source behind the second section? In
order to determine whether the parallels preserved in the two "Confiteor"
texts should be viewed as sources for "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" or
simply as compilations derived from it, we must compare the texts.

In "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" the series moves from the feet to
the legs, knees, thighs/genitals, belly/entrails, reins/loins, sides, back, neck,
shoulders, arms, and hands, and then to the mouth, tongue, gullet (*guttur*),
ears, nose, eyes, and head before concluding with the heart. With the
exception of the back, shoulders, and tongue, these are all included in the
Paris, BnF lat. 9430 "Confiteor" along with four others (listed here in bold-
face): head, **hair**, neck, ears, **face**, **eyebrows**, eyes, nose, mouth, gullet,
throat (*fauces*), belly/entrails, reins/loins, thighs/genitals, arms, hands, fore-
arms/legs/knees, feet, sides, and heart. Although the "Confiteor" in the later
Prayerbook of Arnulf II omits the face, eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth, and
gullet, presumably as a result of homoeoteleuton (skipping to "fauces meae
. . ." at the point where "faciem meam . . ." would have appeared in the

---

[27] See the edition by Odilo Heiming, "Ein benediktinisch-ambrosianisches Gebetbuch des
frühen XI Jh.," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 8.1 (1964): 400–403.

[28] In addition to the confessions beginning "Confiteor tibi domine pater caeli et terrae,"
found in numerous sources, see the confession beginning "Ego confiteor (tibi domine) pater
caeli et terrae coram hoc altari tuo sancto et istius loci reliquiis," which appears in several of
the manuscripts whose sigla are listed below: *Gal* 98r–103r (ed. Muir, 130–33); *Pa2* 102v–
105v; *Tur* 5v–9v (ed. Wilmart, *Precum libelli,* 65–67); *Se2* 17r–20v (ed. J. Morinus, *Commen-
tarius historicus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti poenitentiae* [Venice, 1702],
572–73).

model), it includes a number of readings found in "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" but not in Paris, BnF lat. 9430, and while these readings could perhaps have been included in the eleventh-century prayerbook as the result of contamination, it is more likely that they reflect the readings in the archetype behind the series preserved in the two "Confiteor" versions. We are, however, still left with the question whether this archetype (progressing for the most part from the head down) should be regarded as a reworking of the "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" series or as a possible source for it.

The differences between the two series provide no obvious clues that might indicate which was the source and which was the derived arrangement. The "Confiteor" sequence is somewhat more random—especially with the sides (*latera*) placed at the end, just before the common finale on the heart—but this does not necessarily mean that it is the derived compilation, since the more logical sequence in "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" could represent Alcuin's carefully executed rearrangement of a loosely structured source. Furthermore, the clauses or phrases that seem to have been transferred from one part of the body to an another seem to work no better in one context than in the other. In the "Confiteor," for instance, "gulae et ebrietati deditus sum, carnalibusque desideriis numquam satiatus" ("I have been given to gluttony and drunkenness and never satisfied in carnal desires") is tacked onto the sentence whose subject is *guttur*, and the corresponding line in "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" is a participial phrase with a first-person subject ("verbisque luxuriosis ... me ... coinquinavi, gulae semper et ebrietati deditus, carnalibus numquam desideriis satiatus"), placed between clauses with the mouth and the tongue as subjects;[29] in each case the grammatical subject shifts to the first person while the general subject (gullet or mouth) remains the same.[30] So too, the following sets of paired clauses illustrate the extent of rearrangement without necessarily indicating which series was a rearrangement of the other:[31]

---

[29] See lines 38–41 in the edition below and col. 775 in Martène's edition of the "Confiteor." This is one of the sentences omitted in the prayerbook version.

[30] A coordinating conjunction should perhaps be supplied before "gulae" in the "Confiteor," so that the third- and first-person clauses can form a single *guttur* sentence; as it stands, "gulae ... satiatus" is not syntactically linked to any sentence naming a body part. The clauses in the mouth-tongue sentence of "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" are syntactically linked, but the unexpected shift in subject seems to have been responsible for a number of variants in the manuscript tradition noted in the apparatus: several manuscripts have "coinquinavit" in place of "coinquinavi," some have "deditum/satiatum" in place of "deditus/satiatus," and one group omits "gulae ... satiatus" and the entire tongue clause.

[31] The excerpts in the right-hand column (in reverse order) are from London, British Library Egerton 3763, fols. 61v–62v, ed. Heiming, 402 (with modified orthography and variants from Paris, BnF lat. 9430 [*P*] in brackets).

"Deus meus inaestimabilis"	"Confiteor"
Pedes mei ad currendum in malum . . . veloces fuerunt, et in oboedientia mandatorum tuorum inbecilles (24–25)	Pedes mei ad currendum in malum semper veloces, [add. et P] ad omne opus dei [om. P] semper pigri
(manus) promptae ad omne opus pravum, pigrae ad aliquid operandum bonum (37)	(manus) semper [-que P] promptae ad omne malum, et tardae ad omne [add. opus P] bonum
(aures) promptae ad omne malum, surdae ad omne bonum (44)	(aures) surdae ad omne bonum, apertae ad omne malum [om. apertae . . . P]

Nevertheless there is one indication that allows us to regard the "Confiteor" series as the derived compilation. Some of the clauses that it shares with "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" (e.g., "in carnali erexi superbia" [33], "insatiabili ardet ingluvie" [42], and "non . . . tuam . . . in me blasphemo creaturam" [57]) employ the type of word order found throughout "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" but not evident in the clauses that are peculiar to the "Confiteor."[32] In the absence of any copies of the "Confiteor" series from before the second half of the ninth century, we may therefore assume that this series is a compilation derived from "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," and the corresponding clauses from the "Confiteor" series will be noted in the third register of the apparatus in the edition below, along with parallels from other Carolingian prayers that may have used Alcuin's confession as a model.[33]

We may now turn to the problems concerning the textual tradition of "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae." The confession is included in thirty-two of the ninth- to twelfth-century manuscripts used in the edition below, although the text begins defectively in three (Esc, Pa2, and Gen) and breaks off in the middle of two others (Ar1 and Bar),[34] and one of the manuscripts contains a

[32] In addition to the examples noted above, see the shared clauses at lines 31–32, 33, 55–56, and the similar constructions, proper to "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" (or derived from an earlier liturgical source) at lines 5–7, 48, and 50–51.

[33] The apparatus includes no parallels for the six clauses pertaining to the eyes (47–51), since this extended sentence (phrased as a question) is not used in the "Confiteor." In its place the "Confiteor" has its own clauses, preceded by clauses on the face and eyebrows which have no counterpart in "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae": "faciem meam quaesivi hominibus apparere pulchram, supercilia mea superbe erexi et deposui, oculi mei omnem pene vanitatem et concupiscentias illicitas et Deo displicitas intuiti sunt, et eos superbe erexi" (col. 775 in Martène's edition). As this is part of the passage that has been omitted in the Prayerbook of Arnulf II, it is not clear whether the repetition of "superbe erexi" in Paris, BnF lat. 9430 should be regarded as part of the original compilation.

[34] In Bar the text breaks off at line 54 because the scribe copied the end of another oration

short version without the middle section (*Ner*).[35] The various manuscripts can be grouped to some extent on the basis of common variants:

Tre Ber Orv (France): esp. lines 25, 27, 40–41
   Ber Orv: 34, 52

Pa1 Pa2 Z Ar2 (France) *Ves* (England): esp. lines 36, 46, 67
      Z Ar2   *Ves:* 40

Orl G2 Got (St Gall-Salzburg): esp. lines 7, 41, 43, 47, 53, 56, 61, 71–72
   G2 Got: 55, 59, 61

Aru Bur Dur (England) [cf. ANS]: esp. lines 6, 32, 33, 40, 59, 66, 67
Aru Bur: 1

Tur Esc Opf ChB Pa3 Gen (France) *M1 Se1 Se2 Bar Chi* (Italy): esp. lines 6, 50
                                  Se1 Se2 Bar Chi: 3, 8, 25, 41, 47, 50, 59, 67

It is, however, often difficult to determine whether the variants shared by two manuscripts indicate that they belong to the same branch of the manuscript tradition or that they received the variants as a result of contamination at some point in the tradition. For instance, the two manuscripts that include the title with the reference to Charlemagne (*ChB* and *A*) share one other variant found in no other manuscript (at 68) but otherwise present different versions of the confession and do not seem to belong to the same parts of the manu-script tradition.[36] Even among the manuscripts that include the confession in the context of the program of penitential psalms or the full set of psalm uses, different versions of the confession were used. While this could indicate that the penitential psalm program was present in the archetype behind the entire manuscript tradition of the confession, the different versions are most likely the result of prayerbooks being compiled from more than one model.[37]

in its place. The end of the confession is missing in *Ar1* and also in *M1*, but in the latter the text breaks off just twelve words before the end.

[35] This is different from the short version found among Anselm's *Orationes* (ANS), which includes the first and last three sentences of the middle section (omitting only the series of body parts) but presents the third section an abbreviated form.

[36] It is difficult to determine the place *A* in the manuscript tradition, since it shares these two readings with *ChB* and it shares several other readings with the later manuscript *Ves* (see p. 16 below).

[37] The difficulty of attempting to establish the manuscipt tradition of this confession has been accurately expressed by Thomas H. Bestul, "Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devo-tional Writing," in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Kalamazoo, 1986), 118: "I think it is unlikely that the results of such analysis will lead to the reconstruction of archetypes and elaborate stemmata for such prayers, given the instability of the text and the

Since the precise lines of the manuscript transcription remain uncertain, the text cannot be established with absolute certainty. For most of the text, the variants are confined to individual manuscripts or small groups of manuscripts and it is clear which readings should be adopted, but at some points in the text, the manuscripts fall into larger groups. A notable instance is at lines 18–20:

Lapsus sum in peccatis, corrui in delictis,

(*Co2 Opf Pa3 Ryl Tur Ang Ar1 ~Aru Bar Bur Chi Dur G2 Got ~M1 Orl Se1 Se2*)

in membris singulis naturae modum excessi, et impiis me   laboribus obnoxium   feci (*Co2 Opf Pa3 Tur ~Ang Ar1 Aru Bur ChB ChB D M1 Se1 Se2; cf. Ryl* [impiissime l. o. me f.] *Bar* [impiissime l. o. f.] *Chi Got* [impiissimis l. o. f.] *G2* [impiissimis l. o. me f.])

Lapsus sum in peccatis, corrui in delictis, cecidi in tantis et tantis criminibus, sceleribus, facinoribus (*Ber ~Gal Orv ~Pal ~Pa2 Tre ~A Ar2 ~Ves ~Z*)

in membris singulis naturae modum excessi, et impiissime pravis et perversis laboribus obnoxium me feci (*Ber Orv ~Pa2 Tre A Ar2 Orl* [*al. man.*] *Z; cf. Gal* [impiis ac p. atque p. l. o. m. f] *Pal* [impiis me ac p. et p. l. o. f] *Ar1* [impiis me p. et p. l. o. f.] *Ves* [impiis ac p. et p. l. o. m. f.])

As the verb "cecidi" appears with "lapsus sum" and "corrui" in Isidore's *Synonyma* 1.65, and "in tantis criminibus" appears in 1.57, we could consider "cecidi . . . facinoribus" part of the original composition, loosely based on Isidore's text, and we would then have to assume that the manuscripts in the left-hand column are derived from a common source which omitted the clause. But we could also regard the clause as an addition prompted by the similarity of "lapsus sum . . . corrui" to Isidore's triad. In fact, Troyes 1742, the oldest manuscript in the right-hand column, contains a series of excerpts from Isidore's *Synonyma* just before the confession, including 1.57 and the clause just after the "lapsus sum . . . corrui" passage in 1.65.[38] So the "cecidi" clause, suggested by Isidore's triad, could have been formulated by Alcuin (as author of the confession) or by someone in his circle at Tours (as compiler of a model behind Troyes 1742 and the other manuscripts in the right-hand column).[39]

The last clause presents a similar problem: we could regard the right-hand column as the original and assume that a common source behind the other manuscripts changed "impiissime" to "impiis me," omitting "pravis et perversis" (since "impiis" now modifies "laboribus") and "me"; or we could regard the left-hand column as the original and assume that a source behind the other

complexities of transmission, but one can observe the patterns in the variants and make what one can of them."

[38] See Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, 19–20, no 17.5 and 9.

[39] The series "criminibus, sceleribus, facinoribus" has the character of a gloss, perhaps suggesting that it was not part of the original composition; there are, however, other instances in Alcuin's works of series without final conjuctions, particularly in *De virtutibus et vitiis*.

manuscripts changed "impiis me" to "impiissime" and supplied "pravis et perversis" and "me" to preserve the general sense. In this case, the latter possibility would seem to be more likely, since the left-hand column is more consistent with the rest of the confession in terms of word order and use of cursus,[40] but selecting the left-hand column as the original does not account for all the combinations of the two alternatives in the various manuscripts, and it leaves other problems in the manuscript tradition unexplained.

Another set of significant variants occurs at line 47:

Quid igitur dicam de oculis, qui omnibus me fecerunt obnoxium? (*Opf Pa3 ChB Gen M1; cf. A Ves* [in omnibus])

Quid igitur dicam de oculis, qui omnibus me criminibus fecerunt obnoxium? (*Co2 Ang ~Aru Bur Dur; cf. Gal* [o. meis c.] *Pa1 Tur* [o. c. me] *G2 Got Orl* [multis me c.])

Quid igitur dicam de oculis, qui omnibus me malis fecerunt obnoxium? (*Bar Chi Se1 Se2*)

Quid igitur dicam de oculis, qui omnibus me hominibus fecerunt obnoxium? (*Ber Orv ~Pa2 Ryl Tre Ar2 Z*)

The word *obnoxius,* used here with "criminibus," "malis," "hominibus," or just the substantive "omnibus," is used with "(impiis) laboribus" in the passage cited above and with "vitiis" in the sentence at lines 61–62: "Insuper etiam ira, tristitia, accidia, iactantia atque desidia omnibusque octo principalibus vitiis obnoxium me esse profiteor." Since the dative is not used for the individual sins named in the last instance, the plural forms in these instances should perhaps be regarded as ablative rather than the more common dative, but in any case the meaning of the word in the confession is not entirely clear, and this confusion may have led to the number of variants at line 47. The standard senses of the adjective—guilty, addicted (to a sin), subject (to an offence, a penalty, or harm), and indebted (to a person)—are all used by Alcuin (with the dative),[41] and the first two or three of these senses seem to be re-

---

[40] The word order of "impiis me laboribus obnoxium feci" is consistent with "in omnibus me inmunditiis contaminare non metui" (28–29), and the type of cursus planus employed in "obnoxium feci" appears in "consentaneum feci" (54) and several other clauses.

[41] See, e.g, Alcuin, Ep. 110, ed. Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini aevi* 2:158 ("aliorum peccatis obnoxii"); Ep. 143, ibid., 227 ("duabus mortibus . . . obnoxii"); Ep. 163, ibid., 263 (tempori vel mutabilitati obnoxium"). The remaining senses appear in quotations, e.g., Alcuin, *In Ep. ad Hebraeos* 2:15, PL 100:1042 ("obnoxii . . . servituti" [scriptural]); *Adversus Felicem Urgellitanum episcopum* 6.5, PL 101:206 ("ad consulendum nobis obnoxius Deus," from Hilary, *De trinitate* 11.43, ed. P. Smulders, CCL 62A [Turnhout, 1980], 571); ibid. 6.9 (". . . inimico generis humani obnoxios", from Arnobius, *Conflictus cum Serapione* 2.21, ed. Klaus-D. Daur, CCL 25A [Turnhout, 1992], 145); *De virtutibus et vitiis* 21, PL 101:629 ("Falsidicus testis tribus est personis obnoxius: primum Deo . . . ; deinde judici . . . ; postremo innocenti . . . ," from Isidore, *Sententiae* 3.55.2, ed. Pierre Cazier, CCL 111 [Turnhout, 1998], 310).

quired by the context of the three instances in which it is used in the confession. At line 47, the readings "in omnibus," "omnibus . . . criminibus," and "omnibus . . . malis" would be consistent with the normal use of the word, but "omnibus . . . hominibus" (or "omnibus" alone, in the personal sense) would be unusual: how would the penitent's eyes make him or her indebted to all people? It is conceivable that *obnoxius* is being understood as repugnant here ("What, then, should I say about my eyes, which make me repugnant to all . . .?"),[42] but this is improbable since "repugnant" (or "obnoxious" in the modern sense) does not appear to be an attested meaning of *obnoxius*.[43] It therefore seems unlikely that "hominibus" would have been the intended reading, but it seems equally unlikely that the compiler of the model behind Troyes 1742 and the other manuscripts containing "hominibus" would have substituted it for "criminibus," a term commonly found with *obnoxius*. So, once again, the merits of the respective readings provide no clear indication to help us in the reconstruction of the text.

One conclusion that can be drawn from the preceding is that the text of the confession had already become corrupt by the time of Alcuin's death. It is therefore not surprising to find instances in which the entire manuscript tradition is affected and the original readings do not seem to have been transmitted to any of the extant manuscripts or have been preserved in just one or two manuscripts perhaps through lateral transmission. One possible instance is in line 26, where the form "fortes" is used to modify the neuter "crura mea" in nearly half of the manuscripts, representing all parts of the manuscript tradition. This may indicate that the clause was corrupt in the archetype and that the reading "fortia" in some of the manuscripts might simply be the result of scribal emendation.[44] In two of the manuscripts, however, "(in malum) fortia" is followed by "in bonum vero infirma," producing the type of antithetical structure and cadence (cursus planus) found throughout the confession. Could the stylistic merit of this phrase be an indication that the reading formed part of the original composition? The two manuscripts—the ninth-century Angers 18 psalter noted above (*A*) and an eleventh-century supplement to the eighth-century Vespasian psalter (*Ves*)—share several other distinctive readings, but they too could be regarded either as variants introduced by a common source or as readings that might have formed part of the original composition.[45]

---

[42] Cf. the haughty raising of the eyes mentioned in the "Confiteor" (n. 33 above).

[43] The only similar sense of *obnoxius* noted in the *Thesaurus linguae latinae* is its confusion with *noxius* in the manuscript tradition of some works; see vol. 9.2, fasc. 1 (Leipzig, 1968), col. 124.

[44] In *ChB, Gen, M1,* and *Orl,* the correction was made in the actual manuscripts.

[45] In addition to the reading at line 26, the two manuscripts share three readings found in none of the other sources used in the edition: the phrase "in tantis et talibus" (as opposed to "in

Another instance is at line 32, where the readings in all the manuscripts are suspect but the one in *Ves* might be a vestige of the original text. Most manuscripts have "... latera enim mea luxuriam malitiae non formidant perpetrare." The sense is not clear ("... for my sides do not fear to commit lechery of malice"?) and none of the variants—including "luxuriam militiae" in *Ves*—serve to make the clause any more intelligible, but the reading "penetrare" for the final word of the clause in *Ves* is notable. This reading also appears in the corresponding clause of the "Confiteor" in the Prayerbook of Arnulf II (and it appears in at least one later version of "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" derived from *Ves* or from a source containing nearly all the readings in *Ves*[46]). In its context within these manuscripts, "penetrare" makes no sense, but it would make sense within the context of lines 31–32 if "luxuria et malitia" were used in place of "luxuriam malitiae": "In the seat of my passions and in my loins I burn with shameful desire through illusion procured by the devil and through the flame of lust, for lechery and malice do not fear to pierce my sides."[47] A precedent for the use of piercing in association with lechery and malice may be found in Eusebius "Gallicanus": "... we are pierced by darts of malice, lechery, lies, and adultery";[48] and the figure of a vice performing an action of this sort is found within Alcuin's own works in an example (drawn from Cicero via Julius Victor) illustrating the use of metonymy: "... when we invoke virtues and vices in place of those in whom they are found, as 'the house into which luxury has broken and avarice has penetrated.' "[49]

tantis et tantis") at line 19, the addition of "dura cervice" (*A*) or "durae cervicis" (*Ves*) at line 33, and the reading "in omnibus" at line 47 (see p. 15 above). The later manuscript cannot be derived from the earlier of the two, since *A* contains many variants (including substantial interpolations) not found in *Ves* or any other witness; the two manuscripts must therefore have received these readings from a common source, but it is not clear whether the common source introduced the variants or whether they were transmitted to it from the archetype behind the entire manuscript tradition. As indicated on p. 13 above, *Ves* also shares several variants with *Pa1, Pa2, Ar2,* and *Z* (lines 36, 46, 67) and with the latter two in particular (40), but the transposition at line 36 is the only one of these variants found in *A* as well. Consequently, it is difficult to determine the precise relationship between *A* and *Ves*.

⁴⁶ Dublin, Trinity College 312, fols. 152v–153v, s. XIV. With the exception of "curvavi" at line 33, all the variants in *Ves* involving more than a single letter are included in this manuscript (along with some unique variants).

⁴⁷ The words "inlusione diabolica ac flamma libidinis" in line 31 are omitted in *Ves;* this may be simply a scribal error, but it does serve to avoid the repetitive use of *inlusio diabolica* in the confession (see line 56). On the associations of illusion, the devil, and *libido,* see Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999), 19–21.

⁴⁸ "Trabibus interdum malitiae, luxuriae, falsitatum, adulteriorum iaculis penetramur" (Eusebius "Gallicanus," *Homilia* 53.8, ed. Fr. Glorie, CCL 101A [Turnhout, 1971], 619).

⁴⁹ "Est quoque pulchra translatio per metonymiam ... cum virtutes et vitia pro ipsis, in quibus sunt, appellamus, ut 'in quam domum luxuries inrupit et avaritia penetravit' " (Alcuin,

With line 32 presented in this manner, the *latera* become the object (like the body parts in lines 27, 33–35, and 52–55) and the purpose of the "enim" becomes more apparent as the active image of lechery and malice in line 32 serves as a comment on the description of lust and the passions in the previous line.

While editorial conjecture of this sort may help to clarify problematic passages in the confession as it has come down to us, and while it allows us to recognize that Alcuin need not have been responsible for the deficiencies in the surviving text, the present edition is not intended to provide a hypothetical reconstruction of the original composition. The purpose of the edition is to present the confession as it was transmitted in the context of the penitential psalm program and subsequently with the other psalm uses. For this reason, the readings that have been used as the basis for the text are those that are attested in manuscripts containing the confession as part of the devotional program; readings found only in manuscripts such as *Ves* have been relegated to the critical apparatus despite their possible value in shedding light on the original form and the meaning of the text. In editing the confession, I have attempted to present a text reflecting the archetype behind the manuscripts containing the devotional program with the confession as opening prayer. At lines 17, 26, and 32, where the text seems to be corrupt, I have inserted question marks (enclosed within square brackets) rather than emending the readings in the transmitted text; I have also inserted a question mark at line 47, where I have tentatively adopted one of the attested readings, and at lines 19–20 and 22–23, I have presented the widely attested alternatives in parallel columns and noted the other variants in the apparatus. Further remarks on the layout of the edition will be provided below, after a brief overview of the devotional program that follows the confession in the edition.

THE PROGRAM OF PENITENTIAL PSALMS WITH *CAPITULA*, COLLECTS, AND LITANY

Of the thirty-two manuscripts containing the confession in the edition below, eleven present it in the context of an *ordo* for rising from bed.[50] In five

---

Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus 37, ed. C. Halm, *Rhetores latini minores* [Leipzig, 1863], 545); cf. Julius Victor, *Ars rhetorica* 20, ibid., 432; and Cicero, *De oratore* 3.42.168.

[50] In *Ber* a rubric with reference to rising and two opening verses precede the confession. The same rubric and verses appear before the confession in *Orv* as part of Alcuin's *Ep.* 304 proposing a program of devotion for Charlemagne (see n. 10 above). The versions of the letter that precede the confession in *Pa3* and *ChB* contain additional cues, verses, and other material constituting a more extensive *ordo*. *Opf* has a version of the letter with an *ordo* similar to the one in *Pa3*, and this must have preceded the confession in the model on which *Opf* is based, but when the compiler of *Opf* organized material from the model into a ferial arrangement, the

of these (*Ber, Opf, Orv, Pa3,* and *Tur*) and two others in which the confession begins defectively (*Esc* and *Pa2*), "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" is followed immediately by the program of penitential psalms; and in an eighth manuscript (*Maz*) the confession was probably included along with the penitential program as part of an *ordo* for rising from bed, but the quire that would have included the confession and the first half of the program is missing. The program is also placed in the general context of the confession in *Gal, Pal, Ryl,* and *Tre;*[51] and it appears without the confession in seven other manuscripts included in the edition below—after Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne (Ep. 304) in a gathering inserted at the beginning of a tenth-century psalter (*Col*), after Isidore's *Synonyma* in a florilegium from Saint-Martial of Limoges (*Pa4*), after the orations for the hours in Aelfwine's Prayerbook (*Tit*),[52] and as part of the penitential *ordo* for the beginning of Lent in a Turonian sacramentary (*Tu2*), the "Pontifical" of Poitiers (*Ars*), the Sacramentary of Fulda (*Ful*),[53] and a version of *Ordo Romanus L* (*Mun*).[54] In the upper

letter was placed some seventeen folios before the confession and now survives in a different manuscript (see "Psalm Uses [I]," 21 n. 46 and 27). In *Z* a rubric with reference to rising precedes the confession, but the opening verses are not included; *Arl* contains the opening verses, but the rubric is illegible; *G2, Got,* and *Orl* contain the opening verses with the more general rubric *Oratio cottidiana* among the material before the confession; and in *Tur* the confession forms part of a larger morning *ordo*.

[51] In *Gal* the confession on fols. 52v–57r is followed by some cues and liturgical formulas on fol. 57v; the penitential psalm program appears in a different hand on fols. 58r–62r, but these folios have been reordered so that the program begins on the current fol. 59r–v and continues on fols. 58r–v and 60r–62v. In *Pal* "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" appears on fols. 41v–45r as the first of a set of confessions preceding the program on fols. 54v–57v. In *Ryl* the confession on fols. 109v–110v is followed by five prayers and a gap in the manuscript after fol. 111v (the two or four innermost folios of the last extant gathering in the manuscript according to the collation by Montague Rhodes James in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester,* vol.. 1 [Manchester, 1921], 211 and 216); fols. 112r–113v contain the end of a litany and the beginning of the program of penitential psalms. In *Tre* the confession on fols. 69v–73r and the program on fols. 75v–80r are separated by a set of orations for the hours which appear in various sacramentaries and prayerbooks (including *Maz, Pa3, Tit, Tur, ChB,* and *Z*); I have presented an edition and translation of this set of orations in "The Daily Cursus, the Week, and the Psalter in the Divine Office and in Carolingian Devotion" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1987), 289–300.

[52] For this and the liturgical sources that follow, see the editions in the list of sigla; and for further information on all the manuscripts containing the penitential psalm program, see "Psalm Uses [I]," 19 and 22–29.

[53] This is labelled *ordo* A in Sarah Hamilton's study of the penitential *ordines* in the Fulda sacramentaries, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Rochester, N.Y, 2001), 136–50.

[54] This version of *Ordo Romanus L* 18 in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6425 is printed as an appendix in Michel Andrieu's edition (cited below in the list of sigla). It contains the seven penitential psalms with their respective *capitula* and collects as in the other

register of the apparatus for the edition of the penitential psalm program, I have noted the readings from these nineteen manuscripts along with the corresponding readings from three other texts: the set of collects for the seven penitential psalms placed after Alcuin's *Expositio in psalmos poenitentiales* in Cologne 106 (*Co2*); the set of collects for the penitential psalms that appears before Alcuin's "Adesto lumen verum" in Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 7 (III) (*Ivr*); and the condensed version of the psalm uses in Paris, BnF lat. 11550 (*P2*).[55]

In *Co1, Esc, Orv, Pa2,* and *Pa3* the penitential psalm program is presented as the first psalm use and is followed by some or all of the other psalm uses, and in *Opf* the penitential psalm program and the other psalm uses are placed in a unique ferial arrangement. *Maz* and *Tur* also contain the other psalm uses, but in these manuscripts they are set apart from the penitential psalm program. The remaining manuscripts in the edition of the penitential psalm program contain none of the other psalm uses, although the programs in *Ber, Pa4,* and *Ryl* are defective and the latter two may have been followed by other psalm uses that are now missing.[56] The full set of psalm uses must have been compiled before the Life of Alcuin was written, because its author ascribes to Alcuin a program of devotion corresponding to the psalm uses in *Co1, Esc, Orv, Pa2, Pa3, Opf, Maz,* and *Tur;*[57] and the textual tradition of the psalm uses also suggests that the full set was compiled at an early date. Nevertheless, *Maz, Tur,* and at least some of the sources containing the peni-

---

liturgical sources and prayerbooks listed above. The *capitula* also appear in the corresponding section of the other versions of *Ordo Romanus L,* printed on pp. 116–19 of Andrieu's edition (=*Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* 99.56, ed. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle. Le texte,* vol. 2, Studi e testi 227 [Vatican City, 1963], 18–19), but there they are listed as a single series after the seven penitential psalms, and there are no Psalter collects.

   [55] In "Psalm Uses [I]," this psalter from Saint-Germain was given the siglum *Pa4.* The other prayerbook sigla used in "Psalm Uses [I]" have been retained in the present edition (*Maz Opf Orv Pa1 Pa2 Pa3 Tur*) but Paris, BnF lat. 11550 has been given the siglum *P2* for internal consistency, since the same manuscript is one of the psalters listed in the second apparatus (see n. 65 below). The siglum *Pa4* has now been assigned to the Paris, BnF lat. 2843 florilegium.

   [56] In the case of *Ber*—the Psalter of Louis the German—a single folio seems to be missing ("ein Blatt der Hs. zwischen S. 118/9" according to Valentin Rose in *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* 13, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften* 2 [Berlin, 1901], 23), and this would not have been sufficient for the other psalm uses. It should, however, be noted that the other uses are included in *Orv,* the eleventh-century psalter which is very close to *Ber* at least in terms of the text of the confession and the penitential psalm program.

   [57] *Vita Alcuini* 15, ed. Arndt, 193, quoted in "Psalm Uses [I]," 4–5, where it is noted that the description corresponds to the uses as they appear in the prayerbooks and not to the outline of the psalm uses in Alcuin's *De laude psalmorum.*

tential psalm program without the other psalm uses provide sufficient evidence to suggest that the penitential psalm program had been formulated earlier as an independent program of devotion—probably intended as an *ordo* for rising from bed.

The contents of the program is as follows: after the opening verses, the seven penitential psalms are said in their entirety (although *Opf* is the only manuscript in which they are written out in full), and each is followed by *Kyrie eleison, Pater noster, preces* or *capitula* (a series of psalm verses taken from various psalms), and a Psalter collect for the psalm.[58] After the last collect, there is a litany, a final set of *preces,* and three liturgical orations, although many of the manuscripts omit some or all of these components.[59] The sources that do include the litany present versions reflecting the locales in which the respective prayerbooks were compiled, and these local variations are recorded in the apparatus to the edition below, but the common core consists of the standard opening formulas (*Kyrie eleison . . .*) followed by an excerpt from the prayer "Deus universitatis conditor" in the first chapter of Augustine's *Soliloquies,*[60] petitions to the Virgin and the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, and a series of "parce nobis"/"libera nos"/"te rogamus audi nos" supplications and closing formulas; one notable characteristic of the litany is the absence of any reference to archangels or angelic orders.[61]

The psalm incipits, the *capitula* following the individual psalms, and the *preces* following the litany generally correspond to the Gallicanum (Vulgate psalter), but the incipits and *capitula* in *Ful* (and in some cases *Gal*) corre-

[58] Michael S. Driscoll, "The Seven Penitential Psalms: Their Designation and Usages from the Middle Ages Onwards," *Ecclesia orans* 17 (2000): 180, refers to "a meditational piece derived from the Psalm (personal in nature used to deepen the meaning of each Psalm and direct the affect of one praying)" between the *Pater Noster* and collect, but this can only be a reference to the *capitula,* which are in fact drawn from multiple psalms (although the individual psalms are not identified in Wilmart's editions of the programs in *Tre* and *Tur,* the former of which is reprinted on pp. 196–99 of Driscoll's article).

[59] After the program in *Tre,* which contains only the psalms, *capitula,* and collects, an incomplete litany has been added by another hand on fol. 80r–v; see Wilmart, *Libelli precum,* 30.

[60] The prayer appears independently in numerous prayerbooks and psalters, including *Opf* 66v (PL 101:580), *Orl* (PL 101:1397), *Ivr* 22v, *Gen* 189v, and *Dij* 133v. The Augustinian formula in lines 6–8 of the litany edited below also appears in the litanies in *Orl* (PL 101:139, discussed by Maurice Coens in "Anciennes litanies des saints," in *Recueil d'études bollandiennes* [Brussels, 1963], 185–204) and in *Gen* 178v; and it is included in the prayer "Miserere domine, miserere Christe (a longer version than the one cited in n. 14 above) in *Opf* 34v (PL 101:545), *Orl* (PL 101:1409, appended to the short version), *Tur* 66r (Wilmart, *Precum libelli,* 123), *Maz* 42v, *Pal* 27v, *Pa2* 99v, *A* 175v, *Ar2, Chi* 46v, *Gen* 177v, *Se1* 79v (PL 101:497), *Se2* 102v, *Bou* 230v, and *Sub* 235v.

[61] They are included in *Maz* along with patriarchs, prophets, and many other additions to the core litany.

spond to the Romanum. The psalm verses used as *capitula* have not been se-
lected on any apparent basis other than their thematic content: the verses are
selected from Pss 6, 12, and 18 (after Ps 6); 24 and 31 (after Ps 31); 37 and
39 (after Ps 37); 40, 56, 50, and 78 (after Ps 50); 68 (after Ps 101); 24 and 25
(after Ps 129); 141 (after Ps 142); and from various other psalms in the final
preces. Some appear as chants or are found in *preces* from liturgical books
(other than those cited in n. 54 above), and many of the verses are included in
abbreviated psalters,[62] but it is not certain whether the verses have been
drawn from a source of this type or from a complete psalter.

The component of the penitential psalm program that remains to be dis-
cussed is the set of Psalter collects. The seven Psalter collects in this pro-
gram—and the forty-two others in psalm uses 2–8—are of particular
importance for the study of Carolingian spirituality and the transmission of
texts, since they exemplify the process in which texts were transmitted
between psalters and prayerbooks and drawn from diverse conflicting sources
as prayerbooks were compiled and new programs of devotion were generated.
The collects in the psalm uses are a subset of the last of the three series of
Psalter collects in the edition prepared by André Wilmart and completed by
Louis Brou after Wilmart's death.[63] The first (*Africana series*) is a set of
collects for the 150 psalms and the individual sections of Ps 118 that is found
only in Paris, BnF lat. 13159—the Psalter of Charlemagne. The second
(*Hispana series*) is a set for psalms 1–134 and the sections of Ps 118 that is
found in a small group of psalters including *Orv* in the list of sigla below; as a
set this series is believed to be a Carolingian compilation, but the individual
collects in it appear to have been drawn from the hundreds of collects for the
psalms in the Old Spanish Office.[64] The third (*Romana series*) is found in
numerous manuscripts from the ninth century to the end of the Middle Ages
and includes collects for the 150 psalms and (in certain manuscripts) the
sections of Ps 118. For their edition of this series, Wilmart and Brou collated
fifteen manuscripts. In the second register of the apparatus to the edition of

---

[62] The Hebraicum equivalents of many of the verses are included in the *Collectio Psalterii
Bedae*, ed. J. Fraipont, CCL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), 452–70 (also edited by Gerald M. Browne,
Collectio Psalterii Bedae Venerabili adscripta, Bibliotheca Teubneriana [Munich, 2001]); and
the Romanum version of most of the verses are included in the later *Psalterium adbreviatum
Vercellense*, ed. P. Salmon, CCCM 47 (Turnhout, 1977), 33–78.

[63] André Wilmart and Louis Brou, *The Psalter Collects from V–VIth Century Sources*
(*Three Series*), Henry Bradshaw Society 83 (London, 1949).

[64] Jorge Pinell, presented a new edition the collects in this series as part of his edition of
the collects based on the psalms in the Old Spanish Office (*Liber orationum psalmographus:
Colectas de salmos del antiguo rito hispánico*, Monumenta hispania sacra, serie litúrgica 9
[Barcelona and Madrid, 1972]; see pp. [241]–[274] in Pinell's introduction).

the penitential psalm program, I have included the readings for the seven col-
lects in these fifteen manuscripts as well as eleven others (five of which are
mentioned in Brou's introduction but not used in the edition).[65]

The editors used as the basis for their edition the readings in Vercelli,
Biblioteca Capitolare 149 (*V1*), the ninth-century psalter that Wilmart con-
sidered the best representative of the collects composed several centuries
earlier, and in the apparatus they noted the variants from the other manu-
scripts (as well as the rejected readings from the base manuscript). A few
manuscripts have a substantial number of variants and apparently contain
versions of the collects that differ considerably from those in the archetype:
the ninth-century Angers 18 psalter mentioned above (*A*), the tenth-century
addition to London, British Library Cotton Galba A.xviii (*C*),[66] and a few
eleventh-century psalters that share many readings with *C* (*D, N,* and *P1*). In
collating collects from psalters not used by Wilmart and Brou, I have found
that many of the readings from *A* appear in later psalters associated with
Subiaco (including *Can* and *Sub*) and that readings in *C, D, N,* and *P1* form
part of a larger tradition of extant psalters. The collects in the penitential
psalm program contain a number of the variants found in these psalters, but
some of the prayerbooks have readings that are more consistent with *V1*. This
indicates that the Psalter collects in the penitential psalm program were
originally drawn from a psalter and transmitted to later prayerbooks, but there
was also lateral transmission as individual prayerbooks were influenced by
the readings in other psalters.

The first two words of the collect for Ps 50 provide an example of the
relationship between the psalters and prayerbooks. The reading adopted by
Wilmart and Brou is "Profluae miserationis (ineffabile nomen trinitas deus),"
and the apparatus to their edition notes the variant "Persolve miserationes" in
just two manuscripts, *D* and *N.* This, however, conceals the extent to which
that variant was used: although the reading "Proflue miserationis" is in *H*, it
is in fact a correction of "Persolve miserationes"; six other psalters collated in
the edition below also have this reading (*Ber, Can, Dij, Fra, StG,* and *Sub*),
and since the Subiaco manuscripts include it, the missing folio that contained

---

[65] I have retained the sigla that Wilmart and Brou assigned to the manuscripts used in their
edition (*A C D G1 G2*, etc.), and I have relied on their apparatus for my initial collation, but I
have checked their readings against most of the manuscripts and modified some of their entries
accordingly. For the manuscripts that were not used in the earlier edition, I have supplied three-
letter sigla (*Ach Bar,* etc.).

[66] For a summary of the scholarship on the date and English origin of the additions to this
ninth-century psalter, see Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Bene-
dictine Reform,* Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 25 (Cambridge, 1999), 311–13.

this collect in *A* probably had this reading as well.[67] The reading "Persolve miserationes" (or a reading derived from it) appears in all the manuscripts containing the penitential psalm program with the exception of *Maz* and *Tit,* although a later hand in *Opf* has changed "Persolve miserationes" to "Profluae miserationis," and the collect for Ps 50 in *Tur* omits the opening words entirely.[68] The exception in *Tit* may be explained by the presence of a second copy of "Profluae miserationis" in a different part of the prayerbook (and ultimately from a different source);[69] and in *Maz* it may be explained by the fact that the compiler of the prayerbook had independent access to a psalter containing collects—as is evident by the large number of Psalter collects that appear in *Maz* but in none of the other prayerbooks.

As individual prayerbooks continued to draw material from earlier prayerbooks and directly from psalters, new programs were developed. Collects from the Spanish series were utilized for extra psalm uses in *Opf,*[70] and there is even a set of collects for the penitential psalms drawn from this series on fols. 187r–188v of *Gen,* following "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" and two other confessions. While the complex lines of transmission make it difficult for us to trace the development of these programs, they testify to the widespread usage of Psalter collects and psalm uses in Carolingian devotion.

---

[67] The appearance of this reading in manuscripts from Subiaco might account for its presence in an isolated copy of this collect at the end of a series of meditations on the verses of Ps 50 in a Beneventan prayerbook, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Archivio S. Pietro G 49, fol. 34r (see Virginia Brown, *Flores psalmorum* and *Orationes psalmodicae* in Beneventan Script," *Mediaeval Studies* 51 [1989]: 440, no. 51). The meditations on Ps 50 appear in various manuscript from Italy and other parts of Europe, including one of the psalters from Subiaco (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Chigi D VI 79, fols. 197r–204v) and one of the psalters listed below (*W* 247r–250v), but the collect at the end of the series in Archivio S. Pietro G 49 appears to be unique; this prayerbook also has a unique set of meditations for most of the other penitential psalms, but it does not provide Psalter collects for them.

[68] *Tur* does include the full text of "Persolve miserationes" in the context of psalm use 2. The version found in the penitential psalm program ("Deus, qui humani pectoris antrum emundans . . .") does appear in one other source known to me—a thirteenth-century manuscript, St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 18, pp. 45, as the oration for feria iii Lauds in a series of orations for the hours and days of the week (Alban Dold, "Liturgische Gebetstexte aus Cod. Sang. 18," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 7 [1927]: 38, no. III 2). These orations are distinct from the ones used in the ferial Office, and although Dold was able to locate sources for most of them in the major sacramentaries, he described this one as "eine völlig unbekannte Oration" and noted classical and patristic precedents for some of phrases (47).

[69] The oration appears in the office for the Trinity in the section of the prayerbook in London, British Library Titus D.xxvii, on fol. 77r. See *Ælfwine's Prayerbook,* ed. Beate Günzel, Henry Bradshaw Society 108 (London, 1993), 130, and the note on p. 201 with references to the same collect in this context in the Portiforium of St. Wulstan and the Leofric Collectar.

[70] See "Psalm Uses [I]," 33–34.

Principles of the Edition

The complete program of penitential psalms with the confession as an opening prayer is presented below as it appears independently or as use 1 in the context of the other psalm uses. The edited text begins with the rubric and opening verses that indicate its possible origin as part of an *ordo* for rising from bed. These four lines are presented with a critical apparatus and textual notes identifying the psalm verses. The sigla in the critical apparatus are arranged in two alphabetically ordered groups—first the manuscripts that contain the confession and penitential psalm program (including *Co2,* which lacks the program but contains collects for the penitential psalms), and then the manuscripts that contain only the confession. This is followed by an edition of the confession (lines 1–72), formatted to emphasize its style and structure. In the critical apparatus, the sigla are again arranged in two groups (manuscripts containing the confession and psalm program and manuscripts containing the confession alone), followed by the sigla for the short versions (*Ner* and ANS). The second register of the apparatus contains textual precedents (introduced by "cf.") as well as apparent sources, and the third register contains parallels in other Carolingian prayers and also the corresponding lines in the "Confiteor."

For the series of penitential psalms with *capitula* and collects (lines 1–80), the critical apparatus has the sigla for the prayerbooks arranged alphabetically and followed by those for the liturgical books. The pages with Psalter collects have a second register that lists the readings in psalters containing the *Romana series:* the Wilmart/Brou sigla are followed by the additional sigla arranged alphabetically. In the lower register of the apparatus the psalm incipits and verses are identified, and where the Gallicanum (*Gall*) and Romanum (*Rom*) differ, the respective readings are listed along with the sigla of the prayerbooks and liturgical books that utilize them. The edition concludes with the litany, final *preces,* and liturgical collects (as a single series with lines numbered 1–124), presented with a critical apparatus and an *apparatus fontium.*

In the critical appatus of the edition as a whole, sigla for manuscripts containing the adopted reading are listed only when the reading is attested by a minority of manuscripts. The apparatus for the psalm incipits and verses follows a slightly different principle, since the manuscripts vary considerably in terms of the extent to which the verses are written out. The sigla of the manuscripts containing the adopted reading are indicated whenever it is necessary to distinguish them from manuscripts that do not have the verse written out at the point at which the reading occurs.

SIGLA

Ber   Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Theol. lat. fol. 58, fols. 115r–118v, s. IX med., Saint-Bertin

Co1   Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 45, fols. 1r–2v, s. X, Cologne [no confession]

Co2   Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 106, fol. 22r–v (collects without *capitula*), s. IX in., Werden (ed. A. Wilmart, *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini* [Rome, 1940], 53); the opening verses and the confession are in different sections, on fols. 1r and 62r–63r respectively

Esc   El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo L.III.8, fols. 118r–121v (*inc. mut.*), s. IX med., Senlis

Gal   London, British Library Cotton Galba A.xiv, fols. 52v–57r, 59r–v, 58r–v, 60r–62r, s. XI, Worcester (ed. Bernard James Muir, *A Pre-Conquest English Prayerbook,* Henry Bradshaw Society 103 [London, 1988], 70–73, 75–79)

Ivr   Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 7 (III), fols. 31v–33v (collects without *capitula*), s. X [no confession]

Maz   Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine lat. 512, fols. 9r–15v (*inc. mut.*), s. IX, Noyon [the confession is missing]

Opf   Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) lat. 1153, fols. 13v–21v, s. IX med., Saint-Denis (ed. A. Duchesne in Alcuin, *Opera* [Paris, 1617], cols. 196 ff.; and ed. Froben, in Alcuin, *Opera,* 2 vols. [Regensburg, 1777], 2:63–69; rpt. in PL 101:526–32); the opening verses are in an earlier section of the prayerbook, now in Paris, BnF lat. 5338, fol. 144v

Orv   Oxford, Bodleian Library D'Orville 45, fols. 26v–29v, s. XI, Moissac

Pa1   Paris, BnF lat. 1154, fols. 41v–45r (confession) and 54v–57v, s. IX–X, Saint-Martial of Limoges?

Pa2   Paris, BnF lat. 1248, fols. 89r–94v (*inc. mut.*), s. IX, Saint-Martial of Limoges

Pa3   Paris, BnF lat. 2731A, fols. 41r–46r, s. IX ex., Reims

Pa4   Paris, BnF lat. 2843, fol. 160r–v (*expl. mut.*), s. X, Saint-Martial of Limoges [no confession]

P2   Paris, BnF lat. 11550, fols. 319v–320r, s. XI, Saint-Germain [no confession; excerpt of penitential psalm program containing *capitula* and the collect for Ps 50]

Ryl   Manchester, John Rylands Library lat. 116, fol. 109v–110v (confession) and 113r–v (*expl. mut.*), s. IX in., Trier

Tit   London, British Library Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols 46v–50v, s. X, Winchester (ed. Beate Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook,* Henry Bradshaw Society 108 [London, 1993], 175–78) [no confession]

Tre   Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 1742, fol. 69v–73r (confession) and 75v–80r, s. IX in., Tours (ed. Wilmart, *Precum libelli,* 21–24, 27–30)

Tur   Paris, BnF lat. 13388, fols. 16v–26v, 31r–v, s. IX med., Tours (ed. Wilmart, *Precum libelli,* 73–84, 89)

Liturgical books (no confession):

Ars   Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 227, fols. 35v–37v, s. IX, Poitiers (ed. Aldo Martini, *Il cosiddetto Pontificale di Poitiers* [Rome, 1979], 42–44)

Ful Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Cod. theol. 231, fols. 37r–38r, s. X, Fulda (ed. H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren* [Düsseldorf, 1898], 60–61; and *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi x,* ed. G. Richter and A. Schönfelder [Fulda, 1912; rpt. as Henry Bradshaw Society 101], 43–45)

Mun Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6425, s. XI (ed. Michel Andrieu, *Les "Ordines Romani" du haut moyen-âge,* vol. 5 [Louvain, 1961], 370–72)

Tu2 Paris, BnF nouv. acq. 1589, fols. 107v–109r, s. IX, Tours (ed. E. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiis ritibus,* 2d ed., 4 vols. [Antwerp, 1736–38], 1:783–84; and Jean Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits,* vol. 3 [Fribourg, 1982], 117–18, 124–26)

Manuscripts containing the confession without the program of penitential psalms:

A Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 18, fols. 183v–185v, s. IX med., N. France

Ang Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 19, fols. 89v–92r, s. X ex., Angers

Ar1 Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 636 (709), fol. 78r–v (*expl. mut.*), s. IX ex., Saint-Vaast

Ar2 Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 735 (763), fols. 75v–77v, s. XI, Saint-Vaast

Aru London, British Library Arundel 155, fols. 175v–177v, s. XI, Canterbury (ed. H. Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," *Anglia* 11 [1889]: 115–20, with gloss)

Bar Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV) Barb. lat. 497, fols. 44r–45v, s. XI, Italy

Bur Vatican City, BAV Reg. lat. 12, fols. 177r–179r, s. XI in., Bury St. Edmunds

ChB Munich, Schatzkammer, Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, fols. 6v–7v (verses) and 14r–19v, s. IX, Court School of Charles the Bald (ed. Felicianus, *Liber precationum* [Ingolstadt, 1583], 2–4, 11–16)

Chi Vatican City, BAV Chigi C VI 173, fols. 49v–50v, 52r, s. IX, Italy

Dur London, Society of Antiquaries 7, fols. 24v–26v, s. XII, Durham (ed. Thomas H. Bestul, *A Durham Book of Devotions,* Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 18 [Toronto, 1987], 41–43)

G2 St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 27, pp. 707–10, s. IX, St. Gall

Gen Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 1186, fols. 182r–183r (*inc. mut.*), s. X, Saint-Denis

Got Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek 30, fols. 4v–6r, s. IX, St. Gall?

Ml Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 82, fol. 256r–v, s. X, Milan (*expl. mut.*)

Orl Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 184, pp. 329–30, s. IX, Bavaria (ed. E. Martène, *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiae disciplina in divinis celebrandis officiis* [Lyon, 1706], 647–48; rpt. in *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus,* 2d ed. [Antwerp, 1736–38], 3:679–80, and in PL 101:1404–5)

Se1 Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale Sessoriana 71, fols. 68r–69v, s. IX, Nonantola

Se2 Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale Sessoriana 95, fols. 146r–149r, s. IX, Nonantola

Ves London, British Library Cotton Vespasian A.i, fols. 156r–157v, s. XI, Canterbury (ed. Sherman M. Kuhn *The Vespasian Psalter* [Ann Arbor, 1965], 316–17; facsimile edition, *The Vespasian Psalter,* ed. David H. Wright, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 15 [Copenhagen, 1967])

Z Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Car. C. 161, fols. 192v–195r, s. IX, Corbie

Abbreviated versions of the confession:

Ner	London, British Library Cotton Nero C.iv, fol. 136r–v, s. XII, Winchester
ANS	(Pseudo-)Anselm, *Oratio* VIII, printed by G. Gerberon in 1675 (PL 158:896)

Early psalters containing collects (*Romana series*):

Wilmart/Brou sigla

A	Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 18, s. IX, N. France (see above)
C	London, British Library Cotton Galba A.xviii, fols. 178r–199v, s. X, England
D	Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 170, s. XI, Marchiennes
G1	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 15, s. IX, St. Gall
G2	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 27, s. IX, St. Gall (see above)
H	Vatican City, BAV Pal. lat. 39, s. XI, Heidelberg
M1	Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 82, s. IX, Milan (see above)
M2	Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 83, s. IX, Milan
N	Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 84, s. XI, Nonantola
P1	Paris, BnF lat. 103, s. XI, Saint-Denis
P2	Paris, BnF lat. 11550, s. XI, Saint-Germain (see above)
V1	Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare 149, s. IX, Salzburg?
V2	Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare 62, s. IX, Italy
W	Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud 96, s. XI, Tegernsee/Würzburg
Z	Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Car. C 161, s. IX, Corbie (see above)

Additional sigla

Ach	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 272 (Achadeus Psalter), s. IX, Reims
Bar	Vatican City, BAV Barb. lat. 497, s. XI, Italy (see above)
Bou	Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque municipale 20, s. X, Saint-Bertin
Bru	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 9188-89 (590), s. X
Can	Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Patr. lat. 88, s. XI, Subiaco
Dij	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 30, s. XI, France
Fra	Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Barth. 32, s. IX, Fulda (collects added)
Lau	Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud 35, s. IX (collects added)
Ryl	Manchester, John Rylands Library lat. 116, s. IX, Trier (see above)
StG	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 22, s. IX, St. Gall
Sub	Subiaco, Biblioteca S. Scolastica 249, s. XI, Subiaco

Sacramentaries cited in the *apparatus fontium:*

Va	*Liber sacramentorum Romanae aecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*), ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg et al. (Rome, 1960)
Sg	*Das fränksiche Sacramentarium Gelasianum,* ed. Kunibert Mohlberg, Liturgie-wissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 1/2 (Münster W. 1918)
Ge	*Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis,* ed. A. Dumas and J. Deschusses, CCL 159–159A (Turnhout, 1981)
Ph	*Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis,* ed. O. Heiming, CCL 159B (1984)
En	*Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis,* ed. Patrick Saint-Roch, CCL 159C (1987)
Ha,Sp	*Le sacramentaire grégorien,* vol. 1, ed. Jean Deshusses (Fribourg, 1971)
Be	*Sacramentarium Bergomense,* ed. Angelo Paredi (Bergamo, 1962)

CUM DE LECTULO VESTRO SURREXERITIS DICENDUM EST: Domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei vivi, in nomine tuo levabo manus meas.

Deus in adiutorium meum intende, domine, ad adiuvandum me festina TRIBUS VICIBUS.

Ber Co2 Opf Orv Pa3 | Arl ChB G2 Got Orl Z

1 CUM ... EST] DE LECTULO (LECTO *Ber*) SURGENDO DICENDUM EST *Ber Orv* : CUM SURREXERIS DE LECTO DIC CAPITULUM ISTUM *Co2* : INITIO ENIM SURGENDI DE LECTULO DICENDUS EST *Opf* : CUM ENIM DE LECTULO STRATUS VESTRI DICENDUM VOBIS EST, DIC PRIMUM *Pa3* HOC ORANDUM EST CUM DE LECTO VESTRO SURREXERITIS *ChB* : ORATIO COTTIDIANA *G2 Got Orl* : ORATIO VEL CONFESSIO POSTQUAM SURGENDUM *Z* (*Arl illeg.*) 1–4 Domine ... VICIBUS] Deus in adiutorium ... TRIBUS VICIBUS CUM GLORIA. Domine ... meas (*et alia oratio:* Deus omnipotens adiuvare mihi digneris ...) *G2 Orl* : om. *Z* 2 vivi *om. Got*   levabo] levo *ChB*   meas] add. et *Co2* : add. Ad te levo oculos ... (Ps 122:1) Domine labia mea aperies ... (Ps 50:17) *ChB*   4 TRIBUS VICIBUS] CUM CALTIAVERIS TE, DIC ... *Co2* : add. CUM PSALMO Verba mea USQUE AD ID QUOD DICITUR Mane adstabo tibi (Ps 5:2–5). ET PATER NOSTER AC HAE PRECES. Dignare, Domine, die isto ET REL. Perfice, Domine, gressus meus ET REL. (Ps 16:5). Benedictus Dominus die cotidie ET REL. (Ps 67:20). Dirigere et sanctificare digneris, Domine ET REL. Fiat misericordia tua, Domine ET REL. (Ps 32:22) ET HAEC ORATIO (ORATIO SANCTI HIERONIMI COTIDIANA: Mane cum surrexero ... FERIA I. AD LAUDEM DEI ORATIO PURA: Adesto lumen verum ... [*us. 3*]) *Opf* : TRES VICIBUS CUM PSALMO Verba mea USQUE Mane adstabo tibi (Ps 5:2–5). DEINDE PATER NOSTER ET PRECES. Dignare, Domine, die isto. Perfice gressus meus (Ps 16:5). Benedictus Dominus die cotidie (Ps 67:20). Dirigere et sanctificare digneris. Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos (Ps 32:22). ET SURGENS INCIPIAT VERSUM Domine, labia mea aperies (Ps 50:17). IPSO EXPLETO CUM GLORIA INCIPIAT PSALMUM Domine, quid multiplicati sunt (Ps 3). DEINDE SEQUITUR Miserere mei Deus (Ps 50). DEINDE Venite, exultemus Domino (Ps 94). DEINDE PSALMOS QUANTOS VOLUERIS *Pa3* : add. CUM GLORIA *Arl* : TER. Perfice gressus meos ... (Ps 16:5). Custodi me, Domine, ut pupillam oculi ... (Ps 16:8). Fiat, Domine, cor meum et corpus meum ... (ORATIO SANCTI AUGUSTINI: Sancta Trinitas atque indivisa unitas. ... ITEM AD INVOCANDAM SANCTISSIMAM TRINITATEM: Deus Trinitas ignosce mihi omnia peccata. ... ORATIO BEATI HIERONIMI PROPTER ABSCIDENDA VITIA ET VIRTUTES INSERENDAS: Mane cum surgo. ... ORATIO BEATI GREGORII PRO PETITIONE LACRIMARUM: Da mihi, Domine, peccatori confessionem. ...) *ChB*

1–2 Cum ... meas: see *Tur* 10r–v, ed. Wilmart, *Libelli precum,* 68 ("STATIM UT DE LECTO SURREXERIS ... DIC Auxiliatrix ... ET ITERUM Domine deus in nomine tuo levabo manus meas); see also the *ordo* following the version of Alcuin's letter (304) to Charlemagne in Paris, BnF lat. 5596, ed. Wilmart, *Libelli precum,* 34 ("CUM AUTEM DE LECTULO STRATUS VESTRI SURREXERITIS DICENDUM VOBIS EST: Domine ...").

2 In nomine ... meas: Ps 62:5.

3 Deus ... festina: Ps 69:2.

3–4 Deus ... VICIBUS: this also appears as one of the items immediately before "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" in *Tur* 16r, ed. Wilmart, *Libelli precum,* 73.

INCIPIT CONFESSIO

Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae, deus inmensae pietatis, deus conditor et
reparator humani generis, qui confitentium tibi corda purificas et accusantes se

---

*Ber Co2 Esc Gal Opf Orv Pa1 Pa2 Pa3 Ryl Tre Tur | A Ang Ar1 Ar2 Aru Bar Bur ChB Chi
Dur G2 Gen Got M1 Orl Se1 Se2 Ves Z | Ner* ANS

1–51 (*usq.* ad inmunda per-) *deficit in Esc*   1–24 (*usq.* malum) *deficit in Gen*   1–15
(*usq.* membra sin-) *deficit in Pa2*   1 INCIPIT CONFESSIO *Ber Co2 Gal Orv Pa3 Ryl Tre Ar2
Orl* : CONFESSIO. FERIA II *Opf* : INCIPIUNT CONFESSIONES PECCATORUM *Pa1* : INCIPIT
CONFESSIO SANCTI AUGUSTINI EPISCOPI *M1* : DEINDE HANC CONFESSIONEM *Tur* : CON-
FESSIO QUAM (*add.* BEATUS *A*) ALCUINUS COMPOSUIT (*add.* DOMNO *A*) KAROLO IMPERA-
TORI *A ChB* : ORATIO SANCTI AUGUSTINI (*om. Bur*). QUICUMQUE HANC ORATIONEM
COTIDIE CORAM DEO DEVOTE ORAVERIT ET IN PRAESENTI SAECULO BEATUS ERIT ET IN
FUTURO CUM SANCTIS GAUDEBIT *Aru Bur* : CONFESSIO PECCATORUM *Bar Sel* : ALIA *Chi* :
ORATIO AD DEUM *Dur* : ITEM CONFESSIO PECCA⟨TO⟩RUM *G2 Got* : PRO PECCATIS MAGNA
LAMENTATIO UTILE [!] OMNIBUS *Se2* (*al. man.*) : CONFESSIO AD DOMINUM SIVE ORA-
TIO *Ves* : AD DEUM ANS : ORATIO *Ner* (*Ar1 illeg.*): *om. Ang Se2* (*prius*) *Z* (*vid. supra*)
2 deus²] et *Gal*   deus³ *om. Gal Ang*   et] ac *Gal*   3 reparator] redemptor *Bar Chi
Sel Se2*   confitentium] confidentium *Ber*   purificas] purgas ANS   se *om. Pa3*

---

2 Deus¹ ... misericordiae: cf. *En* 2187, "Omnipotens sempiterne deus, cuius est miseri-
cordia inaestimabilis."

2–3 Deus³ ... generis: cf. *Ge* 2404 *Sp* 1513, "Deus, conditor et defensor generis humani";
Va 510 *Sg* 671 *Ge* 843 *Ph* 651 *En* 873 *Be* 628, "Deus, qui [*add.* es *En*] humani generis es
[*om. En*] et [*om. Sg En*] reparator et rector" (*Corpus orationum*, ed. E. Moeller et al., CCL 160–
160J [1992–99], no. 1694); *Va* 358–59 *Sg* 492 *Ge* 596 *Ph* 472 *En* 606 *Sp* 1385 *Be* 1499,
"Deus humani generis benignissime conditor et misericordissime reformator [formator *Va* :
reparator *Ph*]"; PL 85:670, "Conditor et reparator humani generis" (*Corpus orationum* 790).

3–4 qui ... absolvis: *Va* 362 368 *Sg* 501 *Ge* 599 610 *Ph* 481 *En* 609 617, *The Stowe
Missal*, ed. G. F. Warner, Henry Bradshaw Society 32 (London, 1915), 22, "Deus, qui confi-
tentium tibi corda purificas et accusantes [-tem *Be*] se [suas *Va* 362 *En* : *om. Ge*] conscientias
[-tiam *Be*] ab omni uinculo iniquitatis [et omnium iniquitates *Stowe*] absoluis [-ues *Va* 368], da
indulgentiam reis et medicinam tribue uulneratis" (*Corpus orationum* 1491a; cf. *Be* 698
[*Corpus orationum* 1491b]; *Breviarium Gothicum*, PL 86:209).   accusantes ... conspec-
tum: cf. Apoc 12:10, "qui accusabat illos ante conspectum dei."

---

2 Deus¹ ... misericordiae: "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae, deus auctor humanae salu-
tis" (*Maz* 96v, *Ar2* 16r); "Deus infinitae misericordiae et veritatis inmensae" (*Z* 186r; cf. *Le
sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, ed. Deshusses, no. 3958, "Deus i. m. ueritatisque inmensae,
propitiare iniquitatibus nostris, et omnibus animarum nostrarum medere languoribus ...").

2–3 deus³ ... generis: "Domine Ihesu Christe, fili dei vivi, creator et restaurator generis
humani" (*Sel* 105v [*De psalmorum usu* 2.15, PL 101:508], *Bur* 168v).

3–4 qui ... absolvis: "Deus, qui omnium confitentium ..." [=*Be* 698] (*Se2* 5v, ed. J.
Morinus, *Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti poenitentiae*
[Venice, 1702], 570).

ante conspectum divinae clementiae tuae ab omni vinculo iniquitatis absolvis,
5   virtutem tuam totis exoro gemitibus, ut secundum multitudinem miserationum
tuarum de omnibus peccatis meis, de quibus mea me accusat conscientia, pu-
ram mihi coram te concedas agere confessionem veramque ex his omnibus et
condignam mihi tribuas poenitentiam quaecumque peccavi,

---

4 divinae *om. Ang*   clementiae] magestatis *Ar2*   vinculo iniquitatis *inv.* ANS
absolvis] absolvens *Tur (prius sed corr.)* : absolvas *Ves Ner*   5 exoro gemitibus *inv. A*
miserationum] misericordiarum *Tur*   6 peccatis] iniquitatibus *Aru Bur Dur* ANS   de²
om. Pa3   mea . . . conscientia *Ber Orv Ryl Tre A G2 Got Ves* : me a. mea c. *Co2 Gal* : me a.
c. *Pal Arl Ar2* (-tiam) *Orl Z* : me mea c. a. *Opf (e* me et mea c. a.) *Pa3 Tur Bar ChB Chi Sel
Se2 Ner* : mea c. a. *Ml* : me a. c. mea *Aru Bur Dur* ANS   6–7 puram]
param *Ves*   7 coram te concedas] concedas coram te *G2 Got Orl* : concedas *Arl*   agere
om. Ang   veramque] veram quae *Ber*   his omnibus *inv. A Aru*   et *om. Co2 (prius sed
corr.)*   8 quaecumque] quia *Bar Chi Sel Se2* : in quibuscumque *Ner*

---

4 ante . . . tuae: cf. *Or. s. Ambrosii (Stowe Missal,* ed. Warner, 14; *Maz* 52r; *Orl* [PL
101:1408]; *G2* 710; *Got* 6r), "Ante conspectum divinae maiestatis tuae reus [deus *Stowe*] adsisto."

   ab . . . absolvis: cf. Is 58:6 teste Cassiodoro, *Expositio in Ps* 34.13, ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 97
(1958), 310.269–70, "de quo Isaias dicit: *Solue omne uinculum iniquitatis.*"

   5 virtutem . . . gemitibus: cf. *Va* 594 *Ge* 2401 *Ph* 2031s 2032 *Sp* 1511, "Domine, sancte
pater, omnipotens aeterne deus, uirtutem tuam totis exoro gemitibus."

   5–6 secundum . . . tuarum: Pss 50:3, 68:17; 2 Esr 13:22; cf. *Va* 364 *Ge* 601 2888 *Ph* 1910
En 618 *Sp* 1396 *Be* 1500, "Deus misericors, deus clemens, qui secundum multitudinem mi-
serationum tuarum peccata paenitencium deles. . . . Renoua . . . " (ut infra ad 65–70).

   6 mea . . . conscientia: cf. Hieronymus, *In Esiam* 18.66.18.19, ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 73A
(1963), 787.54–55, "dum aut accusat nos nostra conscientia"; *Va* 78 *Sg* 246 *Ge* 266 *En* 271
Sp 1379, *Oracional visigótico,* ed. J. Vives, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, ser. litúrg. 1 (Bar-
celona, 1946), no. 837, "Exaudi, domine, preces nostras [supplicum p. *Or.*] et confitentium tibi
[t. c. *Sp Or.*] parce peccatis, ut quos conscientiae reatus accusat, indulgentia . . . absoluat."

---

6 de² . . . conscientia: "(Deus iustorum gloria et misericordia . . .) omnia quaecumque pec-
cavi coram te et de quibuscumque mea me [me mea *Sub*] accusat conscientia seu quae
confessus" (*Orl* [PL 101:1405–6]; *Sub* 253v).

   6–8 puram . . . poenitentiam: (Domine Ihesu Christe, mitissime deus . . .) "mihi puram
coram . . . confessionem agere tribue et veram . . . poenitentiam emendationemque condignam"
(*Orl* [PL 101:1414]; cf. PL 101:1405, 1406, 1407)

   8–13 quaecumque . . . tactu: "(Deus exercituum . . .) dimitte ac dele quaecumque peccavi.
In cogitationibus pessimis. In meditationibus pravis. In consensu malo. In consilio iniquo. In
concupiscentia atque delectatione inmunda. In verbis otiosis. In factis malitiosis. In visu, auditu,
gustu, odoratu, et tactu" (*Tur* 27r, ed. Wilmart, *Precum libelli,* 85); "O clementissime caeli
terraeque creator confiteor me deliquisse, in cogitationibus pravis, in verbis otiosis factisque
malitiosis. Peccavi etiam, domine, peccavi, in visu, auditu, gustu, odoratu et tactu" (*Se2* 23v, ed.
Morinus, *Commentarius,* 573); "(Confiteor tibi, domine, pater caeli et terrae . . .) in cogita-
tionibus etiam pessimis, in meditationibus perversis, in suspitionibus [superstitiis *Maz*] falsis,
in iudiciis [viciis *Esc*] temerariis, in consensu malo et consilio iniquo, in concupiscentia car-

in cogitationibus pessimis, in meditationibus pravis,
10   in consensu malo, in consilio iniquo,
in concupiscentia atque delectatione inmunda,
in verbis otiosis, in factis malitiosis,
in visu, auditu, gustu, odoratu et tactu.
Tu enim, misericors deus, ad operandum mihi animae meae salutem
15   membra singula humanis usibus apta dedisti,
sed ego miserrimus omnium et peccator te aeternae salutis auctorem contempsi,
et aeterna mihi inimico incendia praeparanti suadente [?] consensi.

---

9 pessimis] pravis *Gal* ANS   in meditationibus pravis *om. Gal Ang* ANS   10 in con-
silio] et in consilio *Gal* ANS   11 concupiscentia] concupiscentias *Arl* (*prius sed corr.*) :
add. carnali *Gal*   atque] et in *Aru*   inmunda] inmundatione inmunda *Arl*   13 auditu
gustu odoratu *Ber Orv Tre Arl Ar2 Aru Bur Dur Ves Z* ANS : in auditu in gustu in odoratu *Co2*
Opf Pal Pa3 Ryl Tur Bar ChB Chi G2 Got M1 Orl Se1 Se2 Ner : in audito gustu odoratu *Gal* :
et gustu in auditu in odoratu *A* : gustu in auditu in odoratu *Ang*   et tactu] in tactu *Pa3* : et in tactu *A*
14 deus *om.* ANS   operandum *Ber Opf Orv Ryl Tre Arl Ar2 Aru Bur ChB M1 Ves Z Ner*
ANS : operandam *Co2 Gal Pal Tre Tur A Ang Bar Chi Dur G2 Got Orl Se1 Se2* : operando *Pa3*
mihi *om. Pa3 Ner*   meae *om. Ves*   salutem] *add.* mihi *Pa3*   16 ego] quia ego sum
peccator et vilissimus *A*   miserrimus] miserrima *Gal* (*prius*) *Z*   et *om. Gal A* (*spatium*)
peccator] peccatrix *Gal* (*prius*) *Z*   te aeternae] aeternae *A* (*et spatium*)   auctor miserere
mei in eo quod praecepta tua *A* : amatorem ANS   17 et . . . consensi *om. Orv*   et . . .
incendia] et aeterna mihi incendia *Pa3* : et in eo (*spatium*) quod inimico (*spatium*) *A* : et aeterna
mihi incendia ini mico *Ang* ANS : et aeterna incendia mihi inimico *Z*   et *eras. M1*   ae-
terna] aeternae *Co2* (*prius sed corr.*)   aeternam *M1* (*al. man.*)   praeparanti] praeparandi
Gal (*prius sed corr.*) : praeparanda *Ang* : *add.* ipso *M1* (*sup. lin.*) : *om. A* (*spatium*)   suadente
Ber Co2 Opf Pal Pa2 Ryl Tre Ang Arl Ar2 Bar Chi G2 Got Orl Z : suadenti *Tur A ChB Se1*
Se2 : et suadenti *Ves* : ac suadenti *Gal* : *om. Pa3 Aru Bur Dur Ner* ANS   consensi] promerui
Aru : mihi consensi, inmense misericors, miserere mei quia *A*

---

9 in cogitationibus pessimis: cf. Jer 23:22, "a pessimis cogitationibus suis [cogitationibus
suis pessimis]; Jer 25:5, Zach 1:4.
12 in[1] . . . otiosis: cf., e.g., Mt 12:36, "omne verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines."
14 ad . . . salutem: cf., e.g., Beda, *In 1 Samuhelem* 3.18.27, ed. D. Hurst, CCL 119 (1962),
173.1554, "ad operandam mundi salutem"; *Ge* 2044, "ad obtinendum animae . . . salutem."
15 humanis . . . apta: cf. Augustinus, *De opere monachorum* 13.14, PL 40:560, "quae apta
sunt humanis usibus operabatur."
16 salutis . . . contempsi: cf., e.g., Heb 2:10, "auctorem salutis eorum per passiones con-
summare"; Chromatius, *Tractatus* 45 [Mt 9:13], ed. R. Étaix, J. Lemarié, CCL 9A (1974), 418,
"qui medicinae caelestis auctorem contemnens, uulneratus peccatis, sanitatem salutis accipere
noluit."
17 aeterna . . . praeparanti: cf. Gregorius, *Moralia in Job* 14.19.23, ed. M. Adriaen, CCL

---

nali [*om. Maz*] et delectatione ac pollutione [*om.* ac p. *Maz*] inmunda, in verbis ociosis" (*Esc*
122v; *Maz* 110v; *Pal* 53r; *Gen* 184v–185r; *Ars* 10v, ed. Martini, 15).

Lapsus sum in peccatis, corrui in delictis,

|| cecidi in tantis et tantis criminibus,
20 || sceleribus, facinoribus,

in membris singulis naturae modum excessi,

et impiis me laboribus obnoxium feci. || et impiissime pravis et perversis la-
|| boribus obnoxium me feci.

Pedes mei ad currendum in malum sequendo libidinem supra modum veloces
25   fuerunt et in oboedientia mandatorum tuorum inbecilles,

crura mea ad me sustinendum in malum fortes [?].

18–64 Lapsus . . . arcana *om. Ner*   18 Lapsus] Lapsa *Gal*   sum] *add.* domine *Aru*
peccatis] peccata *M1 (al. man.)*   delictis] delicta *M1 (al. man.)*   19–20 cecidi . . .
facinoribus *Ber Orv Tre Ar2* : cecidi in cunctis criminibus et sceleribus ac facinoribus *Gal* :
cecidi in tantis ectantis c. s. f. *Pal* : cecidi in tantis ac tantis c. s. f. *Pa2* : ceci in tantis et talibus
c. s. f. *Ves* : Z : cecidi in tantis et talibus c. et s. facinoribusque
A : *om. Co2 Opf Pa3 Ryl Tur Ang Arl Aru Bar Bur ChB Chi Dur G2 Got M1 Orl Sel Se2* ANS
21 naturae] vero ANS   excessi] expressi *Pal*   22 impiis me *Co2 Opf Pal Pa3 Tur Arl
Aru Bur ChB Dur M1 Sel Se2* ANS : impiis *Gal Ang Ves* : impiissimis *Chi G2 Got* : impiissime
Ber Orv Pa2 Ryl Tre A Ar2 Bar Orl Z   22–23 laboribus *Co2 Opf Pa3 Tur Ang Aru Bar
Bur ChB Chi Dur G2 Got M1 Sel Se2* ANS : pravis et perversis laboribus *Ber Orv Tre A Arl
Ar2 Orl (al. man.) Z* : ac pravis atque p. l. *Gal* : ac pravis et p. l. *Pal Ves* : pravus ac p. l. *Pa2*
obnoxium *Co2 Opf Pal Pa3 Tur Ang Arl Aru Bar Bur ChB Chi Dur Got M1 Sel Se2* ANS :
obnoxium me *Ber Gal Orv Pa2 Ryl Tre A Ar2 G2 Orl (al. man.) Ves Z* : me obnoxium *Ang*
feci] *add.* id est *Gal*   24–56 Pedes . . . confessione *om.* ANS   24 sequendo] sequendam
Ang : sequendi *Se2*   25 in oboedientia] in oboedientiam *Tur* : ad oboedientiam *Bar Chi Sel
Se2* : in oboedientiae *Ber Orv Pa2 Arl* : oboedientia *Gen*   tuorum *om. Ber Orv Tre*
26 sustinendum] sustenta dum *Gal (al. man.)* : sustentandum *Ar2*   in malum *om. Orv*
fortes *Ber Co2 Opf Orv Pa2 Ryl Tre Arl G2 Got Orl (prius) Z* : fortes fuerunt *Aru* : fortia
(*recte*) *Gal (prius) Pal Pa3 Tur Ang Ar2 Bar Bur Dur M1 (al. man.) Orl (al. man.) Sel Se2* :
fortia fuerunt *Gal (al. man.) Chi* : fortia, in bonum vero infirma *A Ves* : fort (e fortes?) *ChB
Gen*

143A (1979), 711.4–6, "Quod dum peruersis cogitationibus . . . mentem replet, aeterna incen-
dia praeparat."
    18–20 Lapsus . . . criminibus: cf. Isidorus, *Synonyma* 1.65, PL 83:842, "lapsus sum, cecidi
graviter, corrui miserabiliter"; ibid. 1.57, PL 83:840, "in tantis peccatis, in tantis criminibus, in
tam multis iniquitatibus."
    24–25 Pedes . . . fuerunt: cf. Prov 6:18, "Pedes veloces ad currendum in malum."

    18–20 delictis . . . facinoribus: "(Ego confiteor tibi domine pater caeli et terrae . . .) deleas
omnia peccata, crimina, scelera (atque) facinora et delicta mea" (*Tur* 9r, ed. Wilmart, *Precum
libelli*, 67; *Gal* 102r, ed. Muir, 133; *Pa2* 105r; *Se2* 20r–v)
    24–25 Pedes . . . fuerunt: "Pedes mei ad currendum in malum semper veloces, [*add.* et *P*]
ad omne opus dei [*om. P*] semper pigri" (*Confiteor*, Paris, BnF lat. 9430, ed. Martène, 1:775–
76; London, British Library Egerton 3763, ed. Heiming, 402).

Genua mea ad fornicationem potius quam ad orationem libenter flexi.
In femoribus et in genitalibus meis supra modum in omnibus me inmunditiis
contaminare non metui, et reum me omni hora peregi.
30 Venter meus et viscera omnia crapula sunt iugiter et ebrietate distenta.
In renibus et lumbis inlusione diabolica ac flamma libidinis turpissimo ardeo
desiderio. Latera enim mea luxuriam malitiae non formidant perpetrare. [?]
Dorsum meum ad iniqua roboravi opera, et collum in carnali erexi superbia.

---

27 potius *om. M1* (*prius sed corr.*)   ad[2] *om. Ryl*   orationem] adorationem *Orl*
libenter *Ber Gal Orv Pal Pa2 Tre A Ar1 Ar2 Chi Orl Ves Z* : *om. Co2 Opf Pa3 Ryl Tur Ang
Aru Bar Bur ChB Dur G2 Gen Got M1 Se1 Se2*   flexi] inflexi *Tur Ang*   28 et in] et *Ber
Gal Orv Tre*   meis] *add.* membris *M1* (*prius sed eras.*) : *om. Orv*   me *om. Pa3 Ar1 Bar
Chi Se1 Se2*   29 contaminare] contaminari *Pa2 Pa3 Bar Chi* : me contaminare *Ar1*
metui] timui *Orv*   reum] ream *Gal* (*al. man.*)   omni] in omni *Ber* : per omni *Se1 Se2*
peregi] perego *Ar1* (*prius sed corr.*) : perfeci *Aru* : feci *Chi*   30 viscera omnia] viscera omni
Tre Aru Chi Z : omnia v. *Tur* (*ex* omnia v. mea) : v. mea omnia *Gal A Bur G2 Gen Got* : v. m.
omni *Dur* : v. m. *Ar2 Ves*   crapula *sup. lin. Gen*   sunt . . . ebrietate] et ebrietate iugiter
sunt *Aru*   distenta] *add.* et non ieiunia *A*   31 renibus] *add.* meis *A*   et] *add.* in *Tur
Ang Ar1 Bar Chi G2 Gen Got Se1 Se2 Z*   inlusione *om. Pal*   inlusione . . . libidinis *om.
Ves*   flamma libidinis] flamina libidinis *Opf* : flammae l. *Pa2* : flammis l. *G2* : l. flamma
Aru   ardeo] arsi *A*   31–32 desiderio] amore *Chi*   32 Latera] Latere *Pal*   enim
om. A Aru Bur Dur   mea] meae *Pal*   luxuriam malitiae] luxuriae malitiam *Opf* (*al.
man.*) : luxuriam militiae *Ves*   formidant] formidaverunt *A*   perpetrare] impetrare *A* :
penetrare *Ves*   33 roboravi] robora *Co2* (*prius sed corr.*) : laboravi *Ang* : curvavi *Aru Bur
Dur Ves*   collum] *add.* meum *Co2 Opf Ang Ar1 ChB Gen M1 Orl* : *add.* dura cervice *A* :
add. durae cervicis *Ves*   superbia] *add.* et *Co2* (*prius sed corr.*)

---

29 reum . . . peregi: cf. *Benedicti Regula* 7.64, ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 32.1 (Vienna, 1907),
51, "Reum se omni hora de peccatis suis aestimans."
31 lumbis inlusione: cf. Ps 37:8, "quoniam lumbi mei impleti sunt inlusionibus."   in-
lusione diabolica: cf., e.g., Joh. Cassianus, *Conlationes* 22 (De nocturnis inlusionibus) 3.6,
ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13 (1886), 618, "diabolica factione haec euenire credatur inlusio";
Benedicti Regula 53.5, ed. Hanslik, 136, "Quod pacis osculum non prius offeratur, nisi ora-

---

26–27 crura . . . flexi: "Cubitos meos [Cubita mea et *P*] crura et genua plus iugiter [*om. P*]
inclinavi ad luxuriam et fornicationem [ad f. et l. . . . . *P*] quam ad orationem [ad adorationem
L]" (ibid., ed. Martène, 1:775; ed. Heiming, 402).
28–29 In femoribus . . . contaminare: "In femoribus et genitalibus [*add.* membris *P*] impie
et scelerate supra modum sum pollutus et coinquinatus" (ibid.).
30–32 Venter . . . desiderio: "Venter meus et viscera mea [in *L*] omni crapula et [*om. P*]
ebrietate sunt distenta [iugiter *L*]. In renibus et lumbis [renes mei lumbique mei *P*] inlusione
diabolica ac [et *L*] flamma libidinis turpissimo ardeo [ardent *P*] desiderio" (ibid.).
32 Latera . . . perpetrare: "Latera mea luxuriae malitiam [malitiam luxuriae *P*] perpetrare
non formidant [non formidant penetrare *L*]" (ibid., ed. Martène, 1:776; ed. Heiming, 402).
33 collum . . . superbia: "collum meum in carnali erexi superbia" (ibid., ed. Martène, 1:775;
ed. Heiming, 402).

Humera mea ad portanda nequitiae onera subdidi,
35   et brachia inlecebrosis iugiter amplexibus praebui.
Manus meae plenae sunt sanguine omnibusque sordibus sunt pollutae,
promptae ad omne opus pravum, pigrae ad aliquid operandum bonum.
Os meum nefario pollutum est osculo et iniqua est concupiscentia maculatum,
verbisque luxuriosis ac fabulis otiosis superabundanter me et mendacio coinqui-

---

34 Humera mea] (H)umeros meos *Gal Pa1 Ang Ar2 Aru Bar Bur Chi Dur G2 Se1 Se2* :
Humeri mei *M1*   portanda] portandum *Pa3 Ar2 Dur Se1 Se2 Z* : portandam *Ber Orv*
nequitiae] nequitia *Bar* : onera *Bur Dur*   onera] opera *Co2* : nequitiae *Bur Dur*   subdidi]
subditi *M1*   35 brachia] *add.* mea *Ang Ar2 Aru M1*   inlecebrosis iugiter] incelebrosis
iugiter *Co2* : iugiter inlecebrosis *Ar1* : illecebris iugiter *Ang*   36 plenae . . . sanguine]
sanguine plenae sunt *A*   plenae] planae *Bur (prius sed corr.)*   omnibusque . . . sunt]
omnibusque sordibus *Co2 Orv* : omnibusque sunt sordibus *Gal A Ar1 Ar2 Ves Z* : omnibus
quae sunt sordibus *Pa1 Pa2* :omnibus sordibus sunt *Chi Se2 (prius sed corr.)*   37 omne
om. A   aliquid] aliquod *Co2 Tur Ang Aru Bur G2 Got Orl*   operandum bonum *inv. Ang
Dur*   bonum] boni *A Chi* : *om. Gal*   38 nefario] nefarium *Orv* : nefari *Gen* : *add.* et
libidinoso *Dur* : *om. A*   pollutum est] pollutus est *Co2 (prius sed corr.)* : *add.* nefario *A*
est[2] *om. Pa3 Ryl Tur A Bar Se1 Se2 Ves*   concupiscentia] concupiscentiam *Gal* :
concupiscentia est *A*   39 ac . . . otiosis *om. Ryl Ang*   superabundanter]
superhabundantes *M1*   me] meo *Bar Chi Se1 Se2* : *om. Gen*   et *om. A (eras.) Aru*
mendacio] menditatio *M1* : *add.* nimis *Ves*   39–40 coinquinavi] coinquinavit *Ber Co2
Opf (prius sed corr.) Pa2 Tre (prius sed corr.) Ar1 Aru Bur (prius sed corr.) Dur Orl Z*

---

tione praemissa propter inlusiones diabolicas."
    34 Humera . . . subdidi: cf. Gen 49:15, "et subposuit umerum suum ad portandum."
    36 Manus . . . pollutae: cf. Is 1:15, "manus vestrae sanguine plenae sunt"; Is 59:3, "manus
enim vestrae pollutae sunt sanguine."
    37 promptae . . . bonum: cf. Isidorus, *Sententiae* 3.50.7, ed. P. Cazier, CCL 111 (1998),
303, "sicut prompti sunt sequi reges in malum, sic pigri sunt imitari illos in bonum."   omne
. . . pravum: Jac 3:16.
    39 verbisque luxuriosis: cf., e.g., Caesarius, *Sermones* 13.4, 16.3, 44.4, 141.1, 193.2, ed. G.
Morin, CCL 103–4 (1953).   fabulis otiosis: cf., e.g., Caesarius, *Sermones,* passim.

35–37 brachia . . . bonum: "Brachia mea inlecebrosis amplexibus iugiter praebui et pollui.
Manus meae plenae sunt sanguine, omnibusque [et omnibus quae *L*] sunt sordibus . . . macu-
latae [*add.* et *L*] coinquinatae et pollutae [et p. *om. L*], semper [semperque *P*] promptae ad
omne malum et tardae ad omne opus [*om. L*] bonum" (ibid.; et vid. supra loc. cit. ad 21–22,
"Pedes . . . ad omne opus dei [*om. P*] semper pigri").
    37 promptae . . . bonum: "(Precor te et suppliciter rogo spiritus . . .) erga bona piger, ad
mala promptissimus" (*Se1* 73r–v).
    38–40 Os . . . coinquinavi: "os meum nefando coinquinatum et pollutum est osculo, et ver-
bis luxuriosis et otiosis mendacibusque" (*Confiteor,* Paris, BnF lat. 9430, ed. Martène, 1:775).
    39 verbisque . . . otiosis: "(Confiteor tibi, domine, pater caeli et terrae . . .) in verbis otiosis,
superfluis, luxuriosis atque contumeliosis" (*Esc* 122v; *Maz* 110v; *Pal* 53r; *Gen* 185r; *Ars* 10v,
ed. Martini, 15).

40   navi, gulae semper et ebrietati deditus, carnalibus numquam desideriis satiatus,
      sed et lingua mea omni est fallacia profanata.
      Guttur meum insatiabili semper ardet ingluvie.
      Aures meae dolosis sunt obtunsae loquelis,
      promptae ad omne malum, surdae ad omne bonum.
45   In naribus namque saepius iniquis delectatus sum odoribus, in quibus etiam
      putredinem delictorum minime horrui.
      Quid igitur dicam de oculis, qui omnibus me criminibus [?] fecerunt obnoxium,

---

   40–41 gulae . . . profanata *om. Ber Orv Tre*   40 gulae] gula *A G2 Got*   semper *om.*
Aru Bur Dur   ebrietati] ebrietate *Gal Pa2 Ryl Tur (prius sed corr.) A Ar2 G2 Got Sel (prius
sed corr.)*   deditus] dedita *Gal* : deditum *A Sel Se2 Ves* : semper deditum *Bur Dur*
carnalibus . . . desideriis] carnalibus desideriis numquam *Co2 Ar2 Ves Z* : carnalibus numquam
desideria *Gal* : c. numque desideriis *Ar1* : numquam c. d. *Aru*   satiatus] satiata *Gal* :
satiatum *A Bur Dur Sel Se2 Ves* : satiatus sum *Aru*   41 omni est] omni *Chi* : detractione est
et *G2 Got Orl (add.* omni *al. man.)* : omnem *Se2* : *om. A*   fallacia] fallacio *Gal Ar2 Aru
Got* : *om. A*   profanata] promota *Bar Sel Se2* : commota *Chi* : inlicita protulit et licita tacuit
A   42 meum insatiabili] meum *(ex* mea*)* insatiabilis *Orv*   ingluvie] ingluvio *Ang*
43 meae] me *Ber*   dolosis] dolosae *Ber Orv Ryl (al. man.) Tre Bar Bur (prius) Chi Ves Z* :
dolosi *Opf (prius sed corr.) Pa3 (prius sed corr.) Ryl (prius) Bur (al. man.) Gen (prius sed
corr.) Sel Se2* : plenae dolore *A* : sacris *M1 (al. man.)*   sunt obtunsae] sunt obtusae *Co2
Opf (prius sed corr.) Ryl Aru Bur Dur M1 (al. man.)* : obtusae *Ar1* : obtunsae *Chi* : obtusae
sunt *G2 Got Orl*   44 ad omne[1]] ad audiendum ad *(eras.)* omne *A*   omne[2]] omnem *Ves*
45 In[1] *om. Aru*   namque] meis *Aru*   saepius] saepe *Ar2*   45–72 iniquis *usq. finem
deficit in Ar1*   43 delectatus] delectata *Gal*   in quibus *om. M1 (prius sed corr.)*
46 putredinem] putredine *Sel Se2*   delictorum] *add.* meorum *Gal Pa1 (al. man.) Pa2
Ryl (al. man.) Ar2 Ves Z*   horrui] exhorrui *Aru*   47 Quid] Qui *Gal (prius sed corr.)*
igitur] *add.* domine *Pa2 Aru*   oculis] *add.* meis *Aru Ves*   omnibus me criminibus *Co2
Gal Ang Bur Dur* : o. meis criminibus *Gal* : o. criminibus me *Pa1 Tur Aru* : multis me
criminibus *G2 Got Orl* : o. me hominibus *Ber Orv Pa2 Ryl Tre Ar2 Z* : o. me malis *Bar Chi
Sel Se2* : omnibus me *Opf Pa3 ChB Gen M1* : in omnibus me *A Ves*

---

   40 gulae . . . deditus: cf., e.g., Gregorius, *Regula pastoralis* 3.1, 3.19   carnalibus . . .
satiatus: cf. Chromatius, *Tractatus* 17.5, CCL 9A:294, "numquam . . . carnis desideriis satiuntur."
   41 omni . . . fallacia: cf. Act 13:10, "o plene omni dolo et omni fallacia fili diaboli."
   47 omnibus . . . obnoxium: cf., e.g., Caesarius, *Sermo* 79.3, CCL 103:327, "cum nos mul-

---

   40 gulae . . . deditus: ("Quaeso te apostole . . .) Voragini gulae atque luxuriae deditus fui"
(Maz 73r).   gulae . . . satiatus: "gulae et ebrietati deditus sum, carnalibusque desideriis
numquam satiatus" *(Confiteor,* Paris, BnF lat. 9430, ed. Martène, 1:775).
   42 Guttur . . . ingluvie: "Guttur meum insatiabili ardet ingluvie" (ibid.).
   43–44 Aures . . . bonum: "aures meae obtunsae sunt malis loquelis [sunt loquelae *L* : *add.*
et *P*] surdae ad omne bonum" (ibid.; London, British Library Egerton 3763, ed. Heiming, 402).
   45 In . . . odoribus: "In naribus meis iniquos odores recepi" *(Confiteor,* Paris, BnF lat.
9430, ed. Martène, 1:775).

omnemque sensum cordis mei averterunt, quibus in omni consensi libidine,
qui et me quamvis raro in sanctuario tuo,
50 te, domine, adorantem intuitu perverterunt iniquo,
omnemque motum corporis mei ad inmunda pertraxerunt desideria?
Caput vero meum omnibus supereminens membris
raro umquam ad te dominum creatorem incurvavi,
sed etiam ceteris membris in omni malitia consentaneum feci.
55 Cor meum plenum dolo et malitia numquam pura purgavi poenitentia,

---

48 omnemque sensum] omneque sensum *Orv* : omnem sensum *Ryl* (*prius sed corr.*)
averterunt] everterunt *Gal Bar Sel* (*al. man.*) *Se2* : everterunt in *Chi* : perverterunt *Pal* (*al.
man.*)   omni] omnem *Orv*   consensi libidine] c. bilidine *Gal* : c. libidinem *Orv* : c.
libinini *Ryl* : libidine c. *A Aru*   49 in *om. Ber*   50 te domine *Ber Co2 Gal Orv Pal* (*al.
man.*) *Pa2 Ryl Tre Ar2 Bur Dur G2 Got Orl Ves Z* : domine te *Opf Pa3 Tur A Aru Bar* (*al.
man.*) *ChB Chi Gen M1 Sel Se2* : domine *Pal* (*prius*) *Ang Bar* (*prius*)   adorantem]
adorante *Pal Pa3* : adorandum intrantem *Bar Chi Sel Se2*   perverterunt] pervenerunt *Ryl*
iniquo] inique *Orv*   51 corporis] cordis *Ar2*   52 Caput vero] Caput *Gal Aru Dur* :
Caput verum *Pa2* (*prius sed corr.*) : Caputve *Orl*   meum *om. G2 Got*   supereminens]
semper eminens *Ber Orv*   membris] *add.* meis *Bar* (*prius sed corr.*)   53–54 raro
. . .membris *om. Chi*   53 umquam] numquam *A*   ad te dominum *Co2 Gal Ryl Aru Bur
Got* : ad te domine *Ber Orv Pal* (*prius* a te dom.) *Pa2 Tre Ar2 G2 Z* : ad te deum *Esc Opf Tur
A Ang Bar ChB M1 Sel Se2 Ves* : domine ad te *Orl* : ad te *Pa3* : ad dominum *Dur*   crea-
torem] creatore *Ber* : *add.* meum *Gal Opf* (*al. man.*) *Pal Pa2 M1 Orl Z Ves* : *om. Ar2 Bar Sel
Se2*   incurvavi] curvavi *Ryl* (*al. man.*) : inclinavi *G2 Got Orl*   54 sed] *add.* insuper *Gal*
etiam] et *M1* (*al. man.*)   ceteris] ceteri *Gal* : in ceteris *Bar Sel Se2*   membris] *add.* meis
Ar2 : *om. Pa3*   in omni *om. A*   malitia] *add.* me *Aru*   54–72 malitia *usq. finem om.
Bar* (*utitur fine aliae orationis*)   54–55 consentaneum . . . malitia²] cor meum plenum dolo
et malitia consentaneum feci *M1* (*al. man.*)   54 consentaneum feci] consentaneus fui *Sel
Se2*   55 plenum] pleno *Ves*   plenum dolo et malitia] dolo et malitia plenum *Esc*
dolo] omni dolo *Ar2* : est dolo *Chi* : dolum *Sel* (*al. man.*)   malitia] nequitia *Orl* (*al. man.*)
numquam] raro umquam *G2 Got*   pura] puram *Orv Sel* : *om. Dur*   poenitentia]
poenitentiam *Orv Chi*

---

tis peccatis et criminibus sentiamus obnoxios"; Isidorus, *Sententiae* 3.46.20b, CCL 111:294,
"cum ipsi maximis criminibus obnoxii teneantur, minora peccata fratribus non dimittunt."
55 Cor . . . dolo: cf. Eccli 1:40, "et cor tuum plenum est dolo et fallacia."

52–54 Caput . . . incurvavi: "Caput vero [*om. P*] meum, omnibus supereminens [quod
supereminet omnibus *P*] membris [*add.* meis *P*], plus humiliter ad homines quam ad te crea-
torem meum incurvavi [plus hominibus quam tibi creatori meo humiliavi *P*], et ceteris membris
[cetera membra *P*] in omni malitia consentaneum [consentanea *P*] feci" (ibid.; London, British
Library Egerton 3763, ed. Heiming, 402).
55–59 Cor . . . intelligo: "Cor meum plenum est dolo et omni malitia . . . numquam eum
pura purgavi poenitentia [numquam illud vera ablui confessione *L*], sed semper diabolica [*add.*
illud *P*] pollui inlusione, et vera non ablui confessione [et . . . confessione *om. L*]. Non enim

semperque diabolica pollui inlusione, numquam vera ablui confessione.
Non enim haec narrans tuam, domine, in me blasphemo creaturam,
sed meam a te, piissime deus, exposco medicinam,
qui etiam in omnibus membris meis me reum intelligo super mensuram,
60   quia ut astra caeli atque harena maris mea ita innumerabilia cognosco delicta.
Insuper etiam ira, tristitia, acedia, iactantia atque desidia

---

56 semperque] saepiusque *G2 Got* : saepeque *Orl* : sed semper *Ves*   semperque ...
confessione] numquam vera ablui confessione, sed diabolica semper pollui inlusione *Aru*
pollui] pollutus *Tur (prius sed corr.)* : pollutum *Dur*   inlusione] lusione *Orv*   numquam]
et numquam *Chi Se2* : nec satis *G2 Got Orl (prius)*   numquam ... confessione *om. Ang Ves*
Z (prius sed corr. in marg.)   vera] veram *Orv*   confessione] confessionem *Ar2*
57 domine in me] in me domine *Ang M1*   blasphemo] blapshemo *Sel Se2* : blasphemio *Gal*
58 meam *om. Ang Ryl (spatium)*   a] ad *Esc Gal Opf Ar2 ChB Gen M1 Z*   piissime deus
inv. Pal Pa2 Gal M1 (prius sed corr.)   59 qui] quia *Chi*   qui ... meis] quia ANS
etiam] *add.* me *G2 Got* : *om. Chi Sel Se2*   omnibus *om. Ar2*   membris meis *inv. Ang G2*
Got : membris singulis *Ar2* : membris et sensibus meis *Chi Sel Se2*   me *om. Ar2 G2 Got*
intelligo] esse intelligo *Ryl (al. man.)* : me esse intelligo *Ar2* : intelligo esse *Aru*   super]
supra *Aru Bur Dur* ANS : et super *Sel Se2* : usquequaque supra *Ves*   mensuram] modum *Ves*
60 quia] et quia *Chi Sel Se2*   harena] arenam *Ang ChB* ANS   mea *om. Co2 Ves*   mea
ita *inv. Gal Tur Aru Bur Chi Dur G2 Sel Se2* ANS   innumerabilia] *add.* mea esse *Co2* : *add.*
esse *Tur Ang Aru Bur Dur G2 Got Orl* ANS : *add.* mea *Ves*   cognosco] agnosco *Ber Gal*
Orv Pal Pa2 Tre Ves   ira] rixa *Ang* : ita *Orl*   61 iactantia] *add.* avaritia *G2 Got Orl* :
om. Gal   atque desidia] atque desideria *Opf (prius sed corr.)* : atque superbia *Ar2* : desidia
atque *Aru* : atque desiderio *G2 Got*

---

58 exposco medicinam: cf. Caesarius, *Sermo* 52.5, CCL 103:232, "non de ecclesiae medi-
cina, non de auctore salutis exposcunt"; cf. "Deus, qui confitentium tibi corda purificas ...
medicinam tribue vuleratis" (supra ad 3–4).
60 harena ... delicta: cf. *Oratio Manasse,* in *Biblia sacra,* Appendix, ed. R. Weber (Stutt-
gart, 1969), 2:1909, "Quoniam peccavi super numerum harenae maris multiplicatae sunt ini-
quitates meae"; cf. Gen 22:17; 2 Sam 17:11.

---

haec [hoc *P*] narrans et confitens, domine Iesu Christe, tuam in me blasphemo creaturam, sed
veram a [ad *L*] te, clementissime pater, exposco medicinam, quia me graviter vulneratum intel-
ligo supra mensuram [*om. s. m. P*]" (ibid., ed. Martène, 1:776; Heiming, 402).
60 ut astra ... delicta: "(Pater peccavi ...) peccavi domine super numerum arenae maris et
multiplicata sunt peccata mea" (Cambridge Univ. Ll.1.10, 50r–51v, ed. A. P. Kuypers, *The
Book of Cerne* [Cambridge, 1902], 99–102); "(Domine deus omnipotens pater qui es omnium
rerurm creator ...) multiplicata sunt delicta mea velut harena quae est in litore maris" (London,
British Library Royal 2.A.xx, 28v, ed. Kuypers, ibid., 213); "(Libera me, domine...) quia
sicut harena quae est litore maris, ita multiplicata sunt super me peccata" (*Se2* 178r);
"(Domine, Ihesu Christe, qui fecisti caelum et terram ...) quia sic sunt peccata mea sicut
stellae caeli et sicut harena quae est in litore maris" (*Sel* 59r; *Z* 188v); "(Domine deus omni-
potens, pius et misericors ...) innumerabilia et graviora sunt peccata mea super harena maris"
(*Maz* 117r).

omnibusque octo principalibus vitiis obnoxium me esse profiteor.

Sed tu, domine, occultorum cognitor, qui dixisti poenitentiam te malle pecca-
torum quam mortem, tibi omnia cordis mei revelabo arcana.

65   Respice in me et miserere mei, fontemque lacrimarum et remissionem om-
nium peccatorum intima mihi cordis confessione tribue poscenti. Renova in

---

62 omnibusque] omnibus *Esc* (*prius sed corr.*) *Aru Ml* : inmundo omnibusque *G2* : *om.*
Dur ANS   octo] unde ANS : *om. Ml* (*prius sed corr.*)   principalibus vitiis *inv. Chi*
obnoxium] obnoxum *Gal Opf* (*prius sed corr.*) : obnoxoum *Tre* (*prius sed corr.*) : obnoxiam *Z*
me] *add.* scio et *Aru* : *om. Ang*   63 tu . . . cognitor] tibi domino occulorum cognitori *Gal*
domine . . . cognitor *om.* ANS   63–64 dixisti . . . arcana] non vis mortem peccatoris ANS
63 dixisti] dignatus es dicere *Ar2*   poenitentiam] *add.* potius *Gal*   te malle *inv. G2* :
mallo *Tre*   63–64 peccatorum] pectorum *Esc* : *om. Aru Dur*   64 mortem] morte *Ar2*
tibi *om. Gal*   revelabo *Ber Co2 Esc Opf Orv Pa3* (*al. man.*) *G2 Got Sel Se2* : revelo *Pal*
Pa2 Ryl Tur A Ang Ar2 Aru Bar Bur ChB Dur Ml Orl Ves Z : revolo *Gal* : relabo *Pa3* (*prius*) :
revelabor *Tre* : revelavi *Chi*   65 Respice] *add.* domine *Aru*   et *om. Gal*   65–72 mei
. . . Amen] miseri huius ANS   65 fontemque] fontem *Gen* (*prius sed corr.*)   65–
66 omnium] *add.* tribue *Co2* : *om. Ml*   omnium peccatorum *inv. Ang*   66 peccatorum]
add. meorum *Ber Orv Pal Pa2 Tre Ar2 Z* : *add.* meorum atque *Gal* : *add.* et *Pa3* : *add.* atque
Aru : *add.* meorum hac *Ves*   intima . . . confessione] intima mihi confessione

---

63 occultorum cognitor: cf., e.g., *Ge* 2177 *Ph* 1389 *En* 1944 *Ha* 847.

63–64 qui . . . mortem: *Va* 81 *Sg* 249 *Ge* 269 *Ph* 282 *En* 274 (cf. Ex 33:11).

64 revelo arcana: cf., e.g., Prov 11:13, "qui ambulat fraudulenter, revelat arcana."

65 Respice . . . mei: Ps 24:16; Ps 85:16   fontemque lacrimarum: cf., e.g., Jer 9:1, "quis
dabit capiti meo et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum."

65–70 remissionem . . . admitte: *Va* 367 *Ge* 604 2891 *Ph* 1913 *En* 621, "(Deus miseri-
cors, deus clemens, qui indulgentiam tuam [multitudine indulgentiarum tuarum *Ge* 2891 *Ph*]
nulla [-um *Va Ge* 604] temporum lege concludis [-eris *Ge* 2891 *Ph*], . . . respice propicius
super hunc famulum tuum) remissionem sibi omnium peccatorum tota cordis confessione pos-
centem. Renoua in eum [eo *Ph*], piissime pater, quod actione, quod uerbo, quod ipsa denique
[de inique *Ge* 604] cogitacione diabolica fraude uiciatum [uiolatum *Ge* 2891] est, et unitate   [-
ti *Ph*] corporis aeclesiae membrum tuae redemptionis adnecte. Miserere gemituum, miserere
lacrimarum, et non habentem fiduciam nisi in misericordia tua ad sacramentum reconciliationis
admitte, quia. . . ." Cf. *Va* 364 *Ge* 601 2888 *Ph* 1910 *En* 618 *Be* 1500, *Liber ordinum*, ed. M.
Férotin, 92, 103–4.

66 intima . . . confessione: cf. Hieronymus, *In Naum prophetam* 2.3/7, ed. M. Adriaen,
CCL 76A (1970), 547.198–99, "ex intimo confessionis corde credentes."

---

62 octo . . . profiteor: "(O clementissime . . .) Octo etiam principalibus vitiis me obnoxium
esse confiteor, id est gulae, fornicationi, avaritiae, irae, tristitiae, acediae, vana gloriae atque
superbiae" (*Se2* 23v, ed. Morinus, *Commentarius,* 573).

63–64 qui . . . mortem: "Domine sancte pater omnipotens et misericors deus, qui dixisti
poenitentiam te malle peccatorum quam mortem" (*Orl* [PL 101:1407]); "Domine Ihesu Christe,
mitissime deus, qui dixisti poenitentiam te malle peccatorum quam mortem" (ibid., 1414]).

me, piissime pater, quicquid actione, quod verbo, quod ipsa denique cogita-
tione diabolica fraude vitiatum est, et unitati corporis ecclesiae membrum
tuae redemptionis adnecte, et non habentem fiduciam nisi in tua misericordia
70   ad sacramentum tuae reconciliationis admitte. Per Ihesum Christum unigeni-
tum filium tuum dominum et salvatorem nostrum, qui tecum una cum sancto
spiritu unus est dominus per inmortalia regnans saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Co2 M1 : intimam mihi cordis confessionem *Ber Esc Gal Opf Pa3 Tre Tur Tre A Gen (prius
sed corr.)* : intimam cordis confessionem mihi *Aru ChB* : intima cordis *Chi* : intimamque mihi
cordis confessionem *Bur Dur* : intima cordis confessione *Ves* : intimamque cordis confessio-
nem *Ner*   tribue] et intentione tribue *Gal* : *om. Co2*   66–67 Renova in me *Ber Orv Pal
Pa2 Ryl Tre A Ang Ar2 Bar G2 Ves Z* : Renova innova in me *Co2 Pa3 Got Orl* : Renova
innova *Esc Opf ChB Gen M1 (prius sed corr.)* : R. et invoca in me *Gal* : R. in me innova *Tur
(prius sed corr.)* : R. atque innova in me *Aru Bur Dur Ner* : R. et innova in me *Chi Sel Se2* :
67 actione] actio *Ar2* : verbo *Chi Sel Se2*   quod verbo] quicquid verbo *Gal Aru Bur Dur
Ner* : vel verbo *Orv* : quicquid actione *Chi Sel Se2* : quo verbo *Gen*   quod²] quicquid *Aru
Bur Chi Dur Sel Se2 Ner* : quid *Gen*   ipsa denique *inv. Pal Pa2 Ar2 Chi Ves Z* : denique
in *Gal* : ipsa *Aru* : ipsis denique *M1*   67–68 cogitatione] locutione *Aru* : cogitationibus *M1*
68 vitiatum est] vitiatum vel humana fragilitate corrumptum *Ar2* : violatum est *Aru* : vitiatus
sum *Se2 (al. man.)*   unitati] unitatis *Esc* : unitate *Ber Orv Pa3 Ryl (prius sed corr.) Tre
Ang (prius sed corr.) Sel Se2*   corporis] corpori *Gal* : *om. Orv Sel Se2*   ecclesiae]
ecclesiae ecclesiae *Ner*   membrum *om. Ang*   69 habentem] habeo *Se2 (al. man.)*   in
om. Esc (prius sed corr.)   tua misericordia] tuam misericordiam *Ber Co2 Esc Pa2 Ryl (prius
sed corr.) Tre G2 Got Z*   70 tuae *om. Ves*   reconciliationis] *add.* placatus *Ar2* : re-
conciliationibus *Ner*   70–72 Ihesum . . . Amen *om. Ang*   70 Ihesum] dominum *G2*
unigenitum] unicum *A ChB*   70–71 filium tuum *inv. Tur (prius sed corr.)* : *om. ChB*
71 dominum et] dominum nostrum et *Ryl* : et *ChB* : Ihesum *G2* : *om. Aru*   nostrum *om. Ryl*
una cum] una *Ryl* : et cum *Ar2 Aru* : et *Bur Dur*   71–72 una . . . Amen *deficit in M1*
71 sancto spiritu *inv. Esc Pal Pa3 Tre Tur Aru ChB Chi Dur Gen Ner*   spiritu *om. Ar2*
71–72 unus est dominus] unus est deus *Gal Sel* : unus dominus *Orv* : unus est deus unus est
dominus *Ar2 G2 Got Orl (cf. Va 680 Sg 847 Ge 1065 Sp 1621)* : unus *Aru* : unus es deus *Se2*
72 per inmortalia regnans] per inmortalia *Pal (prius) A G2* : vivit et regnat deus per inmortalia
Aru   saecula saeculorum] in saecula saeculorum *Ber Co2 Gal* : saecula *Ar2 Aru*   Amen]
add. EXPLICIT CONFESSIO PECCATORUM PURA ALCUINI *Opf* : EXPLICIT CONFESSIO PURA
Tre : *om. Aru Bur (prius sed corr.)*

67–68 ipsa . . . cogitatione: cf. Augustinus, *De trinitate* 15.9.16, ed. W. J. Mountain, Fr.
Glorie, CCL 50A (1968), 483, "sicut ipsa denique cogitatio cogitatur."
70–71 unigenitum . . . nostrum: cf. *Sg* 88 *Ph* 93 *En* 94 *Sp* 1523, "mittendo nobis uni-
genitum tuum [filium tuum dominum et *Sg (sup. lin.) Sp*] saluatorum nostrum."

67–68 quicquid . . . est: "(Domine ihesu christe exaudi me ad te clamantem . . .) quicquid
in me diabolica fraude vitiatum vel humana fragilitate corruptum est, renove" (*Maz* 75r).

INCIPIUNT PSALMI DE POENITENTIA NUMERO VII

Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me I. KYRIELEISON, PATER NOSTER, ET PRE-
CES. CAPITULA VERSUUM:

Domine convertere et eripe animam meam; salvum me fac propter miseri-
5   cordiam tuam.

Respice et exaudi me, domine deus meus; inlumina oculos meos ne umquam
obdormiam in morte, nequando dicat inimicus meus: Praevalui adversus eum.

Ab occultis meis munda me, domine, et ab alienis parce servo tuo.

Ber Col Co2 Esc Gal Ivr Maz Opf Orv Pa1 Pa2 Pa3 Pa4 Ryl Tit Tre Tur | Ars Ful Mun Tu2

1–35 *(usq.* tibi) *deficit in Maz*   1 INCIPIUNT . . . VII *Ber Esc Orv Pa3 Ryl Tre* : IN-
CIPIUNT PSALMI PENITENTIALES NUMERO VII *Col* : INCIPIUNT ORATIONES DE SEPTEM
PAENITENTIALIBUS PSALMIS *Co2* : INCIPIUNT PSALMI PAENITENTIALES ET ORATIONES
Ivr : SEQUUNTUR PSALMI POENITENTIALES VII *Opf* : PSALMI POENITENTIALES VII ITA
CANENDI *Pa1* : *add.* QUAE UNAQUAEQUE ANIMA QUAE DEO PLACERE DESIDERAT PRO
REMISSIONE PECCATORUM SUORUM CANERE DEBET *Pa3* : ORATIONES ET CAPITULA DE
VII PSALMIS PENITENTIALIBUS *Pa4* : POST PSALM. DE PENITENTIA NUMERO VII *Tur* : Si vis
pro peccatis tuis paenitentiam agere . . . (=*De laude psalmorum,* ll. 141–55). Deus in adiu-
torium meum intende TRIBUS VICIBUS *Pa2* : Si vis pro peccatis tuis paenitentiam agere . . .
(=*De laude psalmorum,* ll. 141–51) *P2* : . . . decant (cantat *Ful*) septem subiectos (*inv. Mun*)
poenitentiae psalmos cum capitulis et precibus sibi (sibimet *Tu2*) conexis *Ars Ful Mun Tu2* :
om. Gal Tit   2–36 Domine . . . mea *om. P2*   2 Domine . . . I *om. Co2*   2 Domine]
praem. PSALM. *Pa2 Ars Tu2* : *praem.* PRIMUM *Tur*   furore tuo] ira tua *Ful*   I] PRIMO
Ber Pa4 Tre : TOTUM *Esc* : USQUE IN FINEM (*post lacunam) Gal* : *totus psalmus Opf* : *add.*
Gloria *Pa3* : neque in ira tua corripias me. Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus sum ET
CETERA *Ryl* : HINC *Tur* : *om. Pal Tit Tu2*   2–9 KYRIELEISON . . . COLLECTA *om. Co2 Ivr*
2 KYRIELEISON] *add.* Christe eleison *Col* : *add.* Christeleison Kyrieleison Christe audi nos
Gal : *add.* iii *Tit* : *add.* C. e. K. e. TER *Ful* : *om. Opf*   PATER NOSTER] ORATIO DOMINICA
Pa3 : *add.* qui es in caelis *Tre* : *om. Opf Pal*   2–3 ET PRECES] UT SUPRA *Opf* : PRECES
Orv Tit : DEINDE PRECES *Ful* : *om. Gal Pa4 Tu2*   3 CAPITULA VERSUUM *Ber Pal* :
CAPITULA ET VERSUS *Orv* : CAPITULA ET VERSUUM *Pa2* : CAPITULA *Pa4* : CAPITULUM ET
PRECES *Tu2* : ET CAPITULUM *Ful* : SALVUM (*transp. Ps 6:5b?*) *Esc* : *om. Col Gal Opf Pa3
Ryl Tit Tur Ars Mun*   4 Domine] *praem.* Ego dixi domine miserere mei *Pa4*   6 et . . .
meus] in me et exaudi *Orv*   deus meus *om. Ars*   inlumina] *praem.* et reliqua *Pa4*
meos *om. Orv*   7 morte *Ber Col Esc Gal Opf Ryl Tit Tur Ful* : mortem *Tre*   meus *Ber
Col Gal Opf Ryl Tur* : *om. Tur*   eum *Ber Col Gal Opf Ryl Tit Tur* : eam *Tre* (*prius sed
corr.*)   8 meis] mei *Pa4*

---

2 Ps 6 (furore tuo=*Gall* : ira tua [*Ful*]=*Rom*).

4–5 Ps 6:5 (Domine convertere] Convertere domine *Gall* : Convertere *Rom* ‖ et=*Rom et al.*
Gall : *om. Gall*).

6–7 Ps 12:4–5 (morte [*Ber Col Esc Gal Opf Ryl Tit Tur Ful*]=*al. Gall et al. Rom* : mortem
[*Tre*]=*Gall Rom*).

8 Ps 18:13–14 (domine=*Rom* : *om. Gall*).

COLLECTA: Exauditor omnium deus, exaudi nostrorum fletuum supplicem
10   vocem, et tribue infirmitatibus nostris perpetem sospitatem, ut dum dignanter
gemitum nostri laboris suscipis, tua nos semper misericordia consoleris. Per.

ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS: Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates. KYRIELEISON,
PATER NOSTER, ET PRECES.
Delicta iuventutis meae et ignorantias meas ne memineris domine.
15   Secundum misericordiam tuam memento mei tu propter bonitatem tuam,
domine.
Propter nomen tuum, domine, propitiaberis peccato meo, multum est enim.

---

9 COLLECTA] ORATIO *Ber Opf Pa3 Ryl Tre Ars Ful* : add. Oremus *Gal* : praem. Domine
exaudi *Pa4* : SEQUITUR ORATIO *Tu2* : om. Mun   fletuum] fletum *Pa3 Tit Tre* : flevium *Gal*
supplicem] supplicum *Esc Tre*   10 nostris om. *Orv*   perpetem] perpetuam *Col Esc Opf*
Orv Pa3 : perpetum *Gal* : perpetuum *Tit*   sospitatem] firmitatem *Esc Opf* (ex infirmitatem)
11 suscipis *in marg. Ryl*   semper om. *Tur*   misericordia] misericordiam *Tit*
consoleris] consolaris *Pa4* (*prius sed corr.*)   Per] add. dominum *Opf Pal Ars* : add. omnia
Gal : om. *Esc Ful*   12-19 ITEM . . . COLLECTA] ALIA *Co2* : ALIA Beati quorum remissae
sunt *Ivr*   12 ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS *Ber Ryl Tre* : ITEM PSALMUM *Esc Orv Pal* :
PSALMUS *Opf Pa4 Tit Ars Mun* : ITEM PSALM. II *Pa3* : ITEM ALIUM PSALMUM *Pa2 Tur* :
PSALMUS DAVID *Gal* : ITEM PSALM. *Tu2* : ALIUS PSALMUS PATER NOSTER ET PRECES
Ful : *Col illeg.*   Beati . . . iniquitates] add. PSALMUM TOTUM *Esc* : totus psalmus *Opf* :
add. ET CETERA *Ryl*   KYRIELEISON] add. Christeleison Kyrieleison Christe audi nos *Gal* :
add. et *Tur* : om. *Opf Col Pa3 Ful*   13 PATER NOSTER] add. Et ne nos inducas in *Gal*
: om. *Ber Opf Tit Tre Mun Tu2*   ET PRECES *Esc Pa2 Pa3 Ryl Tur Ars Mun* : UT SUPRA *Ber*
Opf : PRECES CAPITULA ET VERSUS *Orv* : ET PRECES CAPITULA *Pal* : CAPITULA Ego dixi
domine *Pa4* : PRECES *Tit* : UT SUPRA CAPITULA *Tre Tu2* : ET PRECES CAPITULUM UT
SUPRA *Ful* : om. *Col Gal*   14 Delicta] praem. Ego dixi domine *Pa4*   meae om. *Ful*
ne . . . domine *Esc Opf Ryl Tur* : ne memineris *Tit Tre* : d. n. m. *Ber* : n. m. deus *Gal*   15–
16 Secundum . . . domine om. *Ful*   15 Secundum] add. magnam *Opf*   17 domine
propitiaberis] propiaberis domine *Gal*   peccato meo *Esc Gal Opf Pa2 Ryl Tit Tur* : pecca-

---

9 Exauditor] Exaudi *Fra* (*prius sed corr.*)   nostrorum] tuorum *P2* (*prius sed corr. ad.*
nostrum*)   fletuum] fletum *P2*   9–10 supplicem vocem] supplici voce *P2*   10 per-
petem *A H Gl N Pl Z Bou Can Ryl Sub* : praepotens *D* (*prius sed corr ad.* praepotentem) :
perpetuam *ed. et rel.*   10–11 dignanter . . . laboris] gemitum nostri laboris dignanter *C*
11 nostri om. *P2*   suscipis] suspicis *A W Sub*   tua nos *inv. C*   semper om. *C H*
consoleris] consolaris *P2* (*prius sed corr.*)

---

12 Ps 31.
14 Ps 24:7 (iuventutis meae et ignorantias meas=*Gall et al. Rom* : iuventutis et ignorantiae
meae *Rom* ‖ ne memineris domine [*Esc Opf Ryl Tur*]=al. *Rom* : n. m. [*Tit Tre*]=*Gall Rom*).
15–16 Ps 24:7 (misericordiam *Gall* : magnam misericordiam [*Opf*]=*Rom* ‖ memento mei
tu=*Gall* : memor esto mei deus *Rom*).
17 Ps 24:11 (peccato meo [*Esc Gal Opf Pa2 Ryl Tit Tur*]=*Gall Rom* : peccatum meum [*Ber*
Tre]=al. *Gall* ‖ multum [*Ber Gal Opf Ryl Tit Tre Tur*]=*Gall* : copiosum *Rom*).

Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et iniustitias meas non abscondi.

COLLECTA: Sancte domine, qui remissis delictis beatitudinem te confessis
20   attribuis, exaudi vota praesentis familiae, et confractis peccati aculeis, spiritali
nos exultatione perfunde. Per.

ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS: Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me II. KYRIELEISON,
PATER NOSTER, ET PRECES.

Domine ante te omne desiderium meum, et gemitus meus a te non est abs-
25   conditus.

Exaudi orationem meam, domine, et deprecationem meam, auribus percipe
lacrimas meas.

---

tum meum *Ber Tre*   18 Delictum . . . abscondi *om. Tit*   tibi *om. Pa3*   iniustitias
meas *Ber Gal Tre Tur* : iniustitiam meam *Opf Ryl Mun*   19 COLLECTA] ORATIO *Ber Opf
Pa3 Ryl Tre Ars Mun* : *add.* Oremus *Gal* : *praem.* Domine exaudi abcdef *Pa4* : SEQUITUR
ORATIO *Tu2* : *om. Ful*   remissis] remisisti *Ryl* (*prius sed corr.*)   delictis beatitudinem]
autem delictis beatitudine *Gal*   te] tibi *Pa4* (*al. man.*) *Ars* : *om. Opf* (*prius sed corr.*)
Pa4 (*prius*) *Tu2*   19–20 confessis attribuis] confessis attribues *Ber* (*al. man.*) *Co2
Esc* (*prius sed corr.*) *Opf* (*prius sed corr.*) : confitentibus *Pa4* (*al. man.*) : confessis tribuis *Ars*
20 familiae] auxiliare familiae *Esc* : aecclesiae *Opf* (*sed add.* VEL familiae *sup. lin.*)
confractis] fractis *Ber Orv Tu2* : confracti *Pa3* : confracto *Ryl*   peccati aculeis *inv. Gal
Mun* : p. aculeo *Pa3 Ryl* : *add.* oleo *Tre*   21 spiritali *om. Mun*   exultatione] exauditione
Orv : *add.* spiritali *Mun*   Per] *add.* dominum nostrum *Opf Pa4* : *add.* d. *Pal Ars*   22–
29 ITEM . . . COLLECTA] ALIA *Co2* : ALIA Domine ne in furore tuo II *Ivr*   22 ITEM ALIUS
PSALMUS] ITEM PSALMUM TERTIUM *Esc* : ITEM PSALM. III *Pa3* : PATER NOSTER ET
PRECES *Ful* : *rel. ut supra, l. 12* (*Col Gal illeg.*)   furore tuo] ira tua *Ful*   II] SECUNDO
Ber Pa4 Tre : SECUNDUM TOTUM *Esc* : *totus psalmus Opf* : neque in ira tua corripias me.
Quoniam sagittae tuae infixae sunt mihi ET CETERA *Ryl* : *om. Col Gal Gal* (*ut vid.*) *Pal Tu2*
KYRIELEISON] *add.* et *Tur* : *om. Col Opf Pa3 Ful*   23 PATER NOSTER] *add.* Et ne nos
inducas in *Gal* : *om. Ber Col Opf Tre Ful Tu2*   ET PRECES] UT SUPRA *Ber Tu2* : PRECES
UT SUPRA *Opf Ful* : *rel. ut supra, l. 13*   24–48 Domine . . . PRECES *om. Ryl*   24 te]
add. est *Col Ars*   omne] omnes *Tre*   26–27 Exaudi . . . meas] Complaceat tibi domine
Pal : Ne derelinquas me domine deus meus (Ps 37:22 *Rom*). Exaudi orationem meam domine
et deprecor (!) *Ful*

---

22 te] tibi *Dij StG*   22–23 confessis] confitentibus *V2*   23 attribuis] attribues et *P1* :
tribuis *V2* :   vota praesentis] preces *Dij StG* : vota *Lau*   familiae] *add.* tuae *Bar P1* : tuae
familiae *Dij StG*   et] ut *C*   confractis *D N P1 Bru* : contractis *Bar* : fractis *Fra* :
confracto *ed. et rel.*   peccati] peccatorum *Bar* : *om. P2*   24 aculeis *D N P1 Bar Bru
Fra* : aculeo *ed. et rel.*   perfunde] infunde *Bru*

---

18 Ps 31:5 (iniustitias meas [*Ber Gal Tre Tur*]=*Rom et al. Gall* : iniustitiam meam [*Opf Ryl
Mun*]=*Gall* ‖ non abscondi [*Ber Gal Opf Ryl Tre Tur*]=*Gall* : non operui *Rom*).
22 Ps 37 (furore tuo=*Gall* : ira tua [*Ful*]=*Rom*).
24–25 Ps 37:10 (Domine=*Gall* : Et *Rom* ‖ omne=*Gall* : est o. [*Col Ars*]=*Rom et al. Gall*).
26–27 Ps 38:13 (orationem meam domine=*Gall* : deus orationem meam *Rom*).

Complaceat tibi, domine, ut eruas me, domine ad adiuvandum me respice.
COLLECTA: Emitte domine salutare tuum infirmitatibus nostris, vulnerum
30 cicatricumque mortalium potentissime medicator, ut omnem gemitum dolo-
remque nostrum coram te deplorantes, valeamus evincere insultationes adver-
santium vitiorum. Per.

ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS: Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericor-
diam tuam. KYRIELEISON, PATER NOSTER, ET PRECES.

---

28 Complaceat . . . respice] Exaudi orationem meam domine et deprecationem *Pal*   do-
mine[1] *om. Pa4*   eruas *Ber Col Esc Opf Pa2 Pa4 Tit Tre Tur Ars Mun Tu2* : eripias *Gal*
domine[2] *Ber Esc Gal Opf Pa4 Tit Tre Mun* : *om. Tur*   ad . . . me *Ber Esc Opf Pa4 Tit Tre*
Tur Mun : in auxilium meum *Gal*   29 COLLECTA] ORATIO *Opf Pa3 Tre Ars Ful Mun*
Tu2 : *add.* Oremus *Gal* : *praem.* Domine exaudi orationem *Pa4* : *om. Ber*   Emitte] Dimitte
Ivr   domine *om. Pa3*   tuum] *add.* in *Col Esc Opf* (*prius sed corr.*) *Orv*   nostris]
nostrorum *Pal*   29 vulnerum] vulneribus *Pa2*   30 medicator] mediator *Gal Tu2*
ut] *add.* te nobis placito, et pro nobis pugnanter valeamus evincere impetus, ut *Tu2*   om-
nem] omne *Ber Co2 Gal Pa3 Orv Tit Tre Tur* (*prius sed corr.*) *Ars*   30–31 gemitum . . .
nostrum] gemitu doloreque nostro *Tur* (*prius sed corr.*)   doloremque] dolorumque *Gal*
Pa3 : dolemque *Pa4* (*prius sed corr.*)   31 coram] contra *Mun*   deplorantes] prolatis
Tur (*prius sed corr.*) : plorantes *Tu2*   evincere] estu vincere *Orv*   insultationes] in
salvationes *Tre* : insuper et *Tu2*   32 Per] *add.* dominum *Opf Pal Pa4 Tre Ars* : *add.* domi-
num nostrum *Co2* : *om. Tur*   33–42 ITEM . . . COLLECTA] ALIA *Co2* : ALIA Miserere mei
deus secundum *Ivr*   33 ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS *Ber Esc Tre* : ITEM PSALM. IIII *Pa3* : PSAL-
MUM *Ars* : PATER NOSTER ET PRECES *Ful* : *rel. ut supra, l. 12* (*Col Gal illeg.*)   33–
34 Miserere . . . tuam] *add.* TOTUM *Esc* : *totus psalmus Opf*   34 KYRIELEISON] *add.*
Christe . . . (*lacuna*) *Gal* : *om. Col Opf Pa3 Ful*   PATER NOSTER] *add.* Et ne nos *Gal* : *om.*
Ber Col Opf Tre Ful Tu2   ET PRECES] UT SUPRA *Ber Opf Tu2* : PRECES CAPITULA *Orv* :
CAPITULA *Pa4* : PRECES UT SUPRA *Ful* : *rel. ut supra, l. 13*

---

29 Emitte] Inmitte *N V2*   domine *D H Pl P2 Bou Fra* (*al. man.*) : *om. ed. et rel.*
salutare tuum] *add.* domine *C* : *add.* deus *A Can Sub* : *om. Ryl*   infirmitatibus nostris] in
infirmitatibus nostrorum *Ach* : *add.* omnipotens deus et *Bar* : *add.* salutare tuum *Ryl*   29–
30 vulnerum . . . mortalium] vulnera cicatricesque mortalium absterge *Bar*   30 potentis-
sime *om. M1 M2*   medicator] *add.* deus *N V2* : mediator *Ach* (*prius sed corr.*) *Can*
Lau (*prius sed corr.*) *Sub*   ut] et *Can*   omnem] omne *C Pl Fra Ryl*   30–
31 doloremque nostrum] dolorum nostrorum *N V2* : dolorem et infirmitatem *D*   31 coram]
cordium coram *Ach* (*prius sed corr.*)   coram . . . deplorantes *om. D*   valeamus evincere
inv. Ach   evincere] vincere *V2*   insultationes] insultationem *N* : in insultationes
Bou (*prius sed corr.*)   32 Per] *add.* eundem *Vl* (*al. man.*)

---

28 Ps 39:14 (eruas [*Ber Col Esc Opf Pa2 Pa4 Tit Tre Tur Ars Tu2 Mun*]=*Gall* : eripias
[*Gal*]=*Rom* ‖ ad adiuvandum me [*Ber Esc Opf Pa4 Tit Tre Tur Mun*]=*Gall* : in auxilium meum
insultationes [*Gal*]=*Rom*).
33–34 Ps 50.

35   Domine miserere mei, sana animam meam, quia peccavi tibi.

Miserere mei deus miserere mei, quoniam in te confidit anima mea.

Domine averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis, et omnes iniquitates meas dele.

Ne memineris, domine, iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum, cito anticipent nos misericordiae tuae, quia pauperes facti sumus nimis.

40   Adiuva nos deus salutaris noster propter gloriam nominis tui, domine libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum.

COLLECTA: Persolve miserationes tuas nobis ineffabile nomen tuum trinitas

---

35 Domine] *praem. Ego dixi Col Pal Pa2 Pa3 Pa4*   *quia Ber Esc Opf Pa4 Tit Tre Tur Tu2 :* quoniam *Gal*   peccavi] peccavit *Opf (prius sed corr.)*   36 Miserere[1] . . . mea. *om. Orv*   quoniam . . . mea *Ber Col Esc Maz Opf Pa4 Tit Tre Tur Ful Tu2 : add.* et in umbra alarum tuarum sperabo donec transeat iniquitas *Gal :* quia in te confido *Mun*   37–41 Domine . . . COLLECTA] Propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum, domine, ne averte faciem tuam a peccatis *P2*   37 Domine averte] Averte *Pal Pa4 Tit Mun :* Ne avertas *Ful*   tuam] *add.* domine *Mun*   peccatis] me *Ful*   meis *Ber Esc Gal Maz Opf Pa2 Pa3 Pa4 Tit Tre Tur Ars Tu2 : om. Mun*   38 Ne memineris domine] Domine ne memineris *Gal Pa4 Tit Ars Mun*   antiquarum *Ber Esc Gal Maz Pa2 Pa4 Tit Tre Tur : om. Mun*   anticipent *Ber Gal Maz Opf Pa4 Tre Tur Mun :* anticipet *Tit*   40–41 Adiuva . . . tuum *om. Mun*   deus . . . nos[2] *om. Pa3*   40 noster *Gal Maz Pa4 Tre Tur : add.* et *Ber Esc Opf (prius ut vid. sed corr.) Tit*   42 COLLECTA] ORATIO *Ber Maz Opf Pa3 Tre Ars Ful Mun Tu2 : add.* Oremus *Gal : praem.* Domine exaudi *Pa4 : om. Ful*   Persolve . . . trinitas *om. Tur*   Persolve miserationes] Profluae miserationis *Maz Opf (al. man. ex* Persolve miserationes) *Tit :* Persolve domine miserationes *P2 :* Impende miserationes *Mun :* Largire miserationes *Tu2*   tuas *om. Maz Opf (eras.) Tit*   nobis] domine nobis *Ber Orv Pa4 (prius sed corr.) Tre Tu2 :* in nobis *Ivr :* domine *Ful : om. Co2 Maz Opf (ex* nobis domine) *Tit :* Gal illeg.   ineffabile] *praem.* per *Orv Ars Ful Mun : Gal illeg.*   tuum *om. Maz Opf (eras.) Pal Pa2 Pa4 (eras.) Tit Tu2*   trinitas] trinitatis *Opf (al. man. ex* trinitas) *Tit (prius sed corr.) : praem.* sancta *Ars :* omnipotens *Mun*

42–46 *al. coll. in Pl : deficit in A (usq.* spiritum sanctum) *Z Ach*   42 Persolve *D H (prius) N Bar Can Dij Fra StG Sub :* Perpetua *V2 :* Profluae *ed. et rel.*   miserationes *D H (prius) N P2 Bar Can Dij Fra StG Sub :* miserationis *ed. et rel.*   tuas nobis *D N P2 Bar Can Fra Sub :* tuae nos *C :* nobis *Bou :* tuas (*postea add.* propter) tuum nobis *Dij :* tuas *StG : om. ed. et rel.*   ineffabile] *praem.* per *D N*   tuum *D M1 M2 N Bou Fra Lau (prius sed del.) : om. ed. et rel.*   trinitas] trinitatis *G1 G2 H (al. man.) P2 W Can Ryl Sub*

---

35 Ps 40:5 (quia [*Ber Esc Opf Pa4 Tit Tre Tur Tu2*]=*Rom et al. Gall :* quoniam [*Gal*]=*Gall*).

36 Ps 56:2.

37 Ps 50:11 (Domine averte : Averte [*Pal Pa4 Tit Mun*]=*Gall Rom*).

38–39 Ps 78:8 (domine : *om. Gall Rom* ‖ iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum=*Gall :* iniquitates nostras antiquas *Rom* ‖ cito anticipent nos misericordiae tuae [*Ber Gal Maz Opf Pa4 Tre Tur Mun*]=*Gall :* cito nos anticipet misericordia tua *Rom*).

40–41 Ps 78:9 (noster [*Gal Maz Pa4 Tre Tur*]=*Gall et al. Rom :* n. et [*Ber Esc Opf (prius) Tit*]=*Rom et al. Gall* ‖ gloriam [*Ber Esc Gal Maz Opf Pa4 Tit Tre Tur*]=*Gall :* honorem *Rom*).

deus, qui humani pectoris antrum emundans vitiis super candorem efficis nivis,
innova, quaesumus, in visceribus nostris spiritum sanctum tuum, quo laudem
45   tuam adnuntiare possimus, ut recto principalique spiritu confirmati mereamur
aeternis sedibus in hierusalem caelesti componi. Per.

ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS: Domine exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus ad
te veniat. KYRIELEISON, PATER NOSTER, ET PRECES.
Deus tu scis insipientiam meam, et delicta mea a te non sunt abscondita.
50   In multitudine misericordiae tuae, exaudi me in veritate salutis tuae.
Exaudi me domine, quoniam benigna est misericordia tua, secundum multi-
tudinem miserationum tuarum respice in me.
Et ne avertas faciem tuam a puero tuo, quoniam tribulor, velociter exaudi me.

---

43 humani] humanum *Ivr*   pectoris] peccatoris *Opf (prius sed corr.) Pa4 Tit (prius sed*
corr.)   candorem] candore *Pa2*   emundans] emundatis *Ars Tu2 Ful*   vitiis] *add. et*
Tur : *add.* efficis *Orv*   efficis *om. Orv*   nivis] nimis *Ber*   44 in *om. Pa4 (prius sed*
corr.)   spiritum . . . tuum] spiritum tuum sanctum *Ber* : sanctum t. spiritum *Ars Tu2 Ful*
tuum *om. Maz Pa4 (prius sed corr.) Tit*   quo] quod *Tre*   45 adnuntiare] amare *Gal* :
enuntiare *Maz*   possimus] possemus *Ber*   45–80 principalique *usq. finem deficit in Pa2*
45 confirmati] confirmato *Gal*   46 aeternis sedibus *om. Tu2*   in *om. Pa4 (prius sed*
corr.)   caelesti] caelestem *Opf (al. man.) Tu2* : caeleste *Orv*   componi] computari *Ivr* :
perfrui *Tur*   Per] *add.* dominum *Co2 Tur* : *add.* Peccavi domine ET RELIQUA *Maz* : *add.* Ps
85 cum capitulis (84:8, 32:22 Gall) et collecta Tit (cf. us. 2) : te praestante qui vivis et regnas
Ars : Qui vivis *Ful Tu2*   46–80 Per *usq. finem om. P2*   47–55 ITEM . . . COLLECTA]
ALIA *Co2* : ALIA Domine exaudi or. I *Ivr*   47 ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS *Ber Esc Maz Tre* :
ITEM PSALM. PATER NOSTER ET PRECES *Col* : ITEM PSALMUS DAVID *Gal* : ITEM PSALM. V
Pa3 : ITEM PSALM. *Ful Tu2* : rel. ut supra, l. 12   47–48 et . . . veniat] *totus psalmus Opf* :
I *Orv Pa3 Ful Mun* : PRIMO *Pa4* : *om. Col Pal Tit Tur*   48 KYRIELEISON] *add.*
Christeleison Kyrieleison Christe audi nos *Gal (ut vid.)* : *om. Col Opf Pa3*   PATER NOS-
TER *om. Ber Col Gal Opf Tre Tu2*   ET PRECES *Esc Maz Tur Ars Mun Ful* : PRECES *Pa3*
Tit : ET CAPITULA *Tu2* : rel. ut supra, l. 13   49–52 Deus . . . me *om. Tu2*   49 a te *Ber*
Maz Opf Pa4 Ryl Tit Tre Tur : *om. Gal*   53 Et . . . me *om. Pal Ful*   Et *om. Pa4*

---

43 pectoris] peccatoris *D (prius sed corr.)*   candorem] candore *D*   nivis] *add. et Bar*
44 in *om. D*   tuum *C D G2 (al. man.) H (prius) N V2 Bar Bou Bru Dij Fra Lau* : *om. ed. et*
rel.   44–45 laudem tuam] laudes tuas *Can Sub*   45 annuntiare] nuntiare *H*   ut]
quatenus *Bar*   recto] trino *V2*   principalique] principali *Can*   confirmati] firmati *P2* :
formati *V2*   46 hierusalem caelesti *inv. D*   caelesti] caeleste *C Bar Bou (prius sed*
corr.) : caelestem *A G1 P2 Can Ryl Sub*   Per] Qui vivis et regnas *Bru (al. man.)*

47–48 Ps 101 (veniat=*Gall* : perveniat *Rom*).
49 Ps 68:6.
50 Ps 68:14.
51–52 Ps 68:17.
53 Ps 68:18 (Et ne=*Gall* : Ne [*Pa4*]=*Rom*).

Intende animae meae, et libera eam, propter inimicos meos eripe me.

55   COLLECTA: Exorabilis domine intende orationem supplicum tuorum, ut qui in peccatis detenti tamquam foenum aruimus, respectu caelestis misericordiae sublevemur. Per.

ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS: De profundis clamavi ad te domine. KYRIELEISON, PATER NOSTER, ET PRECES.

60   Domine vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum, et dimitte universa delicta mea.

Ne perdas, domine, cum impiis animam meam et cum viris sanguinum vitam meam.

---

54 animae meae] animam meam *Esc*   eam] eum *Opf (prius sed corr.)*   me] *add.* domine *Gal*   55 COLLECTA] ORATIO *Ber Maz Opf Pa3 Ryl Tre Ars Ful Mun Tu2* : *add.* Oremus *Gal* : *praem.* Domine exaudi orationem meam *Pa4*   domine] *add. ca. 6 litt. et postea del. Opf*   intende] *add.* in *Col Co2 Gal Maz Opf(al. man.) Pa3 Pa4 (al. man.) Tit* orationem . . . tuorum] supplicum tuorum orationem *Ivr Ryl*   orationem] orationum *Orv* : orationes *Ars* : orationi *Mun*   supplicum] supplicium *Opf (prius sed corr.)*   56 tamquam] sicut *Ars Ful Tu2*   aruimus] vivimus *Pa3* : vivemus *Tit*   caelestis] caelesti *Ber Orv Tit* : *om. Esc Opf (prius sed corr.)*   misericordiae] *add.* tuae *Opf (super lin. et postea del.) Pa4 (prius sed corr.)*   57 sublevemur] consolemur *Ful* : revirescamus *Mun*   Per] *add.* Peccavi ET RELIQUA *Maz* : *add.* dominum *Ber Pal Tur Ars*   58–65 ITEM . . . COLLECTA] ALIA *Co2* : ALIA ORATIO De profundis *Ivr*   58 ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS] ITEM PSALM. PATER NOSTER ET PRECES *Col* : PSALMUS *Gal Opf Pa4 Tit Ars Mun* : ITEM PSALM. VI *Pa3* : ITEM PSALM. *Esc Ful Tu2* : *rel. ut supra, l. 12*   De . . . domine] *totus psalmus Opf* : *add.* Domine exaudi vocem meam *Ber Maz* : *add.* ET CETERA *Ryl* : *Gal illeg.* KYRIELEISON] *add.* Christeleison Kyrieleison Christe audi nos *Gal (ut vid.)* : *om. Col Opf Pa3 Ars*   59 PATER NOSTER] *add.* Et ne nos in. *Gal* : *om. Ber Col Opf Tre Ful Tu2*   ET PRECES *Esc Maz Ryl Tur* : PRECES *Pa3 Tit* : CAPITULA *Tu2* : *rel. ut supra, l. 13*   60–64 Domine . . . mei *om. Tu2*   60–61 Domine . . . mea *om. Ful*   60 meam *om. Pal*   60–61 dimitte . . . mea *Ber Gal Maz Opf Pa4 Ryl Tit Tre Tur* : delictum *Mun*   62 domine *om. Ber Tit Tre Ars Mun*   impiis] *add.* deus *Ars Mun*   62–63 et . . . meam] Ne simul tradas me domine cum peccatoribus (Ps 23:3) *Pa4*   62 viris] viri *Ryl*   62–63 vitam

---

55–57 *deficit in Z*   55 Exorabilis] Execrabilis *Bar (prius sed corr.)*   intende *A D Ach* : exaudi *H* : intende ad *Pl* : intende in *ed. et rel.*   orationem] orationes *D (prius sed corr.)* : oratione *Bar*   56 aruimus] vivimus *D Dij StG*   respectu] respectui *Can (prius sed corr.) Sub*   caelestis] caelesti *Ml*

---

54 Ps 68:19.
58 Ps 129.
60–61 Ps 24:18 (Domine vide] Vide *Gall Rom* ‖ universa delicta mea [*Ber Gal Maz Opf Pa4 Ryl Tit Tre Tur*]=*Gall* : omnia peccata mea *Rom*).
62–63 Ps 25:9 (domine cum impiis] cum impiis [*Ber Tit Tre*]=*Gall Rom* : cum impiis deus [*Ars Mun*]=*al. Gall Rom*).

Redime me domine, et miserere mei.

65   COLLECTA: Intendant, quaesumus domine, pietatis tuae aures in orationem
supplicum, quia apud te est propitiatio peccatorum, ut non observes iniquitates
nostras, sed impertias nobis misericordias tuas. Per.

ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS: Domine exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe
obsecrationem meam. KYRIELEISON, PATER NOSTER, ET PRECES.

70   Clamavi ad te, domine; dixi, tu es spes mea, portio mea in terra viventium.
Intende ad deprecationem meam, quia humiliatus sum nimis.

---

meam] *add.* in quorum manibus iniquitates sunt dextera eorum repleta est muneribus. Ego
autem in innocentiam meam ingressus sum (Ps 25:10–11) *Gal*   64 domine . . . mei] deus
israhel ex omnibus *Ars*   mei] *add.* ET RELIQUA *Col* : *add.* Pes meus stetit in directo in
ecclesiis benedicam te domine (Ps 25:12 *Gall*) *Ber Tit Tre* : *add.* Pes enim meus stetit in via
recta (Ps 25:12 *Rom*) *Ful* : *add.* sana animam meam quoniam peccavi tibi (Ps 40:5 *Gall* [*cf. l.*
35]) *Ryl* : *add.* sana *Mun*   65 COLLECTA] ORATIO *Ber Maz Opf Pa3 Ryl Tre Ars Ful Mun*
Tu2 : *add.* Oremus *Gal* : *praem.* Domine exaudi orationem *Pa4*   Intendant] Intendat
Orv (*prius sed corr.*) : Intende *Pa3 Tit*   in *om. Tre*   65–66 orationem supplicum]
oratione supplicum *Col Esc* : supplicum preces *Tre* : *add.* tuorum *Pa4* (*al. man.*) : orationes
supplicum *Tit*   66 est propitiatio] propitiatio *Ber Orv Ars* : propitiatio est *Pal* : est propitio
Pa4   peccatorum] *add.* est *Ber*   observes] observas *Ful*   67 Per] *add.* dominum *Ber*
Opf Pal Ryl Tre Tur : *add.* Peccavi domine peccavi nimis ET RELIQUA *Maz* : *add.* dominum
nostrum ihesum christum *Pa4*   68–80 ITEM . . . *usq. finem deficit in Pa4* (*post* PSALM.) :
deficit in Ryl   68–75 ITEM . . . COLLECTA] ALIA *Co2* : ALIA Domine exaudi II *Ivr*
68 ITEM ALIUS PSALMUS *Ber Maz Tre* : ITEM PSALM. PATER NOSTER ET PRECES *Col* :
ITEM PSALM. VII *Pa3* : ITEM PSALM. *Tu2 Ful* : *rel. ut supra, l. 12* (*lacuna Gal*)   68–
69 Domine . . . meam²] *totus psalmus Opf* : Domine exaudi orationem meam II *Orv Tur Ars* :
D. e. o. II *Pa3* : D. e. II *Pal Ful Mun Tu2* : D. e. o. *Col* : *om. Tit*   69 KYRIELEISON] *add.*
Christeleison Kyrieleison Christe audi nos *Gal* : *om. Col Opf Pa3*   PATER NOSTER] *add.*
qui es in caelis. Et ne nos inducas *Gal* : *om. Ber Col Opf Tre Ful Tu2*   ET PRECES]
PRECES *Pa3 Tit* : CUM CAPITULIS *Tu2* : *rel. ut supra, l. 13*   70–75 Clamavi . . . mihi]
Adiutor meus esto, domine, ne derelinquas me (Ps 26:9). Deus ne elongeris a me, deus meus, in
auxilium (70:12). Domine doce me facere voluntatem tuam (142:10) *Ars* : *om. Tu2*   70 ad]
a *Esc* (*prius sed corr.*)   71 Intende] *praem.* Intende animae *Orv*   ad deprecionem] in
orationem *Gal Ful* : deprecationem *Tit*

65–67 *om. coll. Lau*   65 Intendant] Intendat *A G1 Z Ryl*   quaesumus domine *inv. N*
pietatis tuae *om. Ach Fra*   aures] auris *A Z Ryl* : *om. D*   orationem] orationes *A Bar Can*
StG Sub : oratione *G1 P1 Z Ryl*   66 est propitiatio *inv. N W*   ut] *praem.* et petimus *Bar*
67 impertias] imperitias *Dij* (*prius sed corr.*)   nobis *om. Ach* (*prius sed corr.*)
misericordias tuas] misericordia tua *N*

---

64 Ps 25:11 (me domine] me *Gall Rom*).
68–69 Ps 142.
70 Ps 141:6.
71 Ps 141:7 (ad deprecationem=*Gall* : in orationem [*Gal Ful*]=*Rom*).

Libera me a persequentibus me, quia confortati sunt super me.

Educ de custodia animam meam, ad confitendum nomini tuo me expectant iusti, donec retribuas mihi.

75   COLLECTA: Deus qui matutinam sacrae resurrectionis tuae auditam fecisti iocunditatem, cum ex inferno rediens replesti terram gaudiis, quam reliqueras in obscuris, rogamus potentiae tuae ineffabilem maiestatem, ut sicut tunc catervam apostolicam gaudere fecisti sacra in anastasi, ita hanc ecclesiam tuam misericordiam expansis manibus flagitantem splendore caelestis iubaris inlustrare digneris.
80   Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

---

72 Libera ... me³ *om. Pal*   quia *Ber Esc Maz Opf Tre Tur Mun* : quoniam *Gal Tit* confortati ... me *Ber Gal Maz Opf Tit Tre Tur* : confortatus sum *Esc*   73–74 Educ ... mihi *om. Orv*   73 custodia] carcere *Gal Ful* : custodi *Opf Tit*   ad ... tuo *Ber Gal Esc Maz Opf Tit Tre Tur Mun* : *om. Ful*   75 COLLECTA] ORATIO *Ber Maz Opf Tre Ars Ful Mun Tu2* : *add.* Oremus *Gal*   sacrae *om. Tur*   auditam] auditum *Ber Orv* : additam *Tur* 76 ex *om. Mun*   quam] quem *Ber Orv*   reliqueras] relinqueras *Ivr Orv Pa3 Mun* 76–77 obscuris] absconditis *Gal* (*ut vid.*)   77 potentiae tuae] potentiam tuam *Orv* maiestatem] misericordiam *Ber Orv*   sicut *om. Esc* (*prius sed corr.*)   78 apostolicam] apostolorum *Tre*   sacra in] sacram in *Opf* (*ex* sacra in) *Orv* : sacra *Pa3 Mun* : sacram *Tur* (*prius sed corr.*) : piissimus *Tre*   anastasi] astasi *Gal Orv Pal* : estasi *Ivr* : *om. Tre*   ita] *add.* etiam *Ars*   hanc] nunc *Orv*   tuam *om. Ivr*   78–79 misericordiam] *add.* tuam *Ber Co2 Ivr Orv Pal Tit* : misericors *Pa3* : misericordiae tuae *Tre* : *om. Col Esc Opf* (*prius sed corr.*)   79 caelestis] caelesti *Ber Co2 Orv Tre Tu2*   iubaris] iubar *Ivr* : iubari *Tit* (*ex* iubaris) : *om. Ber*   80 digneris] *add.* Per *Ivr* : *add.* Per dominum *Opf* (*sup. lin.*)   Qui ... vivis] Qui vivis *Ars Ful Tu2* : pars *al. or.* (Effuga a me ...) *Tit* : *om. Ivr Opf* (*prius sed corr. usq.* regnas)   in ... Amen] deus per *Esc* : d. p. omnia saecula saeculorum *Orv* : d. p. o. (*lacuna*) *Gal* : Peccavi domine peccavi nimis ET RELIQUA *Maz* : *om. Co2 Esc Ivr Opf Pal Pa3 Tit Ars Ful Mun Tu2*

75–80 *deficit in V2 Bar*   75 tuae *om. Dij*   75–76 auditam ... iocunditatem] laudem auditam facis tu iocunditate *P1*   76 cum *om. G2 N StG*   76–77 ex ... obscuris] gaudio terram replens victor ex inferno rediens *G2 StG*   76 reliqueras] relinqueras *Ach* (*al. man.*) *C D Fra Bou* (*prius sed corr.*) *A Sub Can*   77 rogamus ... maiestatem] maiestatem tuam deprecamur *P2*   sicut] si *D*   78 gaudere fecisti sacra] *A D N Bou Can Dij Fra Lau Ryl Sub* : gaudia sacra fecisti *ed. et G2 H Ml M2 Vl W Ach StG* : sacra gaudia *C* : gaudia fecisti sacram *G1 Z* : sacra *P1 Bru* : gaudia fecisti *P2*   in anastasi *A* (*prius*) *D Ach* (*prius*) *Bou Bru Can Fra Lau Ryl Sub* : in extasi *ed. et A* (*al. man.*) *Ml* (*prius*) *M2 P2 Vl Z Ach* (*al. man.*) : in anastasii *C* : resurrectione *G2 StG* : anastasi *H N* : in astasi *Ml* (*al. man.*) *Dij* : anastasia *P1* : (*spatium G1*)   ita] *praem.* gaudere fecisti *P1 Bru*   hanc ... tuam] ecclesiam tuam hanc *D* : nos famulos tuos tuam *Bru*   78–79 misericordiam] *add.* tuam *H* : misericorditer *P1* : *om. C D*   79 flagitantem] flagitantes *Bru*   splendore] splendorem *D* : splendoris *Can Sub*   iubaris] gloriae *P2*   80 Qui cum ... Amen *A Bou Bru Dij StG* : Salvator mundi *N Vl* (*al. man.*) : Qui vivis *Can Sub* : Per *ed. et rel.*

---

72 Ps 141:7 (quia [*Ber Esc Maz Opf Tre Tur Mun*]=*Gall* : quoniam [*Gal Tit*]=*Rom*).
73–74 Ps 141:8 (de custodia=*Gall* : de carcere [*Gal Ful*]=*Rom*).

INCIPIT LAETANIA

Kyrie eleison TRIBUS VICIBUS
Christe eleison TRIBUS VICIBUS
Christe audi nos TRIBUS VICIBUS
5   Christe miserere nobis TRIBUS VICIBUS
Praesta mihi domine primum ut te bene rogem.
Deinde ut me dignum facias exaudiri.
Deinde ut exaudias.
Sancta Maria ora pro nobis.
10   Sancta Maria intercede pro me peccatore.
Sancta Maria adiuva me in die exitus mei ex hac praesenti vita.
Sancte Petre ora pro nobis.
Sancte Paule ora pro nobis.
Sancte Andrea ora pro nobis.
15   Sancte Iacobe ora pro nobis.
Sancte Iohannes ora pro nobis.
Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis.

Ber Esc Maz Opf(2–96 ante psalmos paenitentiales) Orv Pa2 Tur
(*aliam laetaniam adhib. Tit; tantum titulus adest in Pa1 Pa3*)

    1–61 *deficiunt in Pa2*   1 INCIPIT LAETANIA *Ber Tur* : IN CHRISTI NOMINE INCIPIT LETANIA *Esc* : IN CHRISTI N. INCIPIUNT LAETANIAE *Maz* : LITANIA UT SUPRA *Opf* : INCIPIUNT LAETANIAE *Orv* (HIC AGATUR LETANIA POSTQUAM *Pa1* : LAETANIA *Pa3*) 2 Kyrie . . . VICIBUS] Kyrieleison *Esc* : *om. Opf*   3 Christe . . . VICIBUS *om. Esc Opf Orv* 4 TRIBUS VICIBUS] TERTIO *Ber* : *om. Opf Orv*   5 Christe . . . VICIBUS *om. Esc Opf* TRIBUS VICIBUS] TERTIO *Ber* : Sancta sanctorum deus miserere *Tur* : *om. Orv*   6–8 Praesta . . . exaudias *om. Tur*   6 domine *sup. lin. Opf* : *om. Ber Orv*   primum *sup. lin. Opf* : *om. Ber*   ut te] ut *Ber* : ute *Orv* (*prius sed corr*)   7 Deinde] Praesta mihi *Ber*   8 Deinde] Praesta mihi *Ber*   exaudias] audias *Opf* (*al. man.*) : *add.* me *Ber*   9–11 Sancta . . . vita] Sancta virgo virginum intercede. Sancta dei genitrix, intercede. S. Maria ora *Tur*   10 me peccatore] nobis *Esc* : me misero peccatore *Maz*   11 ex . . . vita *om. Ber Orv* : *add.* S. Maria adiuva me in die tribulationis. Sancti archangeli . . . (virtutes/potestates/principatus/ dominationes/throni/cherubin/seraphin/patriarchae/ prophetae/apostoli/martyres/confessores/ virgines/continentes). Omnes sancti orate pro nobis TRIBUS VICIBUS. S. Michahel . . . (Gabrihel/Raphahel). Omnes sancti angeli orate. S. Abel . . . (+ 16). Omnes sancti patriarchae orate pro nobis. S. Samuhel . . . (+ 21). Omnes sancti prophetae orate pro nobis *Maz*   12 S. Petre] *praem.* S. Iohannes Baptista (*om. Opf*) ora pro nobis *Maz Opf Orv*   14 Andrea] -as *Orv*   16 Iohannes] *add.* evangelista *Maz*   17 Thoma] -as *Ber Esc Orv*   17–18 *inv. Maz*

    6–8 Praesta . . . exaudias: Augustinus, *Soliloquiorum liber* 1.1.2, ed. W. Hörmann, CSEL 89 (Vienna, 1986), 4, "Deus universitatis conditor, praesta mihi primum ut te bene rogem, deinde ut me agam dignum quam liberes, postremo ut liberes."

Sancte Iacobe ora pro nobis.
Sancte Philippe ora pro nobis.
20   Sancte Bartholomaee ora pro nobis.
Sancte Matthee ora pro nobis.
Sancte Simon ora pro nobis.
Sancte Taddee ora pro nobis.
Omnes sancti apostoli orate pro nobis.

25   Sancte Stephane ora pro nobis.
Sancte Line ora pro nobis.
Sancte Clete ora pro nobis.
Sancte Clemens ora pro nobis.
Sancte Sixte ora pro nobis.
30   Sancte Corneli ora pro nobis.
Sancte Cypriane ora pro nobis.
Sancte Dionysi cum sociis tuis ora pro nobis.
Sancte Laurenti ora pro nobis.
Sancte Maurici cum sociis tuis ora pro nobis.
35   Sancte Cosme ora pro nobis.
Sancte Damiane ora pro nobis.
Omnes sancti martyres orate pro nobis.

Sancte Hilari ora pro nobis.
Sancte Martine ora pro nobis.
40   Sancte Silvester ora pro nobis.

---

18 S. Iacobe . . . nobis om. *Orv*   22 S. Simon . . . nobis *om. Opf*   24 Omnes . . . nobis] *praem.* S. Mathia/Barnaba/Luca/Marce *Maz* : S. Mathia/Barnaba/Luca/Marce *Tur* apostoli] *add.* et evangelistae *Orv*   26–27 S. Line . . . (Clete) *om. Tur*   28 S. Clemens] *praem.* S. Anaclete or. *Maz*   29 S. Sixte] *praem.* S. Dionisi cum sociis tuis or. *Maz* 30 S. Corneli] *praem.* S. Felissime/Agapite/Laurenti/Ippolite/Romane/Chrisogene *Maz* 30–31 S. Corneli . . . (Cypriane) *om. Tur*   31 Cypriane] -ni *Esc*   32–35 S. Dionysi . . . (Laurenti) *om. Maz* : *inv. Tur*   32 cum sociis tuis *om. Ber Esc Tur*   34 S. Maurici] *praem.* S. Rustice/ Eleutherii/Quintine/Luciane/Crispine/Crispiniane *Tur*   cum . . . tuis *om. Ber*   tuis] suis *Esc*   35–47 S. Cosme . . . orate pro nobis *om. Tur*   37 Omnes] *praem.* S. Vincente *Ber* : *praem.* S. Fabiane/Sebastiane/Tiburti/Gervasi/Protasi/Nazari/Vitalis/ Saturnine/Georgi/Vincenti/Urbane/Crispine/Crispiniane/Quintine/Valentine/Simphoriane/Ciriace/ Petre/Marcelline/Nicasi/Piate/Leodegari/Lamberte/Bonefaci/Salvi/Calixte *Maz*   38 S. Hilari] *praem.* S. Marcialis ora. *Orv*   38–48 S. Hilari . . . Benedicte] S. Leo/Silvester/Agapite/ Gregori/Hilari/Martine/Ambrosi/Hieronime/Augustine/Donate/Antoni/Machari/Arsenii/Benedic- te/Effrem/Remigi/Aniane/Germane/Columbane/Lupe/Avite/Medard/Vedaste/Amande/Richari/ Filberte/Walerice/Audomare/Bertine/Achari/Eligi/Audoene/Albane/Bavo/Trudo/Gaugerice/Goar/ Licini/Cassiane/Surse/Ultane/Momolene/Eunuci *Maz* : S. Silvester/Elari/Martine/Cassiane/Re- megi/ Medarde/Vedaste/Germane/Gaurice/ Amande/Eligi/Benedicte *Tur*

Sancte Leo ora pro nobis.
Sancte Ambrosi ora pro nobis.
Sancte Gregori ora pro nobis.
Sancte Germane ora pro nobis.
45   Sancte Remegi ora pro nobis.
Sancte Amande ora pro nobis.
Sancte Hieronyme ora pro nobis.
Sancte Benedicte ora pro nobis.
Omnes sancti confessores orate pro nobis.

50   Sancta Felicitas ora pro nobis.
Sancta Perpetua ora pro nobis.
Sancta Agatha ora pro nobis.
Sancta Lucia ora pro nobis.
Sancta Cecilia ora pro nobis.
55   Sancta Agnes ora pro nobis.
Sancta Anastasia ora pro nobis.
Sancta Eufemia ora pro nobis.
Sancta Petronilla ora pro nobis.
Sancta Susanna ora pro nobis.
60   Sancta Brigida ora pro nobis.
Omnes sanctae virgines orate pro nobis.
Omnes sancti orate pro nobis.

Propitius esto, parce nobis domine.
Propitius esto, libera nos domine.
65   Ab omni malo libera nos domine.
Ab omni temptatione libera nos domine.

---

45 Remegi] Remedii *Ber* : Remegii *Esc Orv*   47 S. Hieronyme] *praem.* S. Chrodoberte
(Chrodberte *Esc*) ora pro nobis *Esc Opf*   48 S. Benedicte] *praem.* S. Audoene *Ber* : *praem.*
S. Augustine ora. *Orv*   49 Omnes . . . nobis] *praem.* S. Filiberte/Goar/Audomare/Bertine
Ber : *praem.* S. Maure/Babolene *Opf* : *om. Tur*   50–60 S. Felicitas . . . Brigida] S.
Felicitas/Anastasia/Perpetua/Tecla/Agatha/Agnes/Cecilia/Lucia/Genovefa/Scolastice/Petronilla/
Columba/Eulalia/Eugenia/Eufemia/Agra/Prisca/Cristina/Iuliana/Brigida/Radegundis/Iustina/Sabi-
na/Gertrudis/Waldedrudis/Aldegundis/Rictrudis/Eusebia/Ragemfledis/Austroberta/Margareta/
Austrigifila/Eufrodisia/Godoberta/Amelberga *Maz*   51 S. Perpetua . . . nobis *om. Ber*
58–60 S. Petronilla . . . Brigida] S. Columba/Aldegundis/Genovefa/Gertrudis *Tur*   59 S.
Susanna . . . nobis *om. Orv*   61 Omnes . . .] *praem.* S. Scholastica/Fides *Orv* : *om. Tur*
sanctae] sancti *Esc*   62 Omnes . . . nobis] *add.* III *Ber* : *add.* II *Orv* : *add.* TRIBUS VICIBUS
Pa2 : *om. Opf*   64 libera nos domine] *add.* Propitius esto, miserere nobis domine *Maz*
65 Ab omni malo . . .] *add.* Ab hoste malo libera nos. A morbo malo libera nos. Ab insidiis
diaboli libera nos *Maz*   66 mala] diabolica *Tur* : *om. Esc Opf*

Ab omni cogitatione mala libera nos domine.

Ab omni iniquitate libera nos domine.

Ab omni inmunditia cordis et corporis libera nos domine.

70   Per crucem tuam libera nos domine.

Peccatores te rogamus audi nos.

Ut pacem nobis donare digneris, domine Ihesu, te rogamus audi nos.

Ut indulgentiam delictorum nostrorum nobis donare digneris, domine Ihesu, te
        rogamus audi nos.

75   Ut remissionem peccatorum nostrorum nobis donare digneris, domine Ihesu, te
        rogamus audi nos.

Ut gratiam sancti spiritus cordibus nostris clementer infundere digneris, do-
        mine Ihesu, te rogamus audi nos.

Ut intercessionem sanctorum tuorum nobis donare digneris, domine Ihesu, te

80   rogamus audi nos.

Ut sanctam caritatem tuam nobis donare digneris, domine Ihesu, te rogamus
        audi nos.

Ut fidem rectam nobis donare digneris, domine Ihesu, te rogamus audi nos.

Ut spem firmam in tua bonitate nobis donare digneris, domine Ihesu, te roga-

85   mus audi nos.

Ut vitam aeternam nobis donare digneris, domine Ihesu, te rogamus audi nos.

Ut lumen perpetuum nobis donare digneris, domine Ihesu, te rogamus audi nos.

Ut laudem sancto nomini tuo nobis donare digneris, domine Ihesu, te rogamus
        audi nos.

90   Fili dei, te rogamus audi nos.

---

69 Ab omni immunditia] *praem.* Ab omni perturbatione/impugnatione diaboli/adversitate/
scandalo *Maz*   cordis] mentis *Orv*   corporis *om. Tur*   70 Per crucem . . .] Ab
omnibus aeternis suppliciis/Ab inopia et fame/Ab omni pestilentia et clade/A periculo mortis/
A subita morte/A morte perpetua/Ab ira tua/Per adnunciationem tuam/Per adventum tuum/Per
incarnationem tuam/Per nativitatem tuam/Per circumcisionem tuam/Per apparitionem tuam/ Per
passionem tuam/Per crucem tuam/Per resurrectionem tuam/Per ascensionem tuam/Per adven-
tum sancti spiritu tui a patre *Maz*   72 donare . . . Ihesu] dones *Maz*   domine Ihesu] *add.*
Christe *Pa2* (*ut in sequentibus*) : *om. Ber*   73 Ut indulgentiam] *praem.* Ut sanitatem nobis
dones, te rogamus *Maz* : *praem.* Ut tranquillitatem pacis ecclesiae tuae largiri digneris, domine,
te rogamus. Ut iram tuam a populo christiano amovere digneris, te rogamus. Ut ab hostium
periculis nos defendere digneris, te rogamus *Tur* : *add.* omnium *Ber Orv Pa2*   delictorum
. . . Ihesu] nobis dones *Maz*   domine Ihesu *om. Tur*   75 peccatorum] omnium
delictorum *Ber* : omnium peccatorum *Orv*   79 sanctorum] omnium sanctorum *Ber* (*et
deficit finis*) *Orv Pa2*   81–82 Ut . . . nos *om. Orv*   87 Ut . . . nos *om. Esc Opf*
88 laudem] lumen *Orv* : *add.* nobis *Tur*   sancto] sanctorum *Maz Tur*   nomini tuo]
nominis tui *Esc*   nobis *om. Tur*   90 Fili] *praem.* Ut avertas iram tuam a nobis donare
digneris . . . Ut nobis miseri digneris . . . *Maz* : Filius *Esc*   nos] *add.* II *Orv* : *add.* TERTIO
Pa2

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis. TRIBUS VICIBUS
Christe audi nos.

KYRIELEISON, PATER NOSTER, ET PRECES.
Ego dixi, domine miserere mei, sana animam meam, quia peccavi tibi.
95   Deus deus meus, respice in me, quare me dereliquisti? longe a salute mea
verba delictorum meorum.
Ego autem sum vermis et non homo, obprobrium hominum et abiectio plebis.
Quoniam tu es, domine, qui extraxisti me de ventre, spes mea ab uberibus
matris meae, deus meus es tu ne discedas a me.
100   Salva me ex ore leonis, et a cornibus unicornium humilitatem meam.
Ne avertas faciem tuam a me, ne declines in ira a servo tuo.
Adiutor meus esto, ne derelinquas me neque despicias me, deus salutaris meus.

---

91 Agnus] Agne *Pa2*   miserere nobis] parce nobis domine. Agnus ... dona nobis
pacem. Agnus ... miserere nobis *Maz*   TRIBUS VICIBUS] II *Orv* : *om. Maz Opf Pa2 Tur*
92 nos] *add.* TRIBUS VICIBUS *Maz* : *add.* III *Orv Tur* : *add.* TERTIO *Pa2*

96–115: *Col Esc Maz Opf Orv Pal Pa2 Pa3 Tur* (*ante laetaniam*)

92 KYRIELEISON] *add.* Christe eleison K. *Maz* : *add.* TERTIO *Pa2* : *add.* III VICIBUS *Pa3* :
praem. ITEM PSALM. Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac [Ps 53]. Beati inmaculati in via qui
ambulant [Ps 118] *Tur* : *om. Col Opf Orv Pal*   PATER NOSTER] *add.* Et ne nos inducas in
temptationem *Esc* : *om. Col Opf*   ET PRECES] *add.* CAPITULA *Pal* : PRECES *Pa3* : *om.*
Col Esc Orv Pa2   94 Ego ... tibi *om. Col*   95 in *om. Esc Col Pa3 Pal Pa2*
97 Ego] *praem.* Deus meus clamabo per diem et non [Ps 21:3] *Col*   hominum *Opf Maz*
Tur : hominis *Esc*   98–99 Quoniam ... a me *om. Orv*   98 domine *om. Pal Pa2 Pa3*
spes ... uberibus *Opf Maz Tur* : *om. Col*   99 deus ... me *Maz Tur* : in te proiectus sum ex
utero *Opf*   discedas *Maz* : discesseris *Tur*   100 unicornium *Maz* : unicornuorum
Opf (*prius sed corr.*) *Tur*   101 me] puero *Pa3*   102 esto] es tu domine *Col Pa3* : es tu
Opf (*prius sed corr.*)

---

94 Ps 40:5 (quia [*Maz Opf*]=*Rom et al. Gall* : quoniam *Gall*).
95–96 Ps 21:2 (respice in me [*Maz Opf Orv Tur*]=*Rom et al. Gall* : respice me [*Col Esc*
Pal Pa2 Pa3]=*Gall*).
97 Ps 21:7.
98–99 Ps 21:10 (es qui [*Pal Pa2 Pa3*]=*Gall Rom* ‖ extraxisti=*Gall* : abstraxisti *Rom*).
99 Ps 21:11 (In te proiectus sum ex utero [*Opf*]=*Gall* : In te iactatus s. e. u. *Rom* ‖ deus
meus es tu [*Maz Tur*])   Ps 21:12 (Ne discedas a me [*Maz*]=*al. Gall et al. Rom* : Ne
discesseris a me [*Tur*]=*Gall Rom*).
100 Ps 21:22 (Salva me ex ore=*Gall* : Libera me de ore *Rom* ‖ unicornium [*Maz*]=*Gall* :
unicornuorum [*Opf* (*prius*) *Tur*]=*Rom*).
101 Ps 26:9 (ne declines [*Opf Tur Rom*]=*Gall* : et ne declines *Rom*).
102 Ps 26:9 (esto=*Gall Rom* : es tu domine [*Col Pa3*] *vel* es tu [*Opf* (*prius*)] =*al. Gall et*
al. Rom).

Ne simul tradas me cum peccatoribus et cum operantibus iniquitatem ne perdas me.

105   Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea, et a peccato meo munda me.

Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco et peccatum meum contra me est semper.

Asperges me hysopo et mundabor, lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor.

Exsurge, domine, adiuva nos et libera nos propter nomen tuum.

110   Domine deus virtutum, converte nos et ostende faciem tuam, et salvi erimus.

Converte nos, deus salutaris noster, et averte iram tuam a nobis.

Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos, et plebs tua laetabitur in te.

Ostende nobis, domine, misericordiam tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis.

Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat.

115   Miserere mei deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.

COLLECTA: Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, adflicti populi lacrimas respice et

---

105–8 Amplius ... dealbabor] *vigint. al. vers. Tur (Pss 37:22, 23; 69:6; 70:12; 118:4, 5, 18, 37, 38, 80, 117, 124, 125, 132, 135, 149, 169, 175, 176)*   106 cognosco] agnosco *Maz Pa2*   108 me[1]] *add.* domine *Maz*   109–15 *adhib. duobus locis Tur*   109 Exsurge] *praem.* Domine exaudi orationem meam. POST PSALMUM Miserere mei deus secundum magnum [Ps 50]. VERS. (*alt. loc.* POST PSALM. HOS VERSOS) *Tur*   110–13 Domine ... nobis *om. Orv*   111 Converte ... nobis *om. Tur (primo loco)*   114 Domine ... veniat *om. Tur*   115 Miserere ... tuam] *praem.* PSALMUS *Maz (marg.)* : *om. Col Pal Tur* deus ... tuam] *add.* DECANTA TOTUM *Orv Pa2*

116–24: *Col Esc Maz Opf Orv Pa2 Pa3 (122–24 alt. loc. in Tur)*

116 COLLECTA *Esc Pa2 Pa3 Orv* : ALIA ORATIO *Maz* : SEQUITUR ORATIO *Opf* : *om. Col*

103–4 Ps 27:3.

105 Ps 50:4 (iniquitate [*Col Esc Maz Opf Pal Pa2*]=*Gall* : iniustitia *Rom* ‖ peccato [*Maz Opf*]=*Gall* : delicto *Rom*).

106–7 Ps 50:5 (cognosco [*Esc Opf Pa3*]=*Gall* : agnosco [*Maz Pa2*]=*Rom* ‖ peccatum [*Esc Maz Opf*]=*Gall* : delictum *Rom* ‖ contra [*Maz Opf*]=*Gall* : coram *Rom*).

108 Ps 50:9 (me hysopo=*Gall Rom* : me domine hysopo [*Maz*]=*al. Gall et al. Rom*).

109 Ps 43:26 (Exsurge domine *Rom et al. Gall* : Exsurge *Gall* ‖ libera [*Esc Opf Maz Tur*]=*Rom* : redime *Gall*).

110 Ps 79:8 (Domine deus=*Rom* : Deus *Gall*).

111 Ps 84:5.

112 Ps 84:7 (conversus=*Gall* : convertens *Rom*).

113 Ps 84:8.

114 Ps 101:2 (veniat [*Opf*]=*Gall* : perveniat *Rom*).

115 Ps 50:3.

116–18 *Ph* 1721, *En* 2268, *H* 862 (*Orationes pro peccatis*); *Ge* 914, *En* 981 (*Letania maior*).

iram tuae indignationis averte, ut qui reatum nostrae infirmitatis agnoscimus tua consolatione liberemur. Per.

ALIA: Deus qui conspicis omni nos virtute destitui interius exteriusque cus-
120 todi, ut et ab omnibus adversitatibus muniamur in corpore et a pravis cogita-
tionibus mundemur in mente. Per.

ITEM ALIA: Propitiare, domine, iniquitatibus nostris et exorabilis tuis esto supplicibus, ut concessa venia quam precamur, perpetuo misericordiae tuae munere gloriemur. Per.

---

117 indignationis] indignis ab eo *Col*   infirmitatis] infirmitati *Pa2*   agnoscimus]
cognoscimus *Esc Pa2 (al. man.)*   118 tua] *add.* semper *Maz*   Per] *add.* dominum *Maz*
119 ALIA *Esc Opf Pa3* : *add.* COLLECTA *Col* : ITEM ALIA *Maz Pa2* : *om.* Orv   119–
21 interius . . . Per] UT SUPRA *Orv*   120 ab *om. Opf (prius sed corr.)*   adversitatibus
om. Col Pa2   122 ITEM ALIA *Esc Maz Pa2 Pa3* : ALIA COLLECTA *Col* : ITEM ORATIO
Opf : ALIA *Orv* : COLLECTA *Tur*   tuis *om. Tur*   123 venia] veniam *Esc (prius sed corr.)*
Orv : *add.* delictorum *Col*   124 Per] *add.* dominum *Tur*   perpetuo] perpetuae *Col*

119–21 *Sg* 319, *Ge* 352, *Ph* 355, *En* 363, *H* 202 (*II Dom. Quadragesimae*); *H* 876
(*Orationes cottidianae*).
122–24 *Ph* 1397, *En* 1952, *H* 882 (*Orationes cottidianae*); *Ge* 911 (*Letania maior*).

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

GILBERT OF TOURNAI'S LETTER
TO ISABELLE OF FRANCE:
AN EDITION OF THE COMPLETE TEXT*

Sean Field

IN 1931 A. de Poorter edited a letter of religious advice from the Franciscan Gilbert of Tournai to Isabelle of France, the sister of Louis IX, based on what was thought to be a unique manuscript in the Openbare bibliotheek Brugge.[1] In spite of its evident interest, this *Epistola ad dominam Isabellam* has received very little attention from scholars working on Gilbert of Tournai and has never been accorded even a passing reference by any of Isabelle's biographers. A closer look at this text would therefore be warranted in any case; more excitingly, however, the new edition and fresh analysis of the text presented here is prompted by the identification of a hitherto unknown manuscript copy—Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 9731, fols. 286r–290r—which reveals that De Poorter did not in fact have access to Gilbert's entire letter. The present article utilizes this recently discovered copy to analyze the contents of the entire letter for the first time, to offer new evidence for its date, to consider its importance in the careers of its author and recipient, and to present the first edition of the complete text.

[1] A. de Poorter, "Lettre de Guibert de Tournai, O.F.M. à Isabelle, fille du roi de France," in *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 12 (1931): 116–27. On the letter, see also idem, *Le traité 'Eruditio regum et principum' de Guibert de Tournai, O.F.M.* (Louvain, 1914), vii. De Poorter's edition was based on Brugge, Openbare Bibliotheek 490, fols. 89v–92v. For a description, see idem, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges,* vol. 2 (Gembloux, 1934), 560–61.

THE AUTHOR AND RECIPIENT OF THE LETTER

The thirteenth-century Franciscan Gilbert of Tournai is well known to medieval historians as a preacher, scholar, and moralist. Although in the last century many of his tracts and treatises have appeared in new editions, significant work remains to be done. For instance, much of his prodigious sermon output still exists only in manuscript, though scholars such as D. L. d'Avray and Nicole Bériou have begun to make this part of Gilbert's *oeuvre* accessible.[2] A much needed edition of his most important work, the massive *Rudimentum doctrinae,* is apparently in preparation, and recent attention to this text suggests the importance of Gilbert's role in the evolution of Franciscan theories of knowledge.[3] At present, however, there is no comprehensive

---

[2] For recent bibliography on Gilbert's preaching career, see Sean Field, "Annihilation and Perfection in Two Sermons by Gilbert of Tournai for the Translation of St. Francis," *Franciscana* 1 (1999): 237–74 at 237–39 nn. 3 and 5. Other recent work not cited there includes Nicole Bériou and François-Olivier Touati, *Voluntate Dei leprosus: Les lépreux entre conversion et exclusion aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Spoleto, 1991), 43–48, 84–88, and 129–55, for Bériou's discussion and editions of Gilbert's three sermons *Ad leprosos et abiectos* from his *ad status* collection; Michael Menzel, *Predigt und Geschichte: Historische Exempel in der geistlichen Rhetorik des Mittelalters* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 1998), 125–38; Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), 176–209, for editions and English translations of Gilbert's three sermons *Ad crucesignatos et crucesignandos* from his *ad status* collection; and D. L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford, 2001), 274–315, for an edition and translation with commentary of Gilbert's marriage sermon on the theme *Vocatus est Iesus* from his *de tempore* collection.

[3] The new edition is announced in Pietro Marenesi, "Guibertus Tornacensis: *Rudimentum Doctrinae,*" in *Editori di Quaracchi 100 Anni dopo: Bilancio et Prospettive. Atti del Colloquio Internazaionale Roma 29–30 Maggio 1995,* ed. Alvaro Cacciotti and Barbara Faes de Mottoni (Rome, 1997), 143–48. For partial editions of this text, see Servus Gieben, "Il *Rudimentum Doctrinae* di Gilberto di Tournai con l'edizione del suo 'Registrum' o Tavola della materia," in *Bonaventuriana: Miscellanea in onore di Jacques Guy Bougerol ofm,* ed. Francisco de Asís Chavaro Blanco, vol. 2 (Rome, 1988), 621–80; Camille Bérubé and Servus Gieben, "Guibert de Tournai et Robert Grosseteste. Sources inconnues de la doctrine de l'illumination, suivi de l'édition critique de trois chapitres du *Rudimentum doctrinae* de Guibert de Tournai," in *S. Bonaventura, 1274–1974,* vol. 2 (Grottaferrata, 1973), 627–54; Gieben, "Four Chapters on Philosophical Errors from the *Rudimentum Doctrinae* of Gilbert of Tournai, O. Min. (died 1284)," *Vivarium* 1 (1963): 141–64; E. Bonifacio, *Gilberto di Tournai: De modo addiscendi* (Turin, 1953); A. de Poorter, "Un traité de pédagogie médiévale, le *De modo addiscendi* de Guibert de Tournai, O.F.M.," *Revue néo-scolastique de philosophie* 24 (1922): 195–228. For other recent work on this text, see Steven P. Marrone, *The Light of Thy Countenance: Science and Knowledge of God in the Thirteenth Century,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 2001), esp. 1:120–51; Bert Roest, "Scientia and Sapientia in Gilbert of Tournai's *(E)rudimentum Doctrinae,*" in *Le vocabulaire des écoles des Mendiants au moyen âge. Actes du colloque Porto (Portugal), 11–12 octobre 1996,* ed. Maria Cândida Pacheco (Turnhout, 1999), 164–79; Wouter Goris, "Die

study of his life, works, or thought.[4] Consequently the basic chronology of his career is less than certain.[5]

Gilbert seems to have been born shortly after 1200 to the noble family of As-Piès. He traveled to Paris for his studies, earning the master of arts in the 1230s. He probably taught in the arts faculty at this time before joining the Franciscan order around 1240. It has sometimes been claimed that he participated in Louis IX's first crusade (1248–54), but this assertion is at best debatable.[6] After taking his doctorate in theology, Gilbert was Franciscan regent master at Paris in October 1259 when he composed the *Eruditio regum et principum* for Louis IX.[7] The most likely dates of the full term of his regency are 1259–61, though some scholars have favored 1257–60 or 1259–63.[8] He

Kritik des Bernhard von Trilia an der Lehre von Gott als Ersterkanntem. Einleitung und Textausgabe," *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 65 (1998): 248–319 at 253–57; idem, "Die Angänge der Auseinandersetzung um das Ersterkannte im 13. Jahrhundert: Guibert von Tournai, Bonaventura und Thomas von Aquin," *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 10 (1999): 355–69; Christian Trottmann, *La vision béatifique. Des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII* (Rome, 1995), 203–5; and Francis Ruello, "La doctrine de l'illumination dans le traité *Super librum Boethii de Trinitate* de Thomas d'Aquin," *Recherches de science religieuse* 64 (1976): 341–57.

[4] For surveys of Gilbert's career, see Benjamin de Troeyer, *Bio-bibliographia franciscana neerlandica ante saeculum XVI*, vol. 1 (Nieuwkoop, 1974), 15–43; and Baudouin d'Amsterdam, "Guibert de Tournai," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1967), cols. 1139–46. Much of the evidence for the dates of Gilbert's career was first pieced together in E. Longpré, *Tractatus de pace auctore Fr. Gilberto de Tornaco* (Quaracchi, 1925), vii–xxxvi, and expanded upon in L. Baudry, "Wibert de Tournai," *Revue d'histoire franciscaine* 5 (1928): 23–61.

[5] Two interesting strands of recent scholarship on Gilbert are not represented in the literature cited above. First, Lori J. Walters has recently suggested that Gilbert of Tournai is to be equated with the shadowy figure Gui de Mori, who was responsible for a rewriting of the *Romance of the Rose*—certainly an intriguing hypothesis; see "Who was Gui de Mori?" in *"Riens ne m'est seur que la chose incertaine": Études sur l'art d'écrire au Moyen Âge offertes à Eric Hicks par ses élèves, collègues, amies et amis*, ed. Jean-Claude Mühlethaler and Denis Billotte (Geneva, 2001), 133–46. Second, Wolfgang Bunte identifies Gilbert of Tournai as the author of a *Disputatio synagogae et ecclesiae* which was first edited by Martène and Durand in 1717 (*Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* 5:1497–1506); see *Religionsgespräche zwischen Christen und Juden in den Niederlanden (1100–1500)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 447–73.

[6] This claim is based on Gilbert's supposed authorship of a *Hodoeporicon primae profectionis Ludovici galliae regis in Syriam*. A manuscript of this work apparently existed in the library of the abbey of Saint-Martin at Tournai in the nineteenth century but is now lost. See De Poorter, *Le traité 'Eruditio regum et principum' de Guibert de Tournai*, vi, who justifiably expresses doubt about the reality of Gilbert's participation in the crusade.

[7] De Poorter, *Le traité 'Eruditio regum et principum' de Guibert de Tournai*.

[8] Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII*ᵉ *siécle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1933), 56, stated that "il est possible qu'il ait été le successeur immédiat de saint Bonaventure dans la chaire franciscaine (1257–1260 environ)." Victorin Doucet, "Maîtres franciscains de Paris: Supplement au 'Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII*ᵉ *siècle de M. le chan. P. Glorieux," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 27 (1934): 546, added significantly to

probably died in 1284.[9] What *is* certain is that Gilbert was a leading Francis-
can figure in Paris in the 1250s and early 1260s. And as his authorship of the
Eruditio regum et principum shows, Gilbert was not shy about addressing ad-
vice literature to royal and noble patrons. He wrote his treatise *De pace et
animi tranquillitate* (ca. 1275) for Marie de Dampierre, daughter of William
de Dampierre Count of Flanders; he addressed his *De modo addiscendi* (ca.
1263–68), in turn part of his *Rudimentum doctrinae,* to Jean the son of Guy de
Dampierre, also Count of Flanders;[10] and he composed the *Epistola* under
consideration here for Isabelle of France.

    Isabelle of France is an important figure in her own right whose career is
just beginning to attract the scholarly attention it warrants.[11] Born in 1225 as
the only daughter of Louis VIII and Blanche of Castile, Isabelle rejected all
attempts to arrange her marriage, choosing instead a life of virginity. Most

---

Glorieux's manuscript listings but gave no reason to challenge the dates of Gilbert's regency.
Nevertheless, by 1951 Glorieux had revised his estimate to 1259–61 (exchanging Gilbert's po-
sition with that of Eudes of Rosny), in "Maîtres franciscains régents à Paris. Mise au point,"
Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 18 (1951): 324–32 at 329. No reason for this
change was apparent, since the new research discussed in the article did not concern Gilbert or
the men who immediately preceded or followed him; D'Amsterdam followed Glorieux's
revised opinion ("Guibert de Tournai," 1139), whereas Baudry, writing earlier, had preferred
1259–63 ("Wibert de Tournai," 32). Since Franciscan masters seem to have customarily held
short regencies, the dating of Gilbert's regency to 1259–61 seems most plausible.

   [9] Albanus Heysse, "De die obitus Fr. Gilberti Tornacensis," *Archivum franciscanum his-
toricum* 26 (1933): 557–58.

   [10] See nn. 3 and 4 above for references to editions of these two works. I do not believe it
has ever been remarked that this same Marie de Dampierre was present with her mother at Isa-
belle of France's translation in 1270, demonstrating a rather interesting link between Gilbert's
advisees. Marie's presence is mentioned in Agnes of Harcourt's contemporary life of Isabelle
of France, for which see n. 14 below.

   [11] Sean Field, "The Princess, the Abbess, and the Friars: Isabelle of France and the Course
of Thirteenth-Century Religious History" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2002); idem,
"New Evidence for the Life of Isabelle of France," *Revue Mabillon,* n.s., 13 (2002): 109–23;
Beth Lynn, "Clare of Assisi and Isabelle of Longchamp: Further Light on the Early Develop-
ment of the Franciscan Charism," *Magistra* 3 (1997): 71–98; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*
(Paris, 1996), 270–71 and 727–29; Miriam Theresa Shadis, "Motherhood, Lineage and Royal
Power in Medieval Castile and France: Berenguela of León and Blanche of Castile (Ph.D. diss.,
Duke University, 1994), 245–49; and William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of
the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, 1979), 9–12. An article by Professor Jordan
entitled "Isabelle of France and Religious Devotion at the Court of Louis IX" is forthcoming in
Capetian Women, John Carmi Parsons and Kathleen Nolan (New York, 2003). Among older
biographies of Isabelle of France see Albert Garreau, *Bienheureuse Isabelle de France, soeur
de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1955). It should also be noted that Kervyn de Lettenhove, a nineteenth-
century scholar who devoted himself to Gilbert of Tournai, proposed Louis IX's daughter, also
named Isabelle, as the recipient of this letter, but this identification is surely incorrect; see
De Poorter, *Le traité 'Eruditio regum et principum' de Guibert de Tournai,* vii.

dramatically, in 1243 she spurned the Emperor Frederick II's attempt to se-
cure her hand for his son and heir Conrad, in spite of pressure from her family
and Pope Innocent IV. Over the next decade, a series of papal bulls demon-
strates her growing reputation as a devout royal woman and virgin as well as
her evident attachment to Franciscans and Franciscan ideals. Innocent IV's
bulls *Sanctae virginitatis propositum* and *Decens ac debitum* of 1253 and
1254 praised her choice of virginity and granted her request for Franciscan
confessors, while Alexander IV's bull *Benedicta filia tu* of 1256 lauded Isa-
belle's devout life as a virgin and referred to receiving glowing reports of her
conduct from Brothers Minor.[12]

At about the same time these bulls were issued, Isabelle decided to found a
new monastery just west of Paris for Franciscan women, the *Abbaye de
l'Humilité de Notre Dame*, or as it came to be known, Longchamp.[13] She
composed a new rule for this house along with a team of Franciscan masters
at Paris that included Bonaventure, William of Meliton, William of Harcom-
bourg, and her confessor Eudes of Rosny. Alexander IV approved this rule in
February 1259, the first nuns entered the abbey in June 1260, and a revised
version of the rule appeared in July 1263. Isabelle lived as a lay woman in a
residence on the abbey's grounds until her death in February 1270. Her tomb
at Longchamp witnessed a number of miracles and attracted pilgrims and
cure-seekers, as described in the vernacular *Vie d'Isabelle* written around
1283 by the third abbess of Longchamp, Agnes of Harcourt.[14] In the present

---

[12] Field, "New Evidence for the Life of Isabelle of France," where *Sanctae virginitatis pro-
positum* (22 July 1253) and *Benedicta filia tu* (12 June 1256) are edited. *Decens ac debitum* (26
May 1254) is found in L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 3d ed., vol. 3 (Quaracchi, 1931), 399–
400.

[13] In addition to the bibliography given above on Isabelle of France, on Longchamp see
Gaston Duchesne, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Longchamp* (1255 à 1789), 2d ed. (Paris,
1906); Gertrud Mlynarczyk, *Ein Franziskanerinnenkloster im 15. Jahrhundert: Edition und
Analyse von Besitzinventaren aus der Abtei Longchamp* (Bonn, 1987); Gratien de Paris, *His-
toire de la fondation et de l'évolution de l'ordre des frères mineurs au XIIIe siècle*, 2d ed.
(Rome, 1982), 609–11; Micheline de Fontette, *Les religieuses à l'âge classique du droit canon*
(Paris, 1967), 136–37 and 147–48; Guy Trouillard, *Etudes sur la discipline et l'état interieur
des abbayes de l'ordre des Urbanistes et principalement de l'abbaye de Longchamp du XIIIe
siècle au XVIIIe* (Thèse de l'École des Chartes, 1896); Hippolyte Cocheris, ed., *Histoire de la
ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris par l'Abbé Lebeuf. Nouvelle édition annotée et continuée
jusqu'à nos jours par Hippolyte Cocheris*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1870), 82–87 and 252–83; and *Gallia
Christiana*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1744), 943–50.

[14] A new edition of this work based on a previously unknown manuscript, together with an
English translation of the text and an historical introduction to Agnes of Harcourt, is forth-
coming in Sean Field, *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt: The Life of Isabelle of France and
the Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp* (Notre Dame, 2003 forthcoming). An older edition of
the *Vie d'Isabelle* is in Du Cange, ed., *Histoire de S. Lovys IX du nom Roy de France, écrite
par Iean Sire de Ioinville Senéchal de Champagne* (Paris, 1668), 169–81, and J. Stilting's

context it is worth noting one specific element stressed in this biography. According to Agnes, Isabelle had such a fine command of Latin that when her chaplains would write letters for her in that language, she would have them brought to her to correct any "false words" found in the text.[15] Here was a woman who could appreciate Gilbert's letter without the aid of a translator.

THE DATE OF THE TEXT

Thus the letter in question here represents advice from a Franciscan master to a royal woman who was both a patron of the Franciscans and engaged in her own pursuit of a devout life of virginity, first at court and then at her new Franciscan foundation. It is obviously of interest to know whether Gilbert was writing before or after Popes Innocent IV and Alexander IV had recognized and praised Isabelle's status as virgin, before or after she had decided to found her new abbey, and before or after her retirement there. Similarly, it would be helpful to be able to identify with confidence where this text falls in Gilbert's career as university master and advisor to royal and noble patrons. Unfortunately, neither surviving copy of this letter bears a date, and none has ever been proposed beyond the obvious observation that it must have been written before Isabelle's death in 1270. There is, however, some evidence for assigning at least an approximate date to the text, provided by two passages.

First, in his rather florid opening paragraph, Gilbert gives his reasons for writing:

> To his mistress beloved with all his heart in Christ Isabelle, daughter of the king of France, Brother Gilbert of Tournai, least of the servants of Christ, [commends] the preservation of the title of virginity, the consideration of its merit, the apprehension of its reward.
>
> Even though I am too little known to you in appearance, intimacy, family, profession, and name, however, according to the affection of the inner person and the ties of the Holy Spirit, I do not hold you unknown. I consider your presence in my mind, I reflect on your fame, I recommend to the Lord your merit and person. However, brother Philip, not in flesh and blood but in compliance with faithfulness, by the duty of love, without your knowing, has brought it about by his prayers that from the innermost parts of my heart, for

eighteenth-century Latin translation of Du Cange's edition is found in *Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. 6 (Venice, 1743; new edition Paris and Rome, 1868), 798–808.

[15] Field, *Writings of Agnes of Harcourt*, paragraph 14: "Car ele entendoit mout bien latin, et si bien l'entendoit que quant ses chapelains li avoient escrites ses letres qu'ele fesoit faire en latin et ils li aportoient, ele les amendoit quant il y avoit aucun fau mot. Et je seur Agnes de Harecourt vi ceste chosce pluiseurs fois et autres persones ausi."

as long as I shall live, through the grace of God, no passage of time, change of season, or neglectful forgetfulness will separate us or keep us at a distance. At the insistence of the above-mentioned brother, I now send you this brief tract, like a royal gift or jewel. May it yield to you and to posterity consolation and example!

The most obvious clue here would seem to be the mention of "Frater Philippus," who appears to have been close to Isabelle and to have brought her piety to Gilbert's attention. But since no fully convincing identity for this friar is apparent, the reference remains tantalizing but of little help.[16] Fortunately, several other clues to the letter's date can be teased out of the passage. On one hand, Gilbert claims that he is hardly known to the princess. Since Isabelle worked on her rule with each of the other masters who held the Franciscan chair between 1248 and 1263 (William of Meliton, Bonaventure, Eudes of Rosny, and William of Harcombourg) it seems unlikely that she would not have come in contact with Gilbert as well, once he was well established as master. Though Gilbert might be expected to employ a humility topos to be-

---

[16] The term "frater" almost certainly indicates that this Philip was a mendicant (see Nicole Beriou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1998], 181). One might speculate that he could have been one of the Franciscan confessors that Pope Innocent IV instructed the Franciscan Provincial Minister to grant to Isabelle in his bull *Decens ac debitum* of May 1254. One Philip who can be shown to have been close to Longchamp is the "Phelippe procureur de nostre abeÿe" mentioned in the *Vie d'Isabelle* (Field, *Writings of Agnes of Harcourt*, miracle 39), but since he is not identified as "frère" and this miracle probably did not occur until close to 1283, he is not a particularly compelling candidate. From another angle, the most famous Franciscan named Philip associated with women and the Franciscan order is surely Philippus Longus, the early visitor of women's houses said to have been rebuked by Francis himself for accepting this role. He was still alive in the mid-1250s; see Zeffirino Lazzeri, "De fr. Philippo Longo anno 1244 omnium clarissarum Visitatore atque de initio monasteriorum Volaterrarum et Castri Florentini," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 13 (1920): 286–89. But there is no particular reason to think that this friar (usually found in association with Italian women) had any connection to Isabelle. Perhaps the most likely Philip that I have been able to identify is a Franciscan mentioned in a letter from Pope Clement IV to Alphonse of Poitiers (Isabelle's brother) dated 27 April 1268: "Dilectum Filium Fratrem Philippum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, quem ad Nostram destinasti praesentiam . . ."; see J. H. Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum* vol. 3 (Rome, 1765), 157. Other documents (Élie Berger, ed., *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, vol. 4 [Paris, 1902], nos. 5267 and 5706) show that this Philip was charged with dispensing Alphonse's charitable donations to Franciscan houses, including Longchamp, in 1266/7, and acted as a witness to Alphonse's will in 1270. Thus this Franciscan named Philip at least has the merit of demonstrably being in contact with both the royal family and Isabelle's foundation. I am aware of no evidence, however, that would link him to Isabelle in the 1250s. It should finally be noted that this Philip O.F.M. is not to be confused with Alphonse of Poitiers's chancellor Philip, the treasurer of St. Hilary's of Poitiers, who was not a mendicant, though this latter Philip was in touch with Isabelle around 1250, since he mentions her in a letter to Alphonse; see Edgard Boutaric, *Saint Louis et Alphonse de Poitiers* (Paris, 1870), 75.

gin his letter, this objective could have been effectively accomplished by stressing his unworthiness rather than asserting that the princess did not know him. The latter strategy would be pointless unless true. Thus the letter was probably written before his term as Franciscan regent master at Paris, the exact dates for which are uncertain (as mentioned above) but definitely commencing by 1259. Moreover, Gilbert might have been expected to refer to Longchamp in some way if the letter had been written after 1260, or even after construction of the abbey started around 1256, but he does not. Less concretely, the letter has the feel of assuming that its recipient is in need of direction and guidance as a virgin in the world, which would be less the case after Isabelle's move to her residence at Longchamp. All of these considerations point towards a date before the end of the 1250s.

On the other hand, the letter obviously assumes a recipient publicly dedicated to virginity. Thus Gilbert must have written after 1243, when Isabelle's status as virgin solidified. But he does not refer specifically to her rejection of Conrad of Hohenstaufen, which he might have been expected to do had he written shortly after 1243. Gilbert's reference to Isabelle's *fama* (fame or reputation), makes a date in the early 1250s seems likely. Until the early 1250s there is little evidence that Isabelle was well known, but by 1253 her "fame" was starting to spread, as the papal bulls cited above demonstrate.

A second passage, drawn from the previously unedited portion of the letter, argues that the text should be dated to the earliest period compatible with the evidence summarized above. In the final section of the treatise, Gilbert stresses the importance of modesty (*verecundia*). "This virtue," he says, "whether we call it respectability or restraint or modesty, is appropriate for all times, ages, places, and people. However, it is particularly fitting for adolescent souls. For gravity is more praised in the old (*senibus*), eagerness in the young (*iuvenibus*), [and] modesty in adolescents (*adolescentibus*) . . ." Although the latter part of this quotation is taken verbatim from a work by St. Ambrose, nevertheless the implication is that Gilbert considers his addressee to be *adolescens*. Indeed, Gilbert continues to follow Ambrose by citing the story of Joseph found in Genesis, who is there specifically referred to as *adolescens*.[17] In short, Gilbert searched for and found in Ambrose a source which

---

[17] Gen 39:10. The Latin "adolescens" would not necessarily have to imply someone in their teens, as would the modern English "adolescent." See, for example, R. E. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources,* fasc. 1 (London, 1975), 33, who quotes Roger Bacon as stating that "adholocenciam dicit [medicus quidam] illam primam partem vite in qua calidum et humidum magis dominantur, et hoc dicunt terminari in 25 anno aut in 30 ad plus . . ." (I owe the reference to Robert Lerner). In Genesis Joseph is described as "adolescens" when his master's wife tries to seduce him (39:10); he is thrown in jail, interprets dreams, and *post duos annos* (41:1) successfully interprets Pharaoh's dream and enters his service, at which

deals specifically with the importance of modesty for the young. The conclusion that the recipient of Gilbert's letter was still considered a young woman seems fully warranted. Since Isabelle would have been thirty in 1255, a somewhat earlier date is indicated. Considering this evidence, Gilbert probably wrote his letter to Isabelle around 1253–55, just as she was gravitating to the Franciscan order, beginning to consider her plans for Longchamp, and gaining a measure of fame, and as Gilbert himself was approaching his term as the Franciscan regent master in theology.

SUMMARY OF THE LETTER'S CONTENTS

Gilbert has sometimes been disparaged as a rather unoriginal author, who not only habitually borrowed from earlier writers but was "not always good at digesting and marshalling his material."[18] The first editor of the letter under consideration recognized that Gilbert had taken many passages from earlier sources, though his edition did little to identify them.[19] Gilbert's use of his sources and the extent of his originality is of concern here, since it would be pointless to analyze his advice to Isabelle of France if he were simply repeating words written in earlier centuries for other purposes. But whatever Gilbert's limitations as an author may have been, in this letter he has assembled something substantially new for his royal correspondent. Though he does indeed employ numerous passages taken from other authors, his organization and overall content are original.

The *Epistola ad dominam Isabellam* takes as its theme a quotation from Ps 44:14–15: *Omnis gloria eius filie regis ab intus in fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietatibus* ("All the glory of the daughter of the king is within in golden fringes, clothed around with variety"). Though this text was not infrequently cited in similar advice literature for virgins, it must have had a special resonance for a woman who actually was the daughter of a king. Gilbert divides the passage, and hence the treatise, into five sections corresponding to *hereditas, puritas, virginitas, humilitas,* and *honestas:* I) *filia regis* refers to

---

time he is specifically said to be thirty years old (41:46). Thus the biblical passage cited by Gilbert might be read as sanctioning the use of *adolescens* for someone of about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. See also Didier Lett, *L'enfant des miracles: Enfance et société au moyen âge (XIIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1997), 51–52, on the term *adolescens* as applied to males and similar terms for young females.

[18] D. L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), 145.

[19] De Poorter, "Lettre de Guibert de Tournai," 117: "Au cours de ses écrits, Guibert a l'habitude d'insérer, parfois mot à mot, des extraits d'autres auteurs, dont il n'indique pas même le nom. C'est entr'autres le cas ici pour S. Bernard."

her heavenly inheritance; II) *gloria ab intus* demonstrates internal purity; III) *aurum* signifies unimpaired virginity; IV) the *fimbriae* represent humility; and V) *circumamicta varietatibus* implies honesty and exterior grace.[20] "From these five things," Gilbert explains, "a royal garment is made with which maidenly nakedness is clothed."

The first of these five sections is in turn divided into ten steps which represent the "inheritance" of the daughter of the king. "By these ten steps," Gilbert announces, "you must rise up to contempt of the world, and to the desire for the royal inheritance." But Gilbert goes beyond a simple exhortation towards detachment from the world to offer a more expansive and daring vision of spiritual ascent. Though he draws on several identifiable sources for this section, Gilbert reconfigures them in a new way to offer his own program of a step-by-step approach to God.[21]

The first three steps describe a soul weighed down with worldly concerns. Step one is simply misery, "for who would deny that the powerful seeking the world and disdaining heavenly things are miserable?" Gilbert warns that apparent prosperity takes its hidden tolls, for "however much greater will have been the height of dignity, of money or of honors, if it will not have been distributed properly, so much more interest will be demanded in punishments. . . ." Step two is laborious servitude. The Lord declares in the Gospel (Matthew 11:28) "Come to me all who labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you." But humans in their stubbornness refuse to listen. Gilbert goes on to quote passages from Horace, Virgil, and Cyprian to show humans' propensity for pointless labor. Step three is the unworthy or fallen-away soul, in which desire for temporal things flourishes. But Gilbert signals a transition towards higher things by remarking that "daily we ponder in our heart, and voice with our mouth, 'Our father who art in heaven.' Why [do we do] this, I ask you, unless so that our hearts, vows, and disposition should tend upwards? Upwards should be directed our prayer, because above we have our kingdom, Father, fatherland, and patron!"

---

[20] The Bruges manuscript used by De Poorter actually ends midway through section four. De Poorter was well aware that five sections were promised, and so designated what is in fact one of the divisions within part four as the beginning of part five. He must have had his doubts, however, since the Bruges manuscript clearly does not carry through the plan of the treatise as Gilbert lays it out in his introduction, ending in the middle of an announced internal three part division, and indeed right in the middle of a biblical quotation.

[21] The notes to the edition detail Gilbert's borrowings. In general, his main debts in section one are to St. Cyprian's letter to Donatus in steps one and two, a sermon by Peter Chrysologus for step three, sermons by Bernard of Clairvaux in four and six as well as a sermon attributed to Peter Damian in six, Hugh of Saint-Victor's commentary on Ps.-Dionysius in seven, a sermon by Gilbert of Hoyland (twelfth-century English Cistercian abbot) in eight, Bernard and Augustine again in nine, and Ps.-Dionysius, Bernard, and Anselm's *Proslogion* in ten.

In the fourth step the soul embarks on this upward journey. Here one begins to yearn for celestial things, and the desire for temporal things is weakened. Gilbert draws on a sermon by St. Bernard in arguing that

> the hearts of those praying and contemplating are often shaken from their innermost depths to the memory of the origin of this joy above, and the faces of those meditating overflow with wholesome waves of tears. . . . The origin of this joy, which is sometimes experienced here, is a drop, a tiny droplet, descending from that river of which "the stream makes the city of God joyful" (Psalm 45:5). And thus it exhilarates the mind, so that the soul feeling its force spurns the desires of the flesh.

It is apparent that at this point Gilbert is moving away from the sort of simple admonitions found in steps one through three and beginning to articulate an intellectually developed theory of the way the spiritually awakened soul works its way back to God.

Through this desire for celestial things manifested in step four, in the fifth step the soul is able to scorn temporal adversity. For to the soul intent on celestial things, the trials of this world are light and brief. Having put temporal concerns behind, in the sixth step an ardent love for the Father and fatherland (*ardens affectio patris et patrie*) exceeds the strength of the body. Here Gilbert introduces the concrete biblical example of Mary Magdalen, in an exposition that draws on a sermon by St. Bernard and one attributed to Peter Damian.[22] Through her love of Christ, Mary Magdalen resolved to carry his crucified body by herself. "If you have taken him," she says, "tell me where you have laid him and I will take him away" (John 20:15). Though Mary was not in reality strong enough for the task, "Love may overcome where feebleness of strength is not adequate. The ardor of this [love] is neither subject to reason nor subdued by feebleness, nor restrained by bashfulness, nor tempered by advice, nor does it wait for judgment." At this point Gilbert turns aside to address Isabelle, announcing, "I do not write this to you so that you should exceed your bodily strength, but that you should know the force of divine love."

In the seventh step, the mind's eye, yearning for the Father and the fatherland, is sharpened by the force of this fervor. Gilbert invokes the teachings of

---

[22] To my knowledge, Gilbert's own sermons on Mary Magdalen from his *de tempore et de sanctis* collection have not been edited. See Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, vol. 2 (Münster Westfalen, 1970), 292–93, nos. 129–30, and p. 285, no. 36. For commentary, see Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1999), 209; and Nicole Bériou, "La Madeleine dans les sermons parisiens du XIIIe siècle," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 104 (1992): 269–340 at 275 and 277.

Ps.-Dionysius, saying "and thus the heat of love, according to the blessed Dionysius, brings about a sharpening of knowledge." Gilbert develops his point by employing an explanation found in Hugh of Saint-Victor's commentary on Ps.-Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchies* to draw a parallel with the Apostles. For in the Gospel (Luke 24:32) the apostles recall, "Was not our heart burning for Jesus while he spoke to us in the street?" Gilbert echoes Hugh without directly quoting him in commenting on this passage, explaining, "Love seized their hearts through Jesus. They thirsted for Jesus, heard and saw him and yet did not know him. Hence they were called 'foolish and slow.' But since they burned in this way, therefore they soon deserved to know. Since they had the heat of love, soon they gained sharpening." But to explain the difficult idea of "sharpening" (*acutum*), Gilbert turns to a definition drawn directly from Hugh: " 'Sharpening' here signifies a sort of force of love and violence of burning desire carrying one into the loved one, entering and penetrating and going over into the loved one itself."[23]

The eighth step yields an initial reward for this "sharpening," when the mind longing for the sweetness of the fatherland is refreshed by its fruits; that is, by the sweet consolation of God's temporary presence. But although God may only be felt and enjoyed for fleeting moments in this life, nevertheless "the memory of the vision tasted and swallowed remains." At the ninth step, all of creation is seen to be nothing more or less than a sign of and path back to God, and thus "the faithful daughter takes delight in no one except the Lord, her father." For she realizes that

> there is nothing of beauty or sweetness, even in transitory things, which does not come or originally proceed from that heavenly fatherland, from that font and origin of all good! For what does it mean to return whatever is considered good in all things to their fountain-like origin, other than to be delighted in the Lord? Therefore whatever delights you in transitory things, be delighted in the Lord, that is, return to the Lord.

The tenth step will only be completed in the future, when the soul, made into the form of God (*anima Deiformis effecta*), will be filled with God. Taking an image from St. Bernard, Gilbert likens this process to a drop of water

---

[23] My translation is from Gilbert's text. Compare Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Expositio in hierarchiam coelestem S. Dionysii areopagitae* 6 (PL 175:1037): "Significat enim acutum impetum quemdam amoris, et vehementiam desiderii ardentis, ferentis se in amatum, et intrantis, et penetrantis, ut ibi sit, ubi est ipsum, quod amatur, cum ipso, et in ipso, ut non solum ab ipso calidum sit, sed transeat acutum in ipsum." More generally, step seven can also be compared with Gilbert's use of Ps.-Dionysius in his treatise for Louis IX; see De Poorter, *Le traité 'Eruditio regum et principum' de Guibert de Tournai*, 84.

totally diffused in wine,[24] explaining that "the soul will remain with human substance, but full and overflowing with ineffable glory."

Section two develops the phrase *gloria ab intus* as the basis for a brief exhortation on purity of mind (*de puritate mentis*). This section is cast in the form of a comparison between two sorts of "daughters." Some women are like the daughters of Babylon, who glory in fine clothes, jewelry, ornaments, and mirrors, artificially enhancing their appearance by adding makeup to their eyes and skin and dying their hair. Gilbert goes on to borrow from one of his main models for the rest of the text, St. Bernard's *Epistola ad Sophiam virginem,* to add further invectives against these vain women. This sort of "glory" is far from the "glory and attire of the daughter of the King," which is "purity of heart, [and] witness of good conscience." But Gilbert cuts short his discourse on purity, perhaps realizing that another ten-step exploration would be tiring. He restricts himself to explaining that this purity too "has its steps through which it begins, proceeds, and is completed to the last." He promises to explain it further to Isabelle in the future, if it would please her and he can find the time.

According to the plan laid out by Gilbert's introduction, one would expect section three to explore the theme of virginity based on the word *aurum,* while section four would move on to discuss humility in conjunction with *fimbriae.* But Gilbert seems to have decided to tie the two themes together in a way that obscures his sectional divisions. Gilbert signals his transition to section three, saying "now it is time to come to the golden fringes," but then moves first to the equation of "fringes" with humility. He cites the story in Matthew 9:20 of a woman with a hemorrhage who came up behind Jesus and touched the fringes of his garment and was cured. Gilbert ties "fringes" to humility here by stressing that this woman modestly stayed behind Jesus and touched only the bottom of his cloak through humility. But, warns our author, since fringes may trail after us, they can also become dirty. Therefore, "it is much to be feared lest even if this fringe will have escaped the mud, that some dust will adhere, which certainly comes about if one even lightly seeks praise for humility."

After this brief admonition against pride, Gilbert begins his extended consideration of virginity, represented by the "gold" of the golden fringes, but makes it clear that he has not left the theme of humility behind. For the words "golden fringes" are not merely joined together by chance: "Rather in this [phrase] is mystically denoted how these two virtues are mutually connected

---

[24] See Robert E. Lerner, "The Image of Mixed Liquids in Late Medieval Mystical Thought," *Church History* 40 (1971): 397–411.

in a beautiful appearance. . . . Indeed, blessed virginity guards the intact body for Christ; humility perfectly surrenders the mind to this same Christ." Jesus himself is the best example of this marriage of humility and virginity, for although he was the only son of the Father and a virgin mother and the groom and glory of all virgins, he also respected humility in his mother, preached it to his disciples and consummated it on the cross.[25] Gilbert rounds out this thought by addressing Isabelle, exclaiming, "let me not say that you possess [these virtues] superficially in name only, but that you imprint the reality of them, since they have been given by the Lord, in the very marrow of the innermost parts of your heart!"

At this point, still within section four, Gilbert comes back to the subdivision, first announced in his greeting, of the sign, merit, and rewards of virginity.[26] Not surprisingly, the signs of virginity center around modest comportment. He draws on a Ps.-Augustinian treatise on the "Twelve Grades of Abuses" to detail a myriad of negative actions to be avoided, urging Isabelle "wholly to avoid all uncleanness, not to excite laughter, not to say or hear vain words, to have orderly dress as is proper, to look at no one with an arrogant gaze, not to allow the eyes to wander, not to walk with a pompous and enticing step. . . ." But Gilbert also suggests that a mystical component should go along with such modest behavior, noting "I have read that some, from the inner exercise of purity, have been seized into rapture, in such a manner that frequently they will forget themselves . . . and the mind clinging steadfastly to God rejects the bodily senses, and departs entirely from all material things."

Gilbert declares himself unworthy, as a mere sinner, to pronounce on the merits of virginity. But somehow managing to overcome this reluctance, and with the aid of passages found in Fulgentius's *Epistola ad Probam,* he compares conjugal life to virginity: "For in the one the spirit is depressed to the earth by the earthly desire of the flesh, in the other the earthly flesh is lifted by the expression of the spirit to the heavens." He makes the commonplace connection between the words "virtue," "virility" and "virginity." Virginity "is well described as a 'virtue', for to it uniquely is attributed a name of '*vir*-ginity,' that is derived from '*vir*-tue.' Therefore act manfully, you who are virgins, that you may extol the fact of your name!" Gilbert elaborates with a

---

[25] One might note here the congruence between Gilbert's remark and Isabelle's rather unusual desire to name her abbey after "The Humility of Our Lady." On her fervent personal insistence on this name, see Agnes of Harcourt's biography, in Field, *Writings of Agnes of Harcourt,* paragraph 24. But at the same time, Gilbert's relative lack of interest in proposing the Virgin Mary as a model for Isabelle is striking.

[26] De Poorter's incomplete edition mistakenly placed the beginning of section five here.

medley of quotations from the Song of Songs: "Therefore let the daughter of the king be made ready, and with her the daughters of Jerusalem, for the meeting of her king. . . . I have held him and I will not send him away, while the bridegroom will lead me over and introduce his bride into his hereditary house and my fatherland."[27]

Here Gilbert inserts a new caution, again found in Fulgentius–virgins must walk a middle path between temptations of flesh and pride. Addressing Isabelle directly, he says, "To this point, my dearest mistress, virginity with humility will lead you, unless, however, you bend your path too much to the right or left." For "the throng of carnal delights besets the left, [while] haughty boasting of spiritual virtues holds the right." The devil tries to coax virgins into abandoning their abstinence and asceticism. But, Gilbert argues, "you are deceived, O virgin, you are deceived if you will have believed such foolishness! For you will have bent yourself too far to the right." Gilbert, however, quickly cautions his correspondent not to go to extremes, while making a pun on her royal status: "Accept a moderate mode of fasting, O my mistress, if you please, that you might proceed by the royal way, and hold to the middle." Moderation will prevent the perils of excessive pride, since "this same enemy prepares traps even more dangerous to virgins on the left. For even if chastity is preserved in the flesh, he still tries to carry off the integrity of the heart."

Returning to the last element of his earlier three-part division, Gilbert recalls, "Now perhaps it is demanded that after the sign and merit of virginity, something regarding the reward should be attached." He, ever a model of reticence, notes that "perhaps it would be more fitting for me to pass over this reward in silence, were it not that the love of Christ and your affection in Christ urge me." These rewards are the golden crown, fine linen clothing, and the veil and the ring.

Exodus refers to both "a crown of gold" (*corona aurea*) and a "golden crown" (*aureola corona*). In "crown of gold" is understood the reward of love, in "golden crown" the overflowing reward for the privilege of virginal chastity. Gilbert offers a word of reassurance against those who have argued that virginity can be lost simply by thinking impure thoughts: "And certainly those who, having accepted the consent of lust in the heart, have returned to their senses through penance of this illicit purpose, as long as the flesh will have remained unpolluted, they will not lose the golden [crown]." Just as the virgin's head is crowned with gold, her body is clothed in "the fine linen garment with which virgins are dressed according to the revelations of John."

---

[27] It is at this point that the Bruges manuscript abruptly breaks off. Hence the rest of the letter is entirely new to scholarship.

Gilbert is here working from Apocalypse 19:7–8: "His Bride has made herself ready; it was granted her to be clothed with fine linen, bright and pure." This passage again launches Gilbert into a flurry of images from the Song of Songs, "which male and female virgins alone will sing, just as John declares in the Apocalypse (14:3–4) under the figure of the innocents."

The ring and the veil are the special privileges of consecrated virgins. Taking the ring first, Gilbert quotes from an established liturgy for the consecration of virgins, and then goes on to assert that "through this ring, you represent in yourself the type and figure of the church triumphant which has neither spot nor wrinkle." But, "let those fear indeed who ought not to accept this consecration!" For according to Pope Leo I, even those who have lost virginity through violence should not compare themselves with undefiled virgins, "not because they will have lost their merit without consent, but because they do not represent or exhibit the sacrament of their consecration." Concerning the veil, Gilbert again quotes from the same liturgy for virgins, "He has put, says the bishop consecrating virgins, a sign on my face and I will admit no lover except him." The veiled virgin must be mindful, therefore, that she has married Christ alone.

Finally, Gilbert arrives at section five and announces the nearing completion of the metaphorical "garment" he has been weaving for the princess: "After the desire of the celestial fatherland, purity of the heart, perfect humility, and unstained virginity, it is time that I come to respectability and not pass over exterior discipline, and thus I will end and conclude this overlong garment." Exterior respectability of habits, says Gilbert, is well described as "an enclosing" (*circumdatio*), without which virtue easily slips away, but with which the variety of virtue is guided, protected, and conserved. This virtue of respectability or modesty is most appropriate for "*adolescentes animi*." The best example of youthful modesty is the story of Joseph in Genesis. Gilbert takes his exposition from Ambrose, noting Joseph's chastity, humility, modesty, and patience.

At last Gilbert brings his letter to a close:

> But now I see that I must display some modesty, I who write to you concerning the necessity of modesty or restraint! For it is well known (the Lord be praised!) that by no means do you need to be admonished concerning these things. Wherefore this letter must be brought to its end. Forgive the inadequacy of the writer. Forgive the fault of its length. Forgive that I, so insignificant and practically no one, have written so familiarly to you, so great a woman and of such quality, and may you remember me sometimes among your prayers, just as I shall always remember you. May your Highness prosper long and well, dearest mistress in the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

CONCLUSION:
FRANCISCANS, CAPETIANS, AND THE "LITERATURE OF FORMATION"

The larger significance of Gilbert's treatise remains to be considered. Since only two copies have thus far come to light (though others certainly did exist), it seems that it was not as widely read by "posterity" as Gilbert might have hoped. But in this case, a relatively modest diffusion is countered by the importance of the author's relationship to the circle for which the letter was intended. As noted earlier in this article, Gilbert is known as the author of the *Rudimentum doctrinae,* as an influential preacher, and as a valued composer of advice literature. The *Epistola ad dominam Isabellam* represents Gilbert's transmission of a version of his ideas on spiritual ascent (related to those found in the *Rudimentum doctrinae*) as well as practical advice such as that found in his sermons *ad virgines* to an important figure at the Capetian court. It is thus a significant moment of interaction between the scholastic milieu of the Franciscan university masters and the devout world of St. Louis and his family.[28] Moreover, if this letter dates from approximately 1253–55, then we have here Gilbert's earliest foray into advice literature for royal and noble patrons. The opportunity to write to the sister of the king, residing at court as a virgin and lay woman with a predilection for Franciscan ideals, may have been instrumental in establishing or solidifying Gilbert's position as a religious advisor with access to the royal circle.

More broadly, Isabelle's rare status as a powerful royal woman living a life of virginity outside the cloister seems to have encouraged Gilbert to rethink the standard goals of religious advice literature written by men for women. In spite of Gilbert's frequent dependence on earlier sources, his creative combination of genres becomes apparent when the *Epistola ad dominam Isabellam* is compared with Barbara Newman's analysis of a dossier of this sort of "literature of formation."[29] Newman's survey of forty-five texts written between 1075 and 1225 shows that when men wrote to instruct religious women, virginity concerned them far more than when writing for men. More specifically,

---

[28] See Carla Casagrande, *Prediche alle donne del secolo XIII: Testi di Umberto da Romans, Gilberto da Tournai, Stefano di Borbone* (Milan, 1978), 93–112, for editions and Italian translations of some of Gilbert's sermons for unmarried women from his *ad status* collection. Casagranda includes one of Gilbert's three sermons *ad coniugatas,* his single sermon *ad viduas,* one of his nine sermons *ad virgines et puellas,* and his single sermon *ad moniales et religiosas.* On the complete contents of this collection, see Bériou and Touati, *Voluntate Dei leprosus,* 44 n. 26.

[29] Barbara Newman, "Flaws in the Golden Bowl: Gender and Spiritual Formation in the Twelfth Century," in *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1995), 19–45.

Newman observes that this stress on virginity produced a notably static vision of women's religious and spiritual lives. Whereas treatises for men often focused on step-by-step spiritual development, advice to women concentrated on preserving an existing state of physical purity and perfection, thus privileging stasis over growth. The logic for this gendering of advice literature is evident; if virginity was seen as the defining characteristic of female religiosity, then simple avoidance of physical or mental corruption was the virgin's paramount lifelong goal.[30]

Gilbert's letter differs from the texts that make up Newman's dossier in that it was written about thirty years after the cutoff point for her study and was intended for a devout laywoman rather than a nun. But in spite of these differences, Newman's survey provides a useful point of comparison. Gilbert's letter does reinforce some of its findings. At the most basic level, the letter certainly dwells on virginity—it is this attribute that makes Isabelle worthy of notice and praise. More specifically, its sections on virginity, humility, and exterior discipline are by and large couched in the negative, static tones described by Newman.

But in some ways Gilbert breaks with the established conventions of this sort of advice literature for women. Although his letter to Isabelle of France is often referred to as a *Tractatus de virginitate,* such a label is misleading.[31] Gilbert's five-part division of his work into sections on spiritual ascent, purity, humility, virginity, and exterior discipline indicates that virginity was only one of the topics on his mind. The relative importance he accorded to

---

[30] Newman's argument has recently been questioned by Elisabeth Bos, "The Literature of Spiritual Formation for Women in France and England, 1080–1180," in *Listen, Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages,* ed. Constant J. Mews (New York, 2001), 201–20. Bos argues that "[m]any of the praiseworthy attributes associated with physical virginity, far from being static, were valued because they connoted a victorious spiritual struggle" (207). Though her reexamination of the evidence is useful, I do not find her argument entirely convincing. In the same volume, pp. 159–79, Janice M. Pinder's essay "The Cloister and the Garden: Gendered Images of Religious Life from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" also reconsiders Newman's argument. In examining some of the ways virginity is described in the *Speculum virginum,* Hugh of Fouilloy's *De claustro animae,* and the treatise entitled *De modo bene videndi,* she concludes that "[f]ighting a battle, running a race, and cultivating a garden are certainly not static images, but neither do they convey a sense of progress through stages or of ascent" (173). I would agree with this assessment. It is exactly Gilbert's program of "stages" and "ascent" to which I wish to draw attention.

[31] D'Amsterdam refers to it as *Tractatus de virginitate* in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 6:1142; Glorieux gives it the same title in *Répertoire* 2:57, as does De Troeyer in *Bio-bibliographia franciscana,* 35, where is it also called an *Epistola exhortatoria ad B. Isabellam.* Baudry also labeled it an "Epistola exhortatoria" ("Wibert de Tournai," 28). De Poorter consistently and perhaps wisely refrained from giving a Latin title.

these virtues is apparent in the amount of space he devotes to each section: section one on spiritual ascent forms a full forty percent of the work, while the linked sections three and four on virginity and humility take up almost another forty percent, leaving only about twenty percent of the text to be divided between the introduction, section two on purity, and section five on external discipline. Evidently, Gilbert's preoccupations were equally split between the importance of virginity and spiritual ascent to God.

Gilbert's departure from the conventions of spiritual advice to virgins and religious women is further apparent when one considers the use he made of the "model" letters of this sort that he seems to have consulted. His greeting, with its reference to "the preservation of the title of virginity" and "the apprehension of its rewards," is a recognizable echo of St. Bernard's twelfth-century letter of advice to the virgin Sophia. But after the greeting, Gilbert does not return to this model letter until he has completed section one and moved on to his second section on purity, where he extracts a number of passages from Bernard. Sections three and four borrow from this letter several more times, but actually rely more heavily on a second model text, the letter of advice on humility and virginity written by the African bishop Fulgentius (ca. 467–532) to the virgin Proba. In his final section, Gilbert turns to the works of Ambrose as his main model, drawing from another text on virginity, his *Liber secundus de virginibus,* as well as from his *Libri de officiis ministrorum.* Thus in sections two through five, Gilbert has put together an effective but largely unremarkable exhortation to virginity and humility, adding his own thoughts and touches but deriving his themes from well-established models.

But section one represents the insertion of an entirely different sort of spiritual advice, one not found in the letters *ad virgines* of Bernard, Fulgentius, or Ambrose, or in the literature surveyed by Newman.[32] This ten-step "inheritance" outlined by Gilbert is certainly the most interesting and daring portion

---

[32] See *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist,* Appendix A, "Religious Literature of Formation, 1075–1225," 313–16, for a list of the texts considered by Newman. Nor do the few additional texts cited by Bos include this sort of stress on step-by-step ascent. Professor Newman herself pointed out to me that the twelfth-century *Speculum virginum,* one of the most substantial and influential texts in the "literature of formation," does contain a brief summary of the five "*gradus virginalis vite.*" They might be outlined as follows: 1) integrity of mind and body and the desire to please God alone; 2) renouncing the world and its delights; 3) adhering to obedience and service; 4) meditating on the word of God; 5) avoiding overconfidence and negligence. Although it is conceivable that this five-part program could have had some influence on Gilbert, it is evident that these "grades of the virginal life" hardly deal with spiritual ascent. See *Speculum virginum,* ed. Jutta Seyfarth, CCCM 5 (Turnhout, 1990), 289–89, and Newman's translation in *Listen, Daughter,* 269–96 at 295. In any case, my intention here is not to claim ab-

of the work. He shows remarkable confidence in a laywoman by assuming her interest in and ability to follow the teachings of Ps.-Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchy*. And although he does not acknowledge the citation, in the course of explaining how burning love leads to the Dionysian idea of "sharpening" of the spiritual senses, Gilbert brings Hugh of Saint-Victor's commentary to Isabelle's attention. It is as though Gilbert has inserted a learned mini-treatise on mystical unity with God into a more pedantic insistence on good behavior by devoting two-fifths of his letter to a ten-step outline of spiritual ascent, his own *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* to borrow the title of Bonaventure's more famous work.[33] The very fact that Gilbert was demonstrably familiar with earlier advice literature to virgins means that he must have realized his letter to the princess differed in its attention to spiritual growth and mystical ascent to God.

Isabelle's own status, power, and prestige might be thought of as influencing Gilbert's approach, as evidenced in his consistent use of *domina,* rather than *filia* or some equivalent, to denote his recipient. Gilbert was writing on his own initiative, dispensing advice to the princess without her having solicited it. Not having been asked to write, the Franciscan could hardly offer something without real interest, or insult his reader's good intentions or intelligence by focusing on the simplest sort of admonition to good behavior. Seen in this light, Gilbert's willingness to open his tract with an extended foray into the workings of spiritual ascent to God might be viewed as a conscious attempt to capture the attention of Isabelle, her family, and circle.

In conclusion, if this letter represents an important moment of contact between a leading Franciscan and a saintly Capetian woman, it nevertheless suggests a rather paradoxical relationship between Isabelle and her Franciscan advisors. On one hand, she was encouraged to think beyond simple terms of pious behavior and to contemplate the deeper possibilities for her own spiritual life. Along with the demonstrable reputation for holiness she enjoyed with Pope Alexander IV, this sort of Franciscan spiritual encouragement may

---

solute uniqueness for Gilbert's letter but to point out that its transgression of the normal boundaries of the genre is worthy of note.

[33] One might profitably compare the description of ascent to God found in section one of the present letter with sections of other works by Gilbert, including the *Rudimentum doctrinae* (especially part 6 of book 3, edited by Bonifacio, *De modo addiscendi,* 265–90, and summarized in Gieben, "Il *Rudimentum doctrinae* di Gilberto di Tournai," 679–80), the sermon for St. Francis's translation *Inflammatum est cor meum* (ed. Field, "Annihilation and Perfection in Two Sermons by Gilbert of Tournai," 258–70), and chapters 28 and 29 of the *Tractatus de pace* (ed. Longpré, 163–87), all of which are linked by their reliance on Richard of Saint-Victor's *Benjamin maior.*

have spilled over into Isabelle's subsequent confidence and success in negotiating for the acceptance of her new rule for Longchamp in 1259. But on the other hand, overtly "Franciscan" models and ideals are strikingly absent from Gilbert's letter. Gilbert might have been expected to hold up St. Clare or St. Francis as models for Isabelle, or at least to refer specifically to Franciscan values or institutions in some way, but did not. Poverty, for instance, is not mentioned in any context in Gilbert's letter, and humility, though certainly a Franciscan value, is not linked with Franciscan models.[34] Isabelle's ideas on the nature of a female Franciscan identity may well have resulted at least in part from conversations with advisors like Gilbert. The evidence of this letter, however, suggests that her vision was no mere reflection of their advice.[35]

EDITION

This first complete edition of Gilbert of Tournai's *Epistola ad dominam Isabellam* is based on Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 9731, fols. 286r–290r

---

[34] Admittedly Franciscans were not always likely to stress poverty as an ideal for lay people. But evidence from Gilbert's sermons demonstrates that he did consider it part of a model life for women associated with the Franciscan order. For instance, in his single sermon on St. Clare from his collection of sermons *de sanctis* (one of the earliest and most widely distributed sermons after her canonization), Gilbert considers Clare as bride of Christ, a betrothal "initiated in her virginity, ratified in the poverty of religion, and consummated in humility"; see Nicole Bériou, "Sermons sur Sainte Claire dans l'espace Français," in *Sainte Claire d'Assise et sa postérité. Actes du Colloque de l'U.N.E.S.C.O. 29 septembre–1er octobre 1994* (Nantes, 1995), 137–38 for her edition of the sermon, 138 for quotation: "Ex caritate enim Christo desponsata est. . . . Hec enim desponsacio iniciata fuit in eius virginitate, rata autem fuit in religionis paupertate, et consumpmata in humilitate." In a sermon from the same collection on St. Elizabeth of Hungry († 1231), like Isabelle a royal laywoman closely tied to the Franciscans, Gilbert describes Elizabeth as a "noble woman" who "suffered poverty for Christ and lived by manual labor" (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 15942, fol. 39ra, "Sermo de beata Elizabeth": *"Quesivit lanam et linum et operata est consilio manuum suarum,* proverbiorum ultimum. Verbum hoc allegorice potest exponi de beata Elizabeth, que pro Christo paupertatem sustinuit et de labore manuali vixit"; and in the conclusion to the sermon: "Et sic patet quomodo nobilis hec mulier *quesivit linum et operata est* in eo *consilio manuum suarum"*).

[35] Though it is often assumed that Bonaventure's *De perfectione vitae ad sorores* was also composed for Isabelle of France, I have argued elsewhere that this assertion is unfounded and incorrect; see Field, "The Princess, the Abbess, and the Friars," chap. 4. To put the matter succinctly, Bonaventure's treatise was demonstrably written for a Franciscan nun, which Isabelle was not. She was not therefore its commissioner or recipient. Moreover, anyone reexamining the discussion in which Bonaventure's Quaracchi editors first suggested Isabelle as a likely recipient will quickly see that there are no manuscript attributions to this effect, that there is no other hard evidence, and that Isabelle was offered only as a tentative hypothesis as the sort of woman likely to have commissioned such a tract; see *S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia,* vol. 8 (Quaracchi, 1898), lvi–lvii.

$(=M)$.[36] This manuscript dates from the fourteenth century, and was in the papal library at Avignon by 1375. It was eventually acquired in 1770 or 1771 by Joseph-Louis-Dominique de Cambis, Marquis de Velleron (1706–72), before making its way to the National Library in Madrid.[37] For the following edition, the base manuscript is compared with the only other known copy, Openbare Bibliotheek Brugge 490, fols. 89v–92v $(=B)$, folios 63–92 of which date from the late thirteenth century.[38] The Bruges manuscript was the only source consulted for De Poorter's previous edition of this text, but it ends abruptly about three-quarters of the way through the letter.[39] Although M is a slightly later manuscript than B, I have chosen to follow its orthography because it is the more complete of the two, and because De Poorter's transcription of B is already available. I have, however, standardized usage of u and v. B sometimes employs c and t interchangeably, especially before i. I have normally left the manuscript readings unaltered in these cases but have generally expanded abbreviations using t. In cases where the meaning of the word is obscured, however, I have standardized c and t and noted the change in the critical apparatus. The single significant lacuna in M (paragraphs 17–

---

[36] This manuscript is described in José María Pou y Martí, *Visionarios, Beguinos y Fraticelos Catalanes (siglos XIII–XV)* 2d ed. (Madrid, 1991), lxxxvi–lxxxix. However, most of the information given for the letter in question in the introduction by Juan M. Arcelus Ulibarrena (added to the second edition of Pou y Martí's book) is simply incorrect. Arcelus assumed the letter to be from (or a forgery claiming to be from) Joachim of Fiore, since the contents of the manuscript are mainly his works. This assumption leads to multiple errors. Whereas in the manuscript the author identifies himself as "frater G. servorum Christi minimus," the catalogue arbitrarily expands "G" to read "Joachim." Similarly, the catalogue reads "Ysabelli filie regis suae" for "Ysabelli filie regis Francie." Consequently the recipient is incorrectly identified as Isabelle of Hainault (grandmother of Isabelle of France). Moreover, the reading of the explicit is inaccurate. The newly issued vol. 14 of the *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca nacional (9501–10200)* (Madrid, 2000), 140–41, gives only a perfunctory description of the manuscript's contents and also seems to assume the letter is the work of Joachim. This misattribution and most of the errors that stem from it are ultimately the result of uncritical reliance on the description of this manuscript found in the *Catalogue raisoné des principaux manuscrits du cabinet de M. Joseph-Louis-Dominique de Cambis, Marquis de Velleron* (Avignon, 1770), 664–65.

[37] See Franciscus Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae romanorum pontificum,* vol. 1 (Rome, 1890), 512, no. 873; Galindo Romeo, *La biblioteca de Benedicto XIII* (Zaragoza, 1929), 800, no. VIIcXLIX; and Raymond Étaix, "Le Cabinet des manuscrits du Marquis de Cambis-Velleron," *Scriptorium* 37 (1983): 87, no. 180. The Marquis acquired his manuscripts numbered 162–95 between the publication of the original catalogue (see citation in previous note) in 1770 and a supplement the following year. I thank Robert E. Lerner for references to the literature in this and the previous note.

[38] See De Poorter, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges* 2:560–61.

[39] De Poorter, "Lettre de Guibert de Tournai," 116–27.

19) is filled from *B*. I follow readings from *B* where they are clearly superior and note the rejected readings from *M* in the critical apparatus.

My examination of the Bruges manuscript revealed that while De Poorter's edition was substantially faithful to his exemplar, he did see fit to make small silent emendations. I have not felt it necessary to note De Poorter's deviations from his manuscript as they appear in his edition, but have simply included the actual manuscript variants. My editorial changes or insertions are also noted in the critical apparatus. In particular, since *B* ends in paragraph 29, a number of editorial emendations for corrupt passages in *M* become necessary after that point. Words or letters within angle brackets are editorial insertions. I have added roman numerals I–V between square brackets to indicate the major divisions of the work, and arabic numerals 1–10 between square brackets in paragraph 7 to indicate the ten steps of the section. Biblical quotations are in italics.

Incipit epistola ad dominam Ysabellam.

1. Illustrissime domine sue totis in Christo visceribus amplectende Ysabelli
filie regis Francie, frater Guibertus de Tornaco servorum Christi minimus,
virginitatis servare titulum, meditari meritum, apprehendere fructum.

5   2. Etsi vobis parum agnitus facie, familiaritate, gente, professione et no-
mine, tamen secundum interioris hominis affectum, secundum Spiritus Sancti
vinculum, non habeo vos ignotam. Vestram intueor mente presenciam, re-
volvo famam, recommendo Domino meritum et personam. Frater autem Phi-
lippus, non in carne et sanguine sed in fidelitatis obsequio, caritatis officio,
10   vobis ignorantibus, hoc precibus impetravit quod a cordis mei penetralibus,
quoad vixero, per Dei gratiam, nulla nos etatis excursio, temporis fluxus, in-
curie simul oblivio diluet vel arcebit. Ad predicti fratris instanciam, breve vo-
bis ad presens mitto commonitorium, quasi quoddam exennium aut clenodium
quod utinam vobis et posteris cedat in solacium et exemplum.

15   3. Argentum et aurum nec scio nec habeo, sed de cythara pastoris David
unicam notulam vobis ad solacium decantandam mitto. Vel certe, quoniam
filia regis estis, regia delegatur vestis ut ad regales nupcias in cultu regio
properetis, de qua scriptum est: *Omnis gloria eius filie regis ab intus in fim-
briis au-* | *reis circumamicta varietatibus.*   286rb

20   4. Ad *filiam regis* superna spectat hereditas. *Gloriam* vero, que *ab intus* est,
interna declarat puritas. In *auro* notatur illibata virginitas; in *fimbriis* autem
humilitas; in *circumdatione varietatis* decor exterior et honestas.

5. Ex hiis quinque, regia vestis efficitur qua puellaris nuditas operitur. Hec
si vestrum obtineant animum, assistet regina ad regis dexteram, vestitum ex-
25   hibens deauratum, *circumdata varietate* virtutum.

[I] 6. Quid igitur occurrit primitus ad *filiam regis*? Appetitus regni superni
pertinet et eterni. Si enim non est de hoc mundo regnum Patris nostri, celestis

---

2 amplectende] amplectande *B*   3 frater Guibertus de Tornaco] frater G. *M*   4 me-
ditari] meditavi *B*   10 penetralibus] penetrabilibus *B*   18 eius *om. B*   filie regis *om.*
M   18–19 fimbriis] fimbreis *B*   23 Hec] Hoc *M*   26 Quid] Quod *M*

3–4 Guibertus . . . fructum: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 113 (*Ad Sophiam virginem*), in
Sancti Bernardi Opera, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols. (Rome,
1957–77), 7:287: "Bernardus, abbas de Claravalle, Sophiae virgini: virginitatis servare titu-
lum, apprehendere fructum."
      15 Argentum . . . habeo: cf. Act 3:6.
      18–19 Ps 44:14–15.
      24–25 assistet . . . varietate: cf. Ps 44:10.
      27 Si . . . regnum: cf. Jo 18:36.

animo non terreni, quid mirum si regnum mundi et omnem ornatum seculi
vilipendatis propter amorem Domini Ihesu Christi, primum nitentes assequi
30   regnum Dei?

7. Hec est hereditas vestra nec non et omnium servorum Dei, quam quicum-
que ferventer non appetit et efficaciter non requirit, [1] se miserum facit, [2]
servituti laboriose se subicit, [3] degenerem se ostendit. Cum vero ad ipsam
per desiderium inhiatur, [4] voluptas temporalium enervatur, [5] de facili
35   temporalis adversitas conculcatur, [6] cuius invalescente desiderio fervens in
Deum affectio corporis vires supergreditur, [7] mentalis oculus vi fervoris il-
lius exaccuitur, [8] et homo consolationis ubertate lactatur, [9] et in Domino
multipliciter delectatur, [10] donec in futuro totus puro, defecato et superef-
fluenti gaudio deiformis effectus in Domino repleatur.

40   8. Hiis decem gradibus assurgere debetis ad mundi contemptum, et ad here-
ditatis regie appetitum. Commoremur in singulis aliquantisper, si placet, ut sic
filia regis appetitui celestium magis vacet.

9. Et de gradu miserie primum patet. Quis enim miseros non | dixerit esse   286va
potentes seculum appetentes et celestia contempnentes? Assequantur opum af-
45   fluenciam, honorum excellenciam, voluntatis tam improbe quam etiam effre-
nate licentiam, nequaquam evadunt miseriam. Prosperitas est enim temporalis
venenum occultum arridentis nequicie, facies quidem leta, sed calamitatis oc-
culte illecebrosa fallacia. Dulce videtur esse poculum quod sumitur, sed ubi
potatum est pernicies hausta grassatur, arridet ut seviat, blanditur ut fallat,
50   extollit ut deprimat, allicit ut occidat. Et quanto fuerit amplior summa digni-
tatis, pecunie vel honorum, si non recte fuerit dispensata, tanto maior exigetur
usura penarum, cum filii regni foras eiecti demergentur miserius et misera-
bilius in infernum.

---

28 animo] aio *B*   seculi *in marg. M*   37 lactatur] iactatur *M*   38 totus *om. M*
defecato] defedato *M*   40 debetis] debemus *B*   41 Commoremur] Commoretur *B*
placet] prelatet *M*   46 est] et *MB*   48 illecebrosa] illebrosa *M*   49 hausta] hiusta *M*
grassatur] crassatur *B*   51 despensata] dispensatum *MB*

28–29 regnum . . . Christi: cf. R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, vol. 4 (Rome,
1970), no. 7524.

47–49 occultum . . . grassatur: cf. Cyprian, *Ad Donatum* 11, ed. M. Simonetti, CCL 3A
(Turnhout, 1976), 10: "malorum blandientium uirus occultum est, et adridentis nequitiae facies
quidem laeta, sed calamitatis abstrusae inlecebrosa fallacia. Instar quoddam ueneni, ubi in
letales sucos dulcedine aspersa calliditate fallendi sapore medicato poculum uidetur esse, quod
sumitur: ubi epota res est, pernicies hausta grassatur."

49–52 arridet . . . penarum: cf. ibid. 13, CCL 3A:11: "adridet, ut saeuiat; blanditur, ut fal-
lat; extollit, ut deprimat. Faenore quodam nocendi quam fuerit amplior summa dignitatis et
honorum, tam maior exigitur usura poenarum."

10. Secundus est itaque gradus vilis et laboriosa servitus. Clamat Dominus
55 ex Evvangelio: *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego refi-
ciam vos.* Vocat ad nupcias et ad prandium et ad cenam. Et si rem grandem
preciperet, certe facere deberemus, quanto magis quia dicit *reficiam.* Sed ecce
homines mente capti vocantur ad refectionem: "Trahit sua quemque volup-
tas." Hic onus amplectitur, hic labor est. "Impiger extremos currit mercator ad
60 Indos / per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes." Sed cum iuxta
votum suum adepti fuerunt, servitutem laboriosam procul dubio non evadunt.
Sint licet laboribus acquisiti pecuniarum aggeres, vel defosse strues, non cibus
letus, non sompnus securus. Suspiratur in convivio. Vigilatur in pluvia, ne
predo vastet, ignis exterminet, calumpniosus exactor litibus inquietet. Quis
65 non intelleget servitutis innumera, licet speciosa, tamen supplicia? Teneri
hominem, licet argenteis vel aureis, tamen vinculis alliga-|tum, intricatum,   286vb
innexum? Possideri magis quam divicias possidere? O detestablis cecitas
mencium et cupiditatis insane profunda caligo! Hominem, cum relevare se
possit et exonerare ponderibus, tamen amplius enitentem penalibus sarcinis
70 subiacere et contempnere sic vocantem: *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et
onerati estis et ego reficiam vos.* Labore fatigati, onere pregravati, inedia
macerati, *Venite ad me.* Quales ad qualem aut ad quid? Clausi ad hostium,
egroti ad medicum, naufragi ad portum; ad hostium luminis, ad medicum sa-
lutis, ad portum quietis. Vacui ut lumine veritatis impleamini, onerati ut pon-
75 dere peccatorum alleviemini, laborantes ut adepta quiete consolemini.

---

59 labor est] laborem *M*   61 fuerunt] fuerint *B*   evadunt] evandant *B*   63 somp-
nus *corr. e* sompnis *M*   suspiratur] suspirantur *M*   64 inquietet *corr. ex* inquiestet *M*
65 intelleget] intelligat *M*   Teneri] Revereri *B*   69 possit] posset *B*   et *om. B*
74 Vacui *corr. e* Vacuit *M*   onerati] honere *B*

55–56 Mt 11:28.
58–59 Trahit . . . voluptas: Virgil, *Ecl.* 2.65.
59 Hic . . . est: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.127.
59–60 Impiger . . . ignes: Horace, *Epist.* 1.1.45–46.
62–64 pecuniarum . . . inquietet: cf. Cyprian, *Ad Donatum* 12, CCL 3A:10–11: ". . . quibus
argenti et auri maximum pondus et pecuniarum ingentium uel exstructi aggeres uel defossae
strues, hos etiam inter diuitias suas trepidos cogitationis incertae sollicitudo discruciat, ne
praedo uastet, ne percussor infestet, ne inimica cuiusque locupletioris inuidia calumniosis
litibus inquietet."
65–69 Teneri . . . ponderibus: cf. ibid., CCL 3A:11: ". . . uigilat in pluma nec intellegit
miser, speciosa sibi esse supplicia, auro se alligatum teneri et possideri magis quam possidere
diuitias, adque—o detestabilis caecitas mentium et cupiditatis insanae profunda caligo!—cum
exonerare se possit et leuare ponderibus, pergit magis fortunis angentibus incubare. . . ."
70–75 Venite . . . consolemini: *Werneri abbatis S. Blasii Deflorationes sanctorum patrum*
1, Dom. V post Theophaniam, PL 157:840.

11. Tercius gradus est degener animus, in quo viget temporalium appetitus. Cotidie corde volvimus et ore promimus: *Pater noster qui es in celis*. Cur hoc, obsecro, nisi ut sursum corda, sursum vota, sursum tendat affectio, sursum dirigatur oratio, quia sursum habemus regnum nostrum, patrem, patriam, et

80   patronum. Terram ergo nesciat, amorem carnis ignoret, patrem pulveris non requirat, nichil in se viciis licere permittat, qui patrem suum in celestibus re-cognoscit. Actu, vita, moribus, honestate, tanto generi respondeat, ne iterum ad terrena descendens, ad ipsam tanti genitoris iniuriam se convertat. Vivat igitur ita regis filia ne celo maculam inferat et celesti generi se degenerem

85   probet, si quid gesserit inhoneste.

12. Quarto vero cum ad celestia suspiratur, voluptas temporalium enervatur. *Non est,* inquit Apostolus, *regnum Dei esca et potus, sed iusticia et pax et gaudium in Spiritu Sancto.* Dicat qui novit, recognoscat expertus. Solent qui-dem orancium et contemplan-|cium ex intimis viscera concuti, etiam ad   287ra

90   memoriam principii illius superni gaudii, et vultus meditancium lacrimarum undis salubribus superfundi. *Si oblitus,* inquit Propheta, *fuero tui Iherusalem etc. Si non proposuero tui in principio leticie mee.* Bene *leticie* quia prin-cipium illius gaudii, quod hic quandoque sentitur, stilla est, gutula est, de flumine illo descendens, cuius *impetus letificat civitatem Dei,* et tamen sic

95   mentem exhylarat, ut anima senciens voluptates carnis contempnat. Regnum Dei cibum et potum esse non dicat, sed regni celestis experienciam ponat in iusticia, quantum ad rectitudinem voluntatis, et pace serenitatis, et Spiritu Sancto, superexcellenti gaudio vehementissime caritatis, et si hoc facit tenui-ter prelibando, quid se illi flumini penitus immergendo. O quando veniet tem-

---

76 degener] de genere *M*   80 ergo] vero *B*   carnis] carnem *M*   83 Vivat] Veniat
B   84 generi] gratia *B*   87 regnum] regum *M*   89 etiam] et *B*   90 superni]
fraterni *M*   92 etc. Si non proposuero tui *om. B*   principio] principiis *M*   97 sere-
nitatis] severitatis *B*   98 superexcellenti] superextollenti *B*

80–83 Terram . . . convertat: cf. Peter Chrysologus, *Collectio sermonum,* sermo 68.3, ed. A. Olivar, CCL 24A (Turnhout, 1981), 408.

84–85 celo . . . inhoneste: cf. ibid., sermo 71.3, CCL 24A:425: "Ergo caelestem uitam monstra inhabitatione terrena, quia si quid in te gesserit terrena cogitatio, caelo maculam, cae-lesti generi intulisti iniuriam."

87–88 Rom 14:17.

89–94 ad memoriam . . . Dei: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de diversis,* sermo 19.6–7, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 6:164–65.

91–92 Ps 136:5–6.

94 Ps 45:5

99–101 O quando . . . coniungatur: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de diversis,* sermo 19.7, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 6:165.

100 pus ut perhemnibus gaudiis in ipso divinitatis fonte penitus immergamur, ut
unda unde sine interpolatione sine intercarpedine coniungatur, ut plenius
anime fulgeat quod non capit locus, sonet quod non rapit tempus, oleat quod
non spargit flatus, sapiat quod edacitas non minuit, habeat quod sacietas non
divellit, Deus noster scilicet sensibus spiritualibus lux, vox, odor, edulium et
105 amplexus!

13. Quinto per hunc appetitum, temporalis adversitas conculcatur. *Non enim
sunt condigne passiones temporis ad futuram gloriam que revelabitur in
nobis.* Utique appetenti celestia condigne non sunt, quia leves et breves sunt.
Leves quia consideratio premii minuit vim flagelli. Breves quia si malum ali-
110 quod penitentie in hac vita metuitur, mala eterna ad animum revocentur, et
nichil erit quod non equanimiter toleretur, sicut scriptum est: *Incurvati sunt
colles mundi ab itineribus eternitatis eius,* quia ad labo-|rem penitentie in-   287rb
curvantur nobiles et excelsi, cum eternitatem considerant nulla duratione nullo
termino circunscribi. Ve igitur eis quos voluptas brevis adduxerit cruciatibus
115 sempiternis!

14. Sexto, vires corporis ardens affectio Patris et patrie supergreditur, nec
se viribus commetitur. Inde tenerrima mulier illa, Magdalenam dico, que totis
visceribus diligebat Christum regem, et amoris eius igne succensa liquefiebat,
resolvebatur, ardebat per lacrimosa suspiria, per desiderium, per amorem, cor-
120 pus illud dominicum, corpus in etate virili perfectum, corpus cuius unctionem
libre centum preparate fuerant unguentorum, sola tollere, sola volvere, sola
satagit et portare. *Si tu,* inquit, *sustulisti eum dicito michi et ego tollam eum.*

---

101 unde *om. B*   102 non² *om. M: sup. lin. (al man.) B*   108 sunt² *om. B*
114 adduxerit] adverxerit *M: aduxerit B*   117 Inde] Unde *B*   120 virili] viri *M*
cuius unctionem *inv. B*   121 preparate] parate *B*

102–4 anime . . . divellit: Augustine, *Confessiones* 10.6.8, ed. L. Verheijen, CCL 27 (Turn-
hout, 1981), 159.
106–9 Rom 8:18.
111–12 Hab 3:6.
120–24 corpus . . . eum: cf. Ps.-Peter Damian, *Sermo* 29, De sancta Maria Magdalena, PL
144:665: "Considera, quam vehementissimo dilectionis affectu beata haec mulier diligebat
Christum regem. 'Domine, inquit, si tu sustulisti eum, dicito mihi, et ego eum tollam.' Quem
eum dicis Maria, cum de nullo feceris mentionem ad quem relationem facias? Putasne, quod in
omnium cordibus ita versetur memoria dilecti tui, sicut et in consistorio cordis tui? 'Et ego,
inquit, tollam eum.' Mira res. Hominem perfectae aetatis virum, cujus corpori vix centum
librae sufficiunt unguentorum, tenerrima mulier portabis, et tolles? Ardens et affecta locutio,
quae de puritatis amore refusa, promittit quod implere non potest." According to John
Lucchesi, ed., *Sancti Petri Damiani Sermones,* CCCM 57 (Turnhout, 1983), viii, this is not an
authentic sermon by Peter Damian.
122 Jo 20:15.

Quem *eum*? Ad quem facis, o Maria, relationem, que de nullo personaliter aut proprie feceras mencionem. An ignoras gravitatem ponderis, ponderositatem
125   funeris, fragilitatem aut teneritudinem mulieris? "Sed," ait Maria, "nimirum leve fit, quod bene fertur onus. Non est onus, quod difficile reputetur; portantem portat, pocius quam portetur." Verum dicis Maria, sed parum scimus, quoniam ardens tua locutio, de amoris puritate procedens, promittit quod implere non valet, et dicis *ego tollam eum*. Declara desiderium, ne vere-
130   cundetis exponere castitatis affectum. Scimus, scimus quoniam super vires tuas est negocium. "Ego," inquit, "amore cogor, desiderio feror, ratione non regor." Parcite, queso, parcite! Non iudicabitis actionem, non causabimini presumptionem, non attendetis muliebrem complexionem, si perpenderitis affectionem. Amor superat quod virium imbecillitas non adequat. Huius ardor
135   nec rationi subicitur, nec imbecillitate frangitur, nec pudore frenatur, nec consilio | temperatur, nec iudicium prestolatur.   287va

    15. Non hoc scribo vobis ut vires corporis excedatis, sed ut amoris divini vehemenciam cogitetis. Scio enim quod sarcinam gestaturus primo manibus et lacertis eam trutinat, ut sic humeris imponat. Optima est pluvia que sensim et
140   paulatim descendit, que non cum impetu sementem et arva subvertit.

    16. Septimo, mentalis oculus ad patrem et patriam suspirantis exacuitur vi fervoris. *Qui diligit me,* ait Dominus, *diligetur a Patre meo, et ego diligam eum, et manifestabo me ipsum.* Ergo ex dilectione manifestatio, ex manifestatione contemplatio, ex contemplatione cognitio. Et sic calidum dilectionis,
145   secundum beatum Dyonisium, ad accutum promovet cognitionis. In Evvan-

---

123 Quem eum *om. per homoeotel.* B   facis] facit *M*   personaliter] personali *B*
128 procedens] procedent *M*   130 scimus² *in marg. M*   133 perpenderitis] perpenditis
B   135 nec¹] non *B*   140 paulatim] paulatine *M*   non] vero *MB*   141 suspirantis
corr. e suspirantus *M*

---

126 leve . . . onus: Ovid, *Amores*, 1.2.10.

132–36 causabimini . . . prestolatur: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, sermo 9.2, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 1:43: "Ne, quaeso, causemini praesumptionem, ubi affectio urget. Pudor sane reclamat, sed superat amor. Nec ignoro quia HONOR REGIS IUDICIUM DILIGIT; sed praeceps amor, nec iudicium praestolatur, nec consilio temperatur, nec pudor frenatur, nec rationi subicitur."

139–40 Optima . . . subvertit: cf. Jerome, Ep. 54.10, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54 (Vienna, 1910), 477: "pluuia illa optima est, quae sensim descendit in terras; subitus et nimius imber praeceps arua subuertit."

142–43 Jo 14:21.

142–44 Qui diligit. .. . cognitio: Richard of Saint-Victor, *De trinitate*, prol., ed. Jean Ribaillier (Paris, 1958), 80.

144–45 Et . . . cognitionis: cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *De caelesti hierarchia* (*versio Joannis Scoti*) 7, PL 122:1050.

gelio legitur: *Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat* de Ihesu *dum loqueretur nobis in via?* O dilectionis admirabile sacramentum! Amor Ihesu corda rapuerat. Ihesum siciunt, audiunt, aspiciunt, nec cognoscunt. Unde *stulti et tardi* vocati sunt. Sed quoniam sic arserunt, ideo postmodum cognoscere meruerunt; quo-

150 niam habuerunt amoris calidum, perceperunt postmodum et accutum. Significat autem acutum impetum quemdam amoris et vehemenciam desiderii ardentis, ferentis se in amatum, intrantis et penetrantis et transeuntis in ipsum sicut de sanctis animalibus legitur: *Ubi erat impetus spiritus, illuc gradiebatur.* Quod vero sequitur: *Nec revertebantur cum ambularent.* Puto quod sig-

155 nificat illa irregressibilitas iugem et indefatigabilem mentis excessum, quo *secundum mensuram donationis* sue et libertatem spiritus spirantis ubi vult, in se rapit Dominus animas perfectorum; aut forte non est status viatorum, sed in patria beatorum. Mens enim hic suis | assueta tenebris, aggravata corruptione 287vb et corpulencia, constricta necessitatibus corporis, ab illa dulcedine recidit in

160 amaritudines corporales et molestias temporales.

17. Octavus gradus est cum ad illius patrie dulcedinem suspiratur et ex illius terre fructu mens reficitur, ubertate lactatur. Terra illa *melle fluit ac lacte.* Quid autem melle dulcius et lacte candidius? Iste est cibus filiarum Syon. Hiis enim fructibus electos ad ipsum ardencius conspirantes interim pascit et refi-

165 cit, dilatat viscera, porrigit ubera, sinum offert, gremium pandit. Scriptum est in Ysaia: *Sicut mater consolatur filios suos ita et ego consolabor vos dicit Dominus* etc. que sequuntur. Sicut enim puerum, desiderio materni lactis affectum, mammarum ostensione et alique lactis stillula, materna pietas consolatur,

---

152 amatum *corr. ex* armatum *B*   et penetrantis *om. M*   ipsum] spiritum *M*
159 corpulencia] corputenti *B*   163 et *om. B*   164 conspirantes] inspirantes *B*
164–65 reficit dilatat] arefit dilata *B*   167–203 que sequuntur . . .coagitatam] Require in fine defectum istum *M*

146–47 Lc 24:32.
148 Lc 24:25
150–152 Significat . . . ipsum: Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Commentaria in Hierarchiam coelestem S. Dionysii Areopagitae, secundum interpretationem Joannis Scoti* 6, PL 175:1037: "Significat enim acutum impetum quemdam amoris, et vehementiam desiderii ardentis, ferentis se in amatum, et intrantis, et penetrantis, ut ibi sit, ubi est ipsum, quod amatur, cum ipso, et in ipso, ut non solum ab ipso calidum sit, sed transeat acutum in ipsum."
153–54 Ez 1:12.
156 Eph 4:7.
162 Ex 3:8.
165 dilatat . . . pandit: cf. Peter Chrysologus, *Collectio sermonum,* sermo 108.3, CCL 24A:669.
166–67 Is 66:13.

sic filiorum corda quadam dulcedine recreantur. Dulcis consolatio, brevis gus-
170   tatio! Cur, o Domine, qui sic familiariter appares, tuos reficis, ita subito dis-
pares et nobis deficies? Effugis enim priusquam teneri queas, et priusquam
apprehendi possis, elaberis. Et quantum ad presens capere possum, tamdiu te
videri permittis, si tamen puri sint oculi cordis, quamdiu naturalis oculus sus-
tinet lumen fulguris choruscantis. Quid dicis, o sponsa, *tenui eum nec dimit-*
175   *tam*? Nescis quoniam momentanea et subitanea est ista consolatio? Sui iuris
est vadens et veniens in spiritu vehementi. Sed sine dubio non dimittis, ma-
nent enim et remanent tam succense quam serene *reliquie cogitationis,* et
diem festum agunt in animo recordantis. Manet enim degustate et deglutic⟨i⟩e
memoria visionis.
180   18. Nonus gradus est cum in nullo nisi in Domino, Patre suo, fidelis filia
delectatur. Quicquid apprehenditur totum ad Dominum retorquetur. *Delec-*
tare, inquit propheta, *in Domino, et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui.* Quid est
quod ita precipitur ac si ad manum hec delectatio habeatur? Vere ad manum
est, si aliquantulum perpendatur. Nihil enim est pulcritudinis aut dulcedinis in
185   rebus etiam transitoriis quod non de illa superna patria, immo quod non de
ipso fonte et principio omnis boni veniat aut originaliter oriatur. Referre ergo
ad fontale principium quicquid in omnibus rebus perpenditur boni, quid est
aliud quam in Domino delectari? Quicquid ergo vos delectat in rebus transito-
riis, in Domino delectemini, id est ad Dominum referatis. Bonitas, pulcritudo,
190   dulcedo, et si qua in creaturis similia, vene sunt, vestigia sunt, nutus sunt. Et
quid verbis innuunt nisi ut queramus principium a quo ista nobis largiter flu-
unt? Ve igitur illis, Domine, qui delinquunt te ducem, et oberrant in vestigiis
tuis, qui nutus tuos pro te amant, et obliviscuntur quid innuas. Et bene illis,
qui per tenues rivulos et cenosos, vestigia creaturarum scilicet, ad te pro-
195   perant, Domine, fontem vivum!

---

191 nobis] non *B*

174–75 Cant 3:4.
175–79 momentanea . . . visionis: cf. Gilbert of Hoyland, *Sermones in Cantica,* sermo 6.5,
PL 184:41: "Subitanea est et momentanea, repente veniens et repente vadens: et si momen-
tanea est, manent tamen reliquiae cogitationis, tam succensae, tam serenae, et diem festum
agunt in animo recordantis. Manet quidem memoria degustatae et deglutitiae visionis."
177–78 Ps 75:11.
181–82 Ps 36:4.
182–83 Quid . . . habeatur: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones,* In quadragesima sermo
5.6, in *Sancti Bernardi opera* 4:375: "Sed quid, o Propheta, quod tam absolute mones delectari
in Domino, ac si ad manum nobis sit huiusmodi delectatio?"
192–193 Ve . . . innuas: Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* 2.16.43.168, ed. W. M. Green, CCL
29 (Turnhout, 1970), 266.

19. Decimus gradus in futuro complebitur, cum anima Deiformis effecta tota Deo replebitur. O mira deiformitas, cum tota liquescet in sanctis carnalis affectio, cum in Dei voluntatem transferetur penitus totus homo, sicut stilla aque modica multo infusa vino deficit, dum saporem vini et colorem induit.
200 Remanebit cum humana substantia, sed ineffabili plena gloria et eciam super-plena. Me⟨n⟩suram, ait Dominus, *bonam et confertam et coagitatam et super-effluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum. Bonam,* cum videbimus Deum in omnibus creaturis; *confertam,* cum habebimus eum in nobis; *coagitatam,* cum sine enigmate mundis oculis videbimus gloriam Trinitatis in continuacione
205 eternitatis; *supereffluentem,* hoc est quod dixeram superplenam. Et hoc quidem erit cum pleno corde, plena mente, plena anima, pleno toto homine gaudio, supererit gaudium, sicut scriptum est: *Intra in gaudium Domini tui,* ut toti gaudentes intrent in gaudium, et non totum gaudium in gaudentes. Hec est hereditas que regis filie conservatur.

210 [II] 20. Nunc de puritate mentis que sequitur videamus. Sequitur enim: *Omnis gloria eius filie regis ab intus.* Cuius? Eius, utique *filie regis.* Glorientur *filie Babylonis* in *bysso et purpura, circumornate ut similitudo templi* procedant in calciamentorum ambitu, vestiantur mutatoriis, habeant monilia, discriminalia, mitras, anulos, gemmas, circulos, acus et specula, syndones et
215 armillas. Et si hec sunt parva, addant purpurissum et cerulam. Fucent et fedent cutis superficiem, pingant oculos, cri-|nes tingant, mutuentur si deficiant,   288ra

---

205 supereffluentem] supereffluens *M*   206 erit] erat *B*   214 syndones] sydones *M*
215 cerulam] cerusam *M*   fedent] fecent *B*

---

196 cum ... effecta: cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus* (*versio Joannis Scoti*) 4, PL 122:1135: "... sicut et intellectuales virtutes, cum anima deiformis facta per unitatem ignotae inaccessibilis lucis, radiis desiderabilibus invisibilibus theoriis."
198–99 stilla ... induit: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De diligendo Deo* 28, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 3:143: "Quomodo stilla aquae modica, multo infusa vino, deficere a se tota videtur, dum et saporem vini induit et colorem...."
201–2 Lc 6:38.
206–8 pleno corde ... gaudentes: Anselm, *Proslogion* 26, in *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Opera omnia,* ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols. (Seckau, Rome, and Edinburgh, 1938–61; rpt. Stuttgart, 1968), 1:121: "Pleno quippe corde, plena mente, plena anima, pleno toto homine gaudio illo: adhuc supra modum supererit gaudium. Non ergo totum illud gaudium intrabit in gaudentes, sed toti gaudentes intrabunt in gaudium."
207 Mt 25:21.
212 filiae Babyonis: Ps 136:8.   bysso et purpura: Apoc 18:16; cf. Prov 31:22, Lc 16:19.   Circumornate ... templi: Ps 143:12: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 113.2, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 7:288.
213–15 calciamentorum ... armillas: cf. Is 3:18–23.

utrum a vivis vel a mortuis ipse viderint, ut appareant capita vel pregnancia vel farsita. Non est decor iste naturalis, proprius vel nativus. Accidentalis est, alienus est et adeptus est. Et nativo vere pariter et interno decore se nudas
220 ostendunt, que tanto studio, tanto precio suam turpitudinem aliena pulchritudine celant et operiunt. A pellibus murium, ab operibus vermium, ornatum mutuantur decorem ficticium. Quid plura? Perdiderant pulchritudinem propriam et intrinsecam, mendicant igitur pulchritudinem alienam et extrinsecam. Pulchritudo quippe que cum veste induitur et cum veste deponitur, pulchri-
225 tudo vestimenti est, non vestiti.

21. At longe dissimilis *filie regis gloria* et ornatus. *Omnis,* inquit, *gloria eius filie regis ab intus. Gloria* quidem *hec est omnibus sanctis eius.* Puritas cordis, consciencie testis. Nam gloria nostra hec est testimonium consciencie nostre. Habet autem hec puritas suos gradus per quos inchoatur, procedit, et
230 ad ultimum consummatur. De qua puritate cordis et gloria, que ab intus si desuper venit, si tamen Dominus dederit, et michi vacaverit, et vobis placuerit, alias poterit expediri.

[III–IV] 22. Iam ergo tempus est ut ad *fimbrias aureas* veniamus. Non sunt hee fimbrie que lutum trahunt, que densas pulveris nubes in aere faciunt.
235 Fimbria, pars vestis infima, quid est nisi vera humilitas et perfecta? Verecunda illa *mulier* in Evvangelio *retro accedit,* et *tangit fimbriam vestimenti* Ihesu, et assequitur medicinam, quia secretum non publicum, vera poscit humilitas extremum et infimum in membris ecclesie faciens hominem a se ipso reputari et sic impetrat veniam. Sed multum verendum est ne | si lutum eciam   288rb
240 evaserit ista fimbria, quin aliquis pulvis adhereat, quod certe contingit si quis

---

218 farsita] fursita (?) *B*   iste naturalis *corr. e* naturalis iste *M*   Accidentalis]
aconitalis *B*   219 et² *om. B*   220 aliena] alia *B*   223 mendicant] vendicant *B*
227 omnibus] omnis *M*   230 que ab intus si] que ab intre si *M* : que non ab intus sed *B*
231 vacaverit] vaccaverit *B*

219–25 Et nativo ... vestiti: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 113.4–5, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 7:290: "Porro decor qui cum veste induitur et cum veste deponitur, vestis procul dubio est, non vestiti. [5] Tu ergo NOLI AEMULARI IN MALIGNANTIBUS et mendicantibus pulchritudinem alienam, ubi perdiderint suam. Nativo quippe et interno se produnt decore nudas, quae tanto studio et pretio de diversis et variis speciebus eius, quae praeterit, figurae mundi, foris sibi conficere satagunt, unde oculis insipientium appareant speciosae. Indignum tibi iudica formam a pellibus murium et operibus vermium mutuari; tua tibi sufficiat."
226 Ps 149:9.
234 densas ... aere: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 113.6, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 7:299: "densas pulveris nubes excitantes in aera."
236 Mt 9:20.

vel leviter de humilitate laudem appetat. Laus omnis convertatur et referatur
in Deum. Nobis autem semper de nostra fragilitate timendum. Et si pulvis in-
est nullus, tamen excute nullum.

245   23. Non qualeslibet hee fimbrie, sed plane *auree*. Si autem aurum, pulcher-
rimum, preciosissimum, purissimum in metalis, quid in auro nisi speciositas,
preciositas, puritas continencie virginalis? Casune fieri creditur quod sic ad
invicem inter se hec duo vocabula *fimbrie auree* construuntur? Certe nequa-
quam. Sed in hoc mystice designatur quomodo ad invicem hee due virtutes
250   pulchro scemate connectuntur. Sicut enim corpus et anima in exteriori homine
uniuntur, sic earum ornatus sese iocundis quibusdam amplexibus complectun-
tur. Beata quidem virginitas corpus integrum Christo custodit; humilitas vero
perfecte mentem eidem Christo substernit.

24. Bona constructio bona societas, cum virginitati nubit humilitas. Nam in
corpore nichil est virginali integritate melius, et in anima nichil est humilitate
255   sublimius. Hoc in seipso palam exhibuit Ihesus Christus; hoc in vobis realiter
desiderat vester sponsus. Ipse est unigenitus patris, unicus virginis matris,
unus omnium sacrarum virginum sponsus, sancte virginitatis fructus, decus et
munus, quem corporaliter sancta virginitas peperit, cui spiritualiter sancta vir-
ginitas nubit, a quo sancta virginitas fecundatur ut perseveret intacta, a quo
260   decoratur ut permaneat pulchra, a quo coronatur ut regnet perhenniter glo-
riosa. Ipse est nichilominus perfectus humilitatis magister, qui humilitatem
respexit in matre, commendavit in discipulis, predica- | vit eloquio, mirificavit   288va
mysteriis, consummavit in cruce.

25. Quibus duabus, si consciencie vestre puritas, *gloria* scilicet que *ab intus
265   est*, retinuerit, *gaudebit sponsus super sponsa, cum virgine iuvenis habitabit.*
Inter spiritualium enim affluenciam karismatum, harum vobis vicem desiderio
prerogativam virtutum, ne dixerim ut eas solo nomine superficialiter habeatis,

---

244 qualeslibet] quaslibet *M*   245 in²] inde *M*   247 Certe] Ecce *M*   249 sce-
mate] seemate *M*   254 nichil¹] non *M*   256 vester] iterum (?) *B*   259 nubit a quo
sancta virginitas *om. per homoeotel. M*   261 qui] humilitatis magister qui *add. M*
265 retinuerit] renituerit *M*   cum *om. M*

---

241 de humilitate . . . appetat: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum,*
sermo 16.10, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 1:95: "Appetere autem de humilitate laudem, humili-
tatis non est virtus, sed subversio."
253–55 in corpore . . . sublimius: cf. Fulgentius, Ep. 3 (*Ad Probam*) 3, ed. J. Fraipont, CCL
91 (Turnhout, 1968), 213: "quia nec in corpore est aliquid integritate melius, nec in anima est
aliquid fideli humilitate sublimius."
256–261 Ipse . . . gloriosa: ibid. 6, CCL 91:214–15.
265 Is 62:5.

sed ut res earum, quatenus Dominus dederit, cordis vestri penetralibus intimis medullitus indebiliter imprimatis!

270   26. Et, si placet, virginitatis attendite titulum sive signum, querite meritum, percipite fructum; signum quo virgo ab aliis discernatur, meritum ne confundatur, fructum quo reficiatur.

27. Signum ergo virginitatis attendite, quo se debent virgines insignire. Quid aliud est, nisi prorsus omnem immondiciam devitare, risum non excitare, verba vana non dicere nec audire, habitum, sicut decet, ordinatum habere, supercilioso intuitu neminem aspicere, vagari oculos non permittere, pompatico et illecebroso gressu non incedere, non se rumoribus immiscere, non in cordis latebris humanas effigies figurare, non animam vanis fantasmatibus incestare, nulli contumeliam aut ruborem incutere, neminem blasphemare, demum se intra se cohibere, ne forte contingat animam pereffluere? Quid plura? Sic iugiter intrinsecus puritatis desideriis estuare ut concepte puritatis extrinsecus estuate signa noteque resplendeant graciosis radiorum emissionibus in facie. Legi, legi aliquem vel aliquos ex intime puritatis exercicio in excessus huiusmodi raptos, ut frequenter obliti fuerint seipsos, sarcinam corporee fragilitatis indutos, mentemque Deo iugiter inherentem sensus corporeos respuisse, cunctisque rebus materialibus omnimodis | exulasse. Non   288vb sic nostri temporis virgines, quod forte non expedit, alii sic ibant. Securum est magis primitus ire viam tritam, per planum, quam occulta querere diverticula vel semitas orbitarum. Prius pennis avicule plenius vestiantur quibus assumptis in aera liquidum efferantur.

28. De signo procedamus ad meritum. Sed quid peccator ego de sancte virginitatis merito breviter epulariter perstringere queo? Pateret campus mire latitudinis, ⟨ei⟩ qui digne sciret extollere meritum tante virtutis. Superni sempiternique muneris decus, quod qui accipiunt, hoc meditantur in carne mortali quod sunt in immortalitate sumpturi. O virtus, o status virtutis, o decencia status! Virtus cui respondet aurea, status cui competit fructus, decencia quam

---

270 attendite] attedite *B*   271 fructum *del. B*   273 ergo] quoque *B*   275 vana] varia *B*   habitum *om. M*   277 se rumoribus] seruinoribus (?) *M* : ne tumoribus *B* 279 nulli] in illi *M*   281 iugitur] ingerit *B*   estuate *om. B*   282 graciosis] gloriosis *B*   283 legi² *om. M*   285 corporee] corpore *B*   287 sic²] *add.* alii *B*   288 primitus *om. B*   tritam] terram *M*   289 avicule] avicille (?) *B*   292 epulariter] et pluraliter *B*   mire] mure *B*   295 in *om. B*   296 Virtus *om. M*   decencia] detente *M*

274–77 omnem ... incedere: cf. Ps.-Augustine, *De duodecim abusionum gradibus*, PL 40:1082 (gradus 5).

279–80 nulli ... blasphemare: ibid.

293–95 Superni ... sumpturi: Fulgentius, Ep. 3 (*Ad Probam*) 17, CCL 91:220.

aureola declarabit virtus sed virtus angelica. Vere tantum differens a concu-
bitu coniugali secundum testimonium sanctorum, quantum similitudo peco-
rum ab immitatione discernitur angelorum. In uno quippe spiritus ad terram,
300 terrena carnis voluptate deprimitur, in altero terrena caro celesti declaratione
spiritus ad celestia sublevatur. Bene virtus, nomen eidem peculiariter attribui-
tur, quod a virtute virginitatis derivatur. Ergo *viriliter agite* quecumque virgi-
nes estis, rem vestri nominis augeatis! Multos pedagogos *in Christo, sed non
multos patres* in hominibus *habeatis.* Semper ita cordicitus tenete presenciam
305 sponsi vestri ut agatis semper, cogitetis iugiter, pro data gratia que sunt Dei,
ne forte cum venerit sponsus ad nupcias sponsas suas inveniat non paratas, et
ne forte tempus aut dilatio requiratur. *En ipse stat post parietem, per fenes-
tras, per cancellos.* Zeli oculus eciam ea, que putantur agi sub pallio, perscru-
ta-|tur. Qui si quippiam ne dixerim immundum, sed indignum sua presencia   289ra
310 viderit, *saliens in montibus, transiliet colles,* sponsas inferiores deserens, ad
regionem sprituum, qui eum amore superfervido diligunt, convolavit. Non
vult amari tepidius, non vult recipi negligencius, qui castificatos in sui dilec-
tione spiritus in suos trahit et inretit amplexus.
     29. Ergo preparetur filia regis, et cum ea *filie Iherusalem* ad sui regis occur-
315 sum. *Veniat dilectus in ortum suum, comedat fructus agrorum suorum, pas-
catur in liliis, donec umbre declinent,* et aspiret meridies eternitatis. Clametis
singule sponso in extasi, *Osculetur me osculo oris sui.* Pangatis alacres illud
iubileum epythalamicum, iam corpus eius in eo est corpori sociatum. Ecce,
quod speravi iam video, quod cupivi iam teneo! *Tenui nec dimittam, donec*

---

301 sublevatur] sublimatur *B*   nomen] nam *M* : non *B*   301–2 attribuitur] attribuit
B   302 derivatur] dirivatur *M*   305 sunt Dei] Dei sunt *B*   308 que] *add.* sunt *B*
308–9 perscrutatur] perscrutantur *B*   310 saliens] saliet *M* : salies *B*   311 diligunt]
diligant *B*   convolavit] convolabit *B*   312 castificatos] testificatos *B*   317 me] *des.*
B

298–301 quantum . . . sublevatur: ibid. 16, CCL 91:219.
301–2 Bene . . . derivatur: cf. ibid. 7, CCL 91:215.
302 Deut 31:6, etc.
303–4 1 Cor 4:15.
307–8 Cant 2:9.
310 Cant 2:8.
314 Cant 3:5; 5:8.
315–16 Cant 5:1; 4:5.
317 Cant 1:1.
318–19 Ecce . . . teneo: cf. *Oratio* 19 in *S. Anselmi orationes,* PL 158:902 (not in the *Ora-
tiones* of Anselm edited in *Opera omnia* 3); cf. also Ps.-Augustine, *Liber meditationum* 37, PL
40:936.
319–20 Cant 3:4.

320   me tranducat et *introducat* sponsus sponsam in *domum* suam hereditatem et
        patriam meam.

        30. Adhuc vos, domina mea karissima, perducet cum humilitate virginitas,
        nisi tamen ad *dexteram vel sinistram* nimis vestras inflexeritis orbitas. Sinis-
        tram obsidet carnalium turba voluptatum; dexteram vero tenet spiritualium
325   iactatio superba virtutum. Ibi carnem deliciis adulter subdolus nititur in-
        cestare; ibi mentem blandiciis importunus hostis non desinit infestare.

        31. "Quid," inquit adulter, "virgo ignoscens virginale et tenerum corpus
        interficis? Non roboras spiritum, immo deicis. Quid sine causa abstinenciam
        tenes in cibo, duriciam observas in lecto, vultum habes obsistentem risui et
330   ioco? Caput orationis prolixitas, oculos lacrime, vigilie corpus extenuant. Die-
        te tenues totam virtutem corporis exinan⟨i⟩unt et e- | nervant." Heccine sunt,   289rb
        hostis impie, tua contra virgines Christi argumenta. Sic, sic ad earum ac-
        celeras detrimenta. Falleris, o virgo, falleris si talibus inepciis ipsa credideris!
        Nam ad dexteram te nimis inflectis. Non querit spiritalis sponsus in virgine
335   carnem deliciis accuratam, sed ieiuniis castigatam. Ieiuniorum tamen, o do-
        mina mea, si placet, accipite modum, *via regia* procedatis, et tenete medium.
        Corpus vestrum nec nimia saturitas excitet, nec parcitas immoderata debilitet.
        Nam sicut nimia parcitate redderetur invalidum, sic saturitate nimia belli-
        cosum. Hec sunt ad dexteram hostis insidie.

340   32. Parat nichilominus insidias periculosiores virginibus ad sinistram idem
        ipse. Nam etsi pudicitia servetur in carne, cordis tamen integritatem conatur
        auferre. Et quia pudiciciam carnis auferre non potuit per hominem ipse terre-
        num, cordis integritatem auferre nititur per se ipsum, que sine dubio tunc au-
        fertur cum de virtutibus et maxime de carnis victoria superbitur.

345   33. Sed quoniam post pugnam victoria, post victoriam fructus consequitur
        et corona. Iam fortassis exigitur ut post signum virginitatis et meritum, de
        premio subiungatur. Et forte michi magis hoc premium pertransire sub silen-
        cio oporteret, nisi me Christi caritas et vestra in Christo dilectio perurgeret.

---

333 falleris[2]] falletis *M*

---

323 Deut 17:20.
323–25 Sinistram . . . virtutum: Fulgentius, Ep. 3 (*Ad Probam*) 18, CCL 91:220.
334–35 Non . . . castigatam: ibid. 20, CCL 91:221.
336 Num 21:22.
337–39 Corpus . . . bellicosum: cf. Fulgentius, Ep. 3 (*Ad Probam*) 21, CCL 91:221: "Porro
ieiuniis sic est adhibenda temperies, ut corpus nostrum nec saturitas excitet, nec inedia im-
moderata debilitet. Talis igitur tantaque uirginis ieiunium refectio subsequatur, ut nec suauitate
corpus illiciat, nec saturitate succendat. Suauitate quippe minuitur eleemosyna pauperum,
saturitate corpus efficitur bellicosum."
341–44 Nam . . . superbitur: cf. ibid. 25, CCL 91:222.

34. Scriptum in Exodo: *Facies coronam auream* et desuper aliam *coronam*
350   *aureolam.* In *aurea corona* premium intelligitur caritatis, in *aureola corona*
superexcrescens premium pro virginalis castitatis privilegio. Hac singulariter
virgines renitebunt in capite que virginitatis integre puritatem et corpore cus-
todierunt et mente. Nec *aureolam* amittent sine dubio que, consensu libidinis
in corde accepto, a proposito per | penitentiam resipuunt illicito, si tamen in-   289va
355   contaminata remanserit caro. Nolo Domino loqui manifestius quoniam non
decet.
     35. Post aureolam capitis sequitur in corpore bissina vestis qua induentur
virgines secundum revelationem Johannis. Bissinum siquidem genus est vestis
munde et candide, puritati respondens et innocencie. *Bissus et purpura,* dicit
360   Salomon, *indumentum eius, et ridebit in die novissimo,* quia perfecte sanctifi-
cationi iungetur fervens dilectio, et ex hiis admirabilis erit iubilatio. Sed nec
sua pedibus venustas deerit. *Sequuntur* enim virgines *agnum quocumque ierit.*
Scriptum est in Canticis: *Quam pulchri gressus tui in calciamentis, filia prin-
cipis.* Pulchri plane et pulcherrimi iugiter inherendo vestigiis summi regis erit,
365   et canticum in ore virginum quod solis ipsis est vel dicere vel cantare datum.
Et quid mirum si canticum nupciale cantabunt que, ad annos cum pervenerint
nubiles, sponsi patriam Domini et thorum intrabunt. Hoc est canticum nup-
ciale quod appellatur Canticum Canticorum, quod soli et sole cantabunt vir-
gines, sicut in Apocalipsi sub typo innocentum declarat Johannes. Non est in
370   hoc cantico strepitus oris sed iubilus cordis, non sonus labiorum sed motus
gaudiorum, non vocum consonancia sed voluntatum unanimitas consentanea.
Venerabile est secretum canticum, quod in amorem ardentissimum cantantes
illicit, quod solum qui cantat et cui cantatur intelligit. Inter hec digne quis
enunciet quam habitura es, virgo, pulchritudinem? Cum revelata facie spon-
375   sum tuum visura *speciosum pre filiis hominum, non habebis maculam* neque

---

366 quid] quis *M*   374 habitura] habitatur *M*

349–50 Ex 25:11; 30:3.
357–58 bissina . . . Johannis: Apoc 19:8.
359–60 Prov 31:22, 25.
362 Apoc 14:4.
363–64 Cant 7:1.
365 canticum . . . datum: cf. Apoc 14:3–4.
367–69: canticum . . . Johannes: Apoc 14:3–4.
369–71 Non est . . . voluntatum: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canti-
corum,* sermo 1.11, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 1:7–8.
374–76 revelata . . . rugam: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 113.2, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*
7:289.
375–76 Ps 44:3, Eph 5:27.

rugam. Quid familiaritatis | secrete solacium, cum leva capiti supponetur et   289vb
dextera dulciter occupabitur ad amplexum, et locus specialis in patria quem
virginitatis prerogativa singularem a *filiis et filiabus,* virgo, es sortitura.

36. Tace velum et anulum, quoniam hec sunt privilegia specialia consecra-
380   tarum virginum, quibus nunc ob gratiam vestri suum breviter reserabo myste-
rium.

37. O sancte et Deo dedicate virgines, iste anulus vestre consecrationis,
vestre est perpetuitas incorruptionis! "Tu has familias tuas," inquit episcopus
sponsi vestri, videlicet peramplius hiis, "quas, ex numero gregis, bonus pastor
385   eligere dignatus es ad coronam conservandam perpetue virginitatis et casti-
moniam anime scuto tue protectionis circuntege" etc. que secuntur. Per hunc
anulum, representatis in vobismet ipsis triumphantis ecclesie typum et figu-
ram que non habet *maculam* neque *rugam.* Quomodo igitur non ad aliud
dicende eis estis pertinere seculum, cuius estis tam nobile sacramentum? Hu-
390   milientur autem in suis cordibus que hoc in seipsis nequeunt representare
quod vester anulus figurat. Timeant vero que non debent hanc consecrationem
accipere. Nam secundum beati Leonis consilium et decretum, nec etiam cor-
rupte per violenciam se debent in hoc privilegio virginibus incontaminatis ali-
quatenus animare, non quia perdiderint sine consensu meritum, sed quia
395   consecrationis sue nec representent nec exhibent sacramentum.

38. Iam de velo. Quid enunciem cum suam in ipso nomine declaret
significationem? "Posuit," inquit episcopus virgines consecrans, "signum in
faciem meam ut nullum preter eum amatorem admittam." Nupcie quelibet an-
tiquitus velabantur. | Unde et ab obnubendo, velando scilicet, nupta vocatur.   290ra
400   Recordetur ergo virgo velata, quoniam in prerogativa dilectionis singularis et

---

376 Quid] Quis *M*   378 es] et *M*   379 Tace *sic M*   380 nunc] cum *M*
384 peramplius hiis *sic* (?) *M*   386 circumtege] circumcege *M*   393 se] sed *M*

376–78 leva ... sortitura: cf. ibid.: ". . . ponet laevam sub capite tuo et dextera illius am-
plexabitur te. Praetereo locum nominatum, quem virginitatis praerogativa singularem a filiis et
filabus in regno es procul dubio sortitura."
378 Ex 10:9; Is 56:5.
383–86 Tu has ... circuntege: *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* 20.21, ed. C. Vogel and
R. Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle,* vol. 1, Studi e testi 226 (Vati-
can City, 1963), 45; cf. M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge,* vol. 1, Studi et testi
86 (Vatican City, 1938), 162; and ibid., vol. 3, Studi et testi 88 (Vatican City, 1940), 421.
392–95 Nam ... sacramentum: cf. Leo I, Ep. 12.8, PL 54:653 and 662.
397–98 Posuit ... admittam: *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* 20.21, ed. Vogel and Elze,
1:44; Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge* 3:418.
399 Unde ... vocatur: Cf. Gratian, *Decretum* 2 C.30 q.5 c.8, ed. E. Friedberg, *Corpus iuris
canonici,* vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1879), col. 1106.

individue sponso est unico desponsata. Sic verecunda et casta, nichil torvum in oculis, nichil in verbis procax, nichil inverecundum in actu apareat, non gestus fractior, non incessus solutior, non vox petulancior. Immo sic Deo dicate virgines donis spiritualibus adornentur ut etiam bone domus in vestibulis
405   agnoscantur.

[V] 39. Post patrie celestis desiderium, puritatem cordium, perfectam humilitatem, et illibatam virginitatem, tempus est ut ad honestat⟨em⟩ nec exterioris transeam disciplinam, et sic vestem protractam diucius terminem et concludam.
410   40. Dicitur ergo *Omnis gloria eius filie regis ab intus in fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietatibus.* Tunc varietate filia regis circundatur, cum intrinsecus in corde puritas et extrinsecus honestas in corpore multiplex invenitur. Bene autem morum honestas exterior circundatio dicitur, sine qua de facili virtus elabitur, cum qua virtutis varietas regitur, tegitur, conservatur. Hec si cunctis
415   sit necessaria, tamen amplius in nobilioribus effulget, et eis locum exemplaris in eminenti positi tenet. Hanc quicumque voluerit obtinere, cervicem submittit, supercilia deponit, vultum componit. Non compositione sophistica, sed disciplina perfecta ligat oculos, cachinnos cohibet, moderatur linguam, gulam frenat, iram sedat, format incessum. Iste sunt exterioris modestie margarite,
420   que satis effulgent in sancte pudicicie veste. Nichil est autem quod magis ad vite proficiat honestatem quam, ut credamus, eum iudicem affuturum, quem et occulta non fallunt, | et indecora offendunt, et honesta delectant. Et in nobis   290rb
nullomodo placeat, si quid est, quod in aliis nos offendat.
41. Hec autem virtus, sive honestatem sive modestiam sive verecondiam
425   dixerimus, omnibus temporibus, etatibus, locis, personis apta est. Tamen adolescentes animos magis decet. Nam in senibus magis laudatur gravitas, in iuvenibus alacritas, in adolescentibus verecundia, velut quadam dote commendatur nature. Hec in beato Joseph satis enituit. Hanc ipse vobis specialiter

---

401 torvum] corvum *M*   403 petulancior] peculancior *M*   412 corpore] corde *M* 416–17 submittit] submittis *M*   418 cachinnos] catherinos *M*   422 indecora] *add.* ostendunt *M*

401–3 nichil[1] . . . petulancior: Ambrose, *De virginibus* 2.2.7, PL 16:209 (2d ed. 220).
404–5 bone . . . agnoscantur: ibid.
416–19 cervicem . . . margarite: cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 113.2, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 7:290.
420–22 Nichil . . . delectant: Ambrose, *De officiis* 1.26.124, ed. M. Testard, CCL 15 (Turnhout, 2000), 45.
426–28 Nam . . . nature: ibid. 1.17.65, CCL 15:24.
428 Hec . . . enituit: cf. Gen 37–50.

dereliquit, per quam castus adeo fuit, ut ne sermonem vellet audire ⟨nisi⟩ pu-
430   dicum. Humilis usque ad servitutem, verecundus ad fugam, paciens usque ad
carcerem, remissor iniurie ad remunerationem. De ipso ergo quid loquar?
Quam subditus in servitute, quam constans in virtute, quam benignus in car-
cere, sapiens ⟨in⟩ interpretatione, in potestate moderatus, in ubertate providus
et in fame iustus!
435   42. Sed ecce iam verecundandum michi video, qui verecondia vel modestia
tenenda aliquid vobis scribo. Notum enim satis est—benedictus Dominus!—
quoniam nullatenus indigetis ut super hiis admoneamini. Quare reddenda est
epistola suo fini. Parcite insufficiencie scribentis. Parcite vicio prolixitatis.
Parcite quod tante et tali tantillus et fere nullus ego tam familiariter scripsi
440   vobis, et utinam aliquando inter orationes vestras, sicut et ego vestri iugiter,
memores mei sitis. Bene et diu vestra valeat sublimitas, domina karissima in
Domino Ihesu Christo. Amen. Explicit.

University of Vermont.

431 carcerem] calcerem *M*   remunerationem] remumerationem *M*   439 tantillus]
cancillus *M*

429–31 castus . . . remunerationem: Ambrose, *De officiis* 1.17.66, CCL 15:24.
431–34 De . . . iustus: ibid. 1.24.112, CCL 15:41.

DIVINE OMNIPOTENCE AND MORAL THEORY
IN ABELARD'S THEOLOGY

Matthias Perkams

1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

ONE of the most provocative theses of Peter Abelard's theology is the assumption that God cannot act otherwise than he does. This thesis has been frequently discussed in recent scholarship, especially in connection with Abelard's theory of modalities and his views on predestination, both of which he discusses while developing his thoughts about God's action. The best treatment of the questions at hand is presented by John Marenbon in *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard,* the first really comprehensive book on the whole of Abelard's philosophical thought.[1] The present article is an attempt to ad-

---

[1] John Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge, 1997), 233–50; cf. also Stephen F. Brown, "Abelard and the Medieval Origins of the Distinction between God's Absolute and Ordained Power," in *"Ad litteram": Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers,* ed. Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery, Jr., Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies 3 (Notre Dame and London, 1992), 199–215; Marcia L. Colish, "Peter Lombard and Abelard: The *Opinio Nominalium* and Divine Transcendence," *Vivarium* 30 (1992): 139–56; Hermann Weidemann, "Modalität und Konsequenz: Zur logischen Struktur eines theologischen Arguments in Peter Abaelards Dialectica," in *Argumentationstheorie: Scholastische Forschungen zu den logischen und semantischen Regeln korrekten Folgerns,* ed. Klaus Jacobi, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 38 (Leiden and Cologne, 1993), 695–705. The abbreviations for the works of Abelard cited in this article are listed below:

Coll. = *Collationes,* ed. and trans. John Marenbon and Giovanni Orlandi (Oxford, 2001); and ed. Rudolf Thomas, *Petrus Abaelardus: Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1970);

Dialect. = *Dialectica,* ed. L. M. De Rijk, *Petrus Abaelardus: Dialectica,* 2d ed., Wijsgerige teksten en studies 1 (Assen, 1970);

Eth. = *Ethica,* ed. Rainer M. Ilgner, *Scito te ipsum,* in *Petri Abaelardi Opera theologica* 4, CCCM 190 (Turnhout, 2001); and ed. D. E. Luscombe, *Peter Abelard's "Ethics,"* an edition with introduction, English translation, and notes (Oxford, 1971);

Exp. Rom. = *Expositio in epistolam ad Romanos,* ed. E. M. Buytaert, *Commentaria in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos,* in *Petri Abaelardi Opera theologica* 1, CCCM 11 (Turnhout, 1969) 41–340 (a better text—resting on an examination of the manuscripts but without an *apparatus criticus*—can now be found, along with a German translation, in *Abaelard: Expositio in epistolam ad Romanos. Römerbriefkommentar,* ed. and trans. Rolf Peppermüller, Fontes Christiani 26.1–3 [Freiburg, 2000]; I cite only Buytaert's edition, because his pagination is printed in the margin of Peppermüller's text);

dress the problem from another point of view. It deals with the theological and anthropological presuppositions which led Abelard to develop such a bold theory regarding the restriction of God's omnipotence.

On the basis of a close reading of Abelard's texts, I have found that a certain set of presuppositions—the first formulations of which already appear in many cases in his logical works—underlies the whole of his thought. These fundamental assumptions deeply influence Abelard's views on very different topics. Knowing them is often necessary in order to understand the genesis of the often remarkable theories our philosopher propounds, and such knowledge offers an ideal starting point for the correct interpretation of many of his central themes.

This is also the case if we try to understand Abelard's views on God's omnipotence and his way of restricting it. His basic assumptions on the nature of potencies and the relationship of reason to the will of God lead him to the picture he presents in the last books of his *Theologia christiana* and *Theologia "Scholarium."* This is best demonstrated through analyses of the most relevant passages of the third book of the *Theologia "Scholarium,"* where our author gives the most mature and elaborate explanation of his views.

Before we start that task it seems advisable to say some words concerning the method of this third book, a method which is different from that employed in the other books of the *Theologia.* In the third book, whose beginning also forms part of the fifth book of the *Theologia christiana,* Abelard intends to clarify what has been said in the first two books on the Trinity by explaining problematical aspects of the Trinity which seem to involve some problems, as he puts it, "by probable and most honest reasons" (*verisimilibus et honestissimis rationibus*).[2] What exactly is meant by this terminology Abelard explains a few paragraphs later. The probable reasons are different from necessary

Log. ingr. = *Logica "ingredientibus,"* ed. Bernhard Geyer, *Peter Abaelards philosophische Schriften. I: Die Logica "ingredientibus,"* Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 21.1–3 (Münster, 1919–27);

Probl. Hel. = *Heloissae Paraclitensis Problemata cum mag. Petri Abaelardi solutionibus,* ed. Victor Cousin in *Petri Abaelardi Opera,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1849), 237–94;

Sent. Herm. = *Sententiae Hermanni,* ed. Sandro Buzzetti, *Sententie magistri Petri Abaelardi (Sententie Hermanni),* Pubblicazioni della facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Milano 101 (Florence, 1981);

Sent. Par. = *Sententiae Parisienses I,* ed. Arthur Landgraf, Écrits théologiques de l'école d'Abélard, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 14 (Louvain, 1934), 1–60;

Tchr = *Theologia christiana,* ed. E. M. Buytaert in *Petri Abaelardi Opera theologica* 2, CCCM 12 (Turnhout, 1969), 5–372;

Tsch = *Theologia "Scholarium,"* ed. E. M. Buytaert and C. J. Mews in *Petri Abaelardi Opera theologica* 3, CCCM 13 (Turnhout, 1987), 203–549.

[2] *Tsch* 3.1, CCCM 13:499.6–7 (=*Tchr* 5.1, CCCM 12:347.8).

ones, that is, in laying no constraint on one's opponent to acknowledge error. On the other hand, he attributes to them a much stronger force, in that they are self-evident to the mind of any good person who is unhindered by malice (*nulli invidus*) from seeing the universe in the best way.[3] Conversely, "there is no one to whom the reason of his own conscience does not suggest"[4] these arguments, which "are delightful in themselves and attract us immediately to themselves by a certain force of theirs."[5] These arguments concern not a logical reasoning but rather the moral understanding every human being has by its rational nature, and thus they also lead also to an emotive effect which is primarily intended in the third book: through a deeper understanding of the Trinity will emerge in the soul a desire thereof as well.[6]

So the thoughts we will attempt to understand in what follows have, according to Abelard, ethical implications which are the conditions for the relevance of the Trinity. We will in fact see that the way Abelard defines the omnipotence of God is shaped by the role this concept plays in the course of God's acting. This, in turn, is presented as the acting of a being perfectly suited to act well according to the same criteria which would hold also for an acting human being.

This conception of a philosophical theology resembles from a methodological point of view Kant's procedure of speaking about the Godhead, not by arguments taken from the "reine Vernunft," but by postulates taken from the practical one.[7] Though the conceptions of Abelard and Kant are, of course, very different, the fact that both authors saw the moral nature of every human being as the most suitable starting point for a philosophical reasoning about God presents an interesting parallel.

2. THE OUTWARD CONDITIONS OF GOD'S WILL

Abelard starts his "perfect and complete commendation of that highest good" (*perfecta et integra illius summi boni commendatio*)[8] by asking the question how we can call God omnipotent if he is not able to do everything.

---

[3] *Tsch* 3.15, CCCM 13:505.215–506.217 (=*Tchr* 5.15, CCCM 12:353.231–33).

[4] ". . . nullus est cui proprie ratio non suggerat conscientie" (ibid., CCCM 13:506.225–26 [=CCCM 12:353.242]).

[5] ". . . presertim cum, que honesta sunt, per se placeant atque nos statim ad se sua ui quadam alliciant" (ibid., CCCM 13:506.221–23 [=CCCM 12:353.237–39]).

[6] *Tsch* 3.1, CCCM 13:499.8–9 (=*Tchr* 5.1, CCCM 12:347.9–10).

[7] Cf. J. Jolivet, *Arts du langage et théologie chez Abélard*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1982), 322: "C'est donc le sentiment moral du meilleur qui fonde les argumentations exposées dans ces pages."

[8] *Tsch* 3.17, CCCM 13:507.253–54 (=*Tchr* 5.17, CCCM 12:354.270–71).

This problem is further complicated, according to our author, by another question, namely, how God should be able to do everything if there are obviously some actions he cannot perform—like walking, speaking or hearing, which are of no worth to an incorporeal nature.[9] So Abelard discusses the specific situation of God in a quite surprising way for a theologian: from the first step onwards, he thinks within the limits of a framework that treats the creator in the same way in which his creatures can be scientifically treated.

This immediately becomes clear when Abelard develops his central argument: he enters a discussion concerning what is really meant by *potentia,* the integral part of *omnipotentia,* i.e., the concept he is about to explain. It is remarkable that the same Abelard who likes to stress that language and semantics depend entirely *ex impositione hominis*[10] starts a discussion of God's omnipotence with an analysis of this same human language and its assumptions as to the correct understanding of what a *potentia* is: "Also, according to the philosophers and to common linguistic usage, a potency of a certain thing is never accepted except in what is related to the comfort or the dignity of the thing itself."[11] It is easy to see, and Abelard doesn't hesitate to confirm, that he understands the term *potentia* as it is used in Boethius's Latin translation of Aristotle's *Categories,* a work on which Abelard commented several times. In Boethius, *potentia* translates the Greek δύναμις and *impotentia* the Greek ἀδυναμία, two terms receiving considerable attention in Abelard's logical work. In Aristotle, both concepts are treated under the category of quality (ποιόν, *qualitas* in the Boethian translation). The terms δύναμις and ἀδυναμία emerge only in the second part of the exposé on this category: according to this passage those ποιότητες, which a thing has by its nature and which are not acquired, as habits and dispositions are, are called δύναμις φυσικὴ ἢ ἀδυναμία, which is rendered by Boethius as *potentia naturalis vel impotentia.*[12] If we regard this terminological background with which the logi-

---

⁹ *Tsch* 3.18, CCCM 13:507.262–67 (=*Tchr* 5.18, CCCM 12:354.280–86).

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., *Dialect.* 1.3.1, ed. De Rijk, 114.17–31.

¹¹ ". . . iuxta ipsos quoque philosophos et communis sermonis usum, numquam potentia cuiusque rei accipitur, nisi in his que ad commodum uel dignitatem ipsius rei pertinent" (*Tsch* 3.18, CCCM 13:507.268–71 [=*Tchr* 5.18, CCCM 12:354.286–89]).

¹² Aristotle, *Cat.* 8 (9a14–27). Abelard seems to have used a manuscript which mixed readings of the Boethian translation with the later Vulgate, a reworking of Boethius's translation, which is edited by L. Minio-Paluello in the Aristoteles Latinus as *editio composita* and tentatively dated in the ninth century; M. Asztalos, "Boethius as a Transmitter of Greek Logic to the Latin West," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 95 (1993): 367–407 at 371–77, shows that this *editio composita* used the lemmata in Boethius's *Categories* commentary. For the text used by Abelard, see pp. xiii–xvi in De Rijk's introduction to the *Dialectica.* In Minio-Paluello's edition (*Categoriae vel Praedicamenta,* Aristoteles Latinus 1.1–5 [Bruges and Paris, 1961]) we

cian Abelard was very familiar, it is easy to understand that he treats the concept of the divine *potentia* in a way which is not determined by a common understanding of "might" or "power." Instead, he starts by analyzing the general use which people make of *potentia* and reaches by this an original understanding of God's power; because of this context I have chosen to render *potentia* not with "power" but with "potency," in order to render the ambiguous meaning this term has in Abelard's discussions.[13]

From this scientific background there also emerges a point of systematic importance: Abelard's discussion of God's omnipotence is determined not only by an analysis of language but also in a more ontological way by the Aristotelian scheme of categories. Abelard expounds God in this passage qua part of a cosmic universe that can be described in terms of the Aristotelian understanding of science, which he studied all his life. This is quite surprising for the reader of the *Theologia "Scholarium,"* because Abelard had declared earlier in this work, following the example of Plato and Augustine, that God is not subject to the *Categories* since he cannot be said to be either a substance or an accident. More generally he had stated that God's nature cannot be described by human language, because human beings have invented its words, looking at the visible world.[14] By this Abelard followed not only Augustine but also the mainly Neoplatonic tradition of late antiquity: the late antique philosophers—especially Plotinus—tended to restrict the significance of the categories to the visible world and to reject their application to the divine reality. By choosing here a less restricted use of the concept of *potentia,* which according to Aristotle belongs to the category of quality,[15] Abelard hints at a systematic problem facing the Plotinian attempt to restrict the *Categories* to the sensible world: it seems quite plausible that there do exist certain concepts which obviously cover both realms, the sensible and the transcendent one. They include not only the so-called *transcendentia* (good, true, one, etc.) but also qualities such as virtue and science, which are parts of every discussion of God's nature;[16] these are exactly the qualities Abelard is using in his argument. Though he does not reflect his recourse to the categorial scheme here, it would at least have been possible for him to find arguments suitable to defend his position.

---

find the Boethian translation on pp. 1–41 and the *editio composita* on pp. 43–79. Here it is important to note that Abelard reads *dispositio* for the Greek διάθεσις and not *affectio*.

[13] For the same reason, in my German translation of Abelard's *Theologia "Scholarium"* I will translate potentia with "Mächtigkeit."

[14] *Tsch* 2.75–82, CCCM 13:444–49.

[15] Aristotle, *Cat.* 8 (9a14–27).

[16] Cf. H. M. Baumgartner, G. Gerhardt, K. Konhardt, and G. Schönrich, "Kategorie I.-II.," in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* 4 (Basel, 1976), 714–26 at 719–21.

In his discussion of the passage just quoted Abelard resumes the Aristotelian arguments propounded already in his *Dialectica* and in his commentary on the *Categories* in the *Logica "ingredientibus."* The salient point, which Abelard repeats several times, is that the definition of a determinate quality of an animal or a person as either a *potentia* or an *impotentia* depends on the specific nature of this person or animal. More specifically, and as already cited, Abelard links the *potentia* or *impotentia* of a quality to the question whether that quality supports or reduces in a thing (*res*) the thing's own *dignitas* or *commodum*. These two concepts can also be traced back to the logical commentaries of Abelard. Here, in the *Logica "ingredientibus"* and the *Dialectica*, Master Peter already discusses the difference between a *potentia* and an *impotentia* and defines the difference between the two qualities in the positive or negative effect a quality has for the nature of a *res*: "That, namely, which is related to the utility or the dignity of a thing we classify as potency, but what is not related to them we classify as impotency. . . . But unless you observe this point concerning utility or dignity in potency, you might inversely call potencies what Aristotle names impotencies or impotencies what he names potencies."[17] In the logical works Abelard uses *utilitas* instead of *commodum* in this context, but there is no reason to suspect a different meaning of the two terms in this context. On the other hand, it is not easy to define the exact meaning of the concepts of either *dignitas* or *commodum/utilitas*.

We also find towards the end of Abelard's *Collationes* the connection of *dignitas* and *commodum* in the famous discussion on what is good and what is bad. There he uses it to restrict the meaning of a good thing. A thing can be called good as long as it is of some utility (*utilitatis*), i.e., if the *dignitas* or the *commodum* of any other thing will not be harmed or reduced by this thing.[18] In this context, Abelard names life, immortality, joy, health, science and chastity as goods which should not be harmed this way, and at the same time he maintains that their opposites, which cause these values to diminish, are intrinsically bad.[19] According to John Marenbon, this list of *bona* helps us to

---

[17] "Id enim, quod ad utilitatem uel dignitatem rei pertinet, ad potentiam reducimus, ad impotentiam uero quod non. . . . Nisi autem hoc de utilitate uel dignitate in potentia attendis, poteris econuerso potentias dicere quas Aristoteles impotentias nominat, aut impotentias quas idem potentias nominat" (*Dialect.* 1.2.3, ed. De Rijk, 97.18–20, 22–25); cf. *Log. ingr.* 2 in Cat. (ed. Geyer, 230.10–12); one finds the same thought with slightly different formulations in *Tsch* 3.19, CCCM 13:508.285–89 (=*Tchr* 5.19, CCCM 12:355.304–8): ". . . illa posse que ad incommodum uel debilitatem rei attinent, impotentie est potius quam potentie, ita et eadem non posse econtrario potentie est ascribendum. Alioquin econuerso impotentiam diceremus potentiam et potentiam impotentiam."

[18] *Coll.* 2.203, ed. Marenbon and Orlandi, 204 (ed. Thomas, 160.3153–56); cf. 2.224, ed. Marenbon and Orlandi, 220 (ed. Thomas, 169.3386–91).

[19] *Coll.* 2.224, ed. Marenbon and Orlandi, 220 (ed. Thomas, 169.3391–170.3394).

understand better what is meant exactly by *dignitas* and *commodum*. He argues that the terms *dignitas* and *commodum* stand for "intrinsic value and value as what fulfills somebody's desire" and shows that these values always refer to a subject.[20]

In our passage from the *Theologia "Scholarium"* Abelard clearly uses the same lines of argument as in the *Collationes,* but he offers several examples which permit a better understanding of his thought concerning *dignitas* and *commodum.* The most important consideration is the idea mentioned above, that the same faculty is not in the same way a *potentia* or an *impotentia* in different things. This is the case, Abelard declares, "because the same things often recommend the dignity of certain things, but not of others."[21] Thus, although for a human being it is a *potentia* to be strong enough to kill a bear, for a lion or an elephant such a strength would be normal and there would be no reason to call it a *potentia.* According to this example, we can define the *dignitas* which is recommended by a certain potency as the relative excellence of a creature in comparison with other members of the same species, as Abelard explains by the example of the strength of the man able to kill a bear: "this has to be attributed to a great potency of a man by which he would stand out before other people and be more commendable."[22] The next example given by Abelard reveals a different understanding of the relationship between potency and dignity. For a human being, the ability to walk is some sort of *potentia,* "because it fits with his necessity and harms his dignity in no respect."[23] In fact, this definition is identical with the previously mentioned definition of "good" from the *Collationes* and reveals that in Abelard's eyes a potency, like a good, is anything useful to a thing in its actual state which does not necessarily have negative effects; in the case of a potency, these

---

[20] Marenbon, *Philosophy of Peter Abelard,* 240. On the definition of "good" in the *Collationes* and its theological implications, see also K. Jacobi, "Philosophische und theologische Ethik: Ein Blick auf Abaelards Dialogus," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 108 (2001): 1–17 at 13–16. Important recent publications on the *Collationes* include A. Brungs, "Holzwege. Abaelard und das 'Religionsgespräch,' " in *Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Erlanger Streifzüge durch die Geschichte der Philosophie,* ed. J. Kulenkampff and Th. Spitzley (Erlangen and Jena, 2001), 45–60; and H. Westermann, "Wahrheitssuche im Streitgespräch. Überlegungen zu Peter Abaelards 'Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum,' " in *Gespräche lesen: Philosophische Dialoge im Mittelalter,* ed. K. Jacobi, ScriptOralia 115 (Tübingen, 1999), 157–97.

[21] "... cum eadem sepe aliarum rerum dignitatem commendent, aliarum uero minime" (*Tsch* 3.20, CCCM 13:508.295–97 [=*Tchr* 5.20, CCCM 12:355.316–17]).

[22] "... hoc magne hominis potentie ascribendum est, unde ceteris hominibus ipse precelleret et commendabilior esset" (ibid., CCCM 13:508.297–302, lines 299–300 cited [=CCCM 12:355.317–22]).

[23] "... quoniam eius necessitudini congruit nec in aliquo eius minuit dignitatem" (ibid., CCCM 13:508.302–4, lines 303–4 cited [=CCCM 12:355.322–25]).

negative effects relate to the thing itself, whereas in the case of a *bonum* to every thing possibly concerned.

It should be stressed that there does not have to be any direct relevance of a potency to the central aspects of a thing's nature; in the case of human beings, a *potentia* does not have to help them to have or to develop their specifically human nature, i.e., to possess reason and to live according to it. It is sufficient for a potency to support anything useful to their well-being. Actually, already in his *Dialectica* Abelard made a difference between (a) natural potencies which belong essentially to the definition of a creature qua member of its species, and (b) potencies which can or cannot subsist in individual creatures without affecting their essence as members of their species.[24] In his *Logica "ingredientibus"* Abelard declares that in the *Categories* Aristotle treated only the potencies which can or cannot exist in a being without touching its essence but facilitating its life. That notwithstanding, Abelard himself continues to use a broad concept of potency in which also natural substantial potencies are included, as he mentions in the same passage of his commentary.[25] In the *Theologia* he presupposes this broad concept, but his argumentation concerns in fact only non-natural potencies which do not necessarily constitute the nature of a certain species but are useful for developing one's nature in a positive direction.

If we bring together this broad concept of potency and the passages discussed, we can conclude that the term "dignity" means everything which contributes to the relative excellency of a single thing in comparison with other members of the same species. Therefore, I would hesitate to call it, with Marenbon, an "intrinsic value," because such a dignity obviously depends on the nature of the species in question, and Abelard stresses this dependence, as he always stresses the dependence of any value on the circumstances, under which it has some value; for example, an action can only be of some value if it is guided by a good intention.[26]

In the light of these presuppositions, Abelard can now solve his question why God can be called omnipotent even though he cannot do everything. First, Abelard explains why the ability to walk could be no *potentia* for God, saying that this would harm his dignity as an incorporeal being.[27] More important is the second argument: that God as the omnipotent being can make us

---

[24] "Sunt autem alie potentie vel impotentie, que naturae proprie sunt, non aptitudinis, in eo scilicet quod non solum eas naturas contulit, verum etiam eas exigit, ut rationalitas, irrationalitas, mortalitas, immortalitas, que speciei, cui insunt, naturam totam occupant nec ei per accidens, sed substantialiter insunt" (*Dialect.* 1.2.3, ed. De Rijk, 96.33–97.1).

[25] *Log. ingr.* 2 in Cat., ed. Geyer, 229.22–39.

[26] Cf., e.g., *Eth.* 1.17.1–4, CCCM 190:18.461–79 (ed. Luscombe, 26.32–28.17).

[27] *Tsch* 3.20, CCCM 13:508.304–509.311 (=*Tchr* 5.20, CCCM 12:355.325–356.331).

walk or more generally perform outward actions; therefore he can also be called the author of these actions performed by us. This entails the conclusion that God can be called omnipotent "because in all that he wishes to happen, nothing can resist his will."[28] One should note here that Abelard extends very far the area of God's possible acting, by ascribing to him an independence from all laws of nature. That holds true even if he already has enforced those same laws: "it is clear that [the divine potency] can, of its own nature, accomplish whatsoever it has decreed, and even alter, beyond what is normal, the very natures of things."[29] In spite of all his previous discussions, Abelard does not introduce into God's potency any limits regarding its effectivity. If there is any rule which determines God's acting, it has to be sought in his own nature, not in any outward restriction of his power.

Thus, the central point of Abelard's argument is that the inward structure of God's will—not his ability to perform one action or another—is the explication of God's omnipotence. For Abelard the will is the only point upon which all his teaching on God's excellency is based. In consequence, we have to attempt a better understanding of God's will if we want to achieve an overall picture of his omnipotence according to Abelard.

3. THE INWARD CONDITIONS OF GOD'S WILL

A hint of Abelard's understanding of the divine will first appears in his logical works and is repeated in the *Theologia "Scholarium"*: "Let no one therefore presume to say that God is lacking in potency in something if he cannot sin as we can, because not even in us should be this considered as a potency."[30] In spite of the lack of a detailed explanation, this confirmation already shows the direction in which Abelard wants to continue his argument concerning the will of God.

That can be seen in the passage of the *Theologia "Scholarium"* which immediately follows the texts just discussed. In some of the manuscripts it is entitled "Whether God can do more or less than he does, and contra" (*An*

---

[28] "... quod in omnibus que fieri uelit, nichil eius uoluntati resistere queat" (*Tsch* 3.21, CCCM 13:509.312–26, lines 325–26 cited [=*Tchr* 5.21, CCCM 12:356.332–47]).

[29] "... constat [diuinam potentiam] ex propria natura quicquid decreuerit posse, et preter solitum ipsas rerum naturas quocumque modo uoluerit permutare" (*Tsch* 3.94, CCCM 13:539.1240–42); cf. the entire passage, *Tsch* 3.94–95, CCCM 13:538.1230–539.1267.

[30] "Nemo itaque Deum impotentem in aliquo dicere presumat, si non possit peccare sicut nos possumus, quia nec in nobis ipsis hoc potentie tribuendum est" (*Tsch* 3.20, CCCM 13:508.289–91 [=*Tchr* 5.20, CCCM 12:355.309–11]); cf. *Log. ingr.* 2 in Cat., ed. Geyer, 230.17–20.

plura vel pauciora facere possit Deus quam faciat et contra).[31] Here Abelard gives his famous account of God's ability to act only in the one way he does act. The logical reason for this assumption lies in the following fact: Abelard holds the strong premise that something is either good to do, and consequently has to be done, or it is not, and so is bad and must not be carried out.[32] Under this condition, a being that constantly acts well, as God does, naturally chooses the good alternative every time and always acts the only good and reasonable way.[33]

For the present purpose, the most important part of the passage in which Abelard develops this theory regarding our question about divine omnipotence is the description implicitly given of God's way of acting and deciding what he wants to do. The salient sentence is found in the midst of Abelard's discussion of the issue: "God attends, in everything he does, to what is good, insofar that he is said to be inclined to perform his single actions more by the value of the good than by the preference of his will."[34] Here God's will, whose importance for his omnipotence Abelard stressed so much in the last chapter as the crucial point for God's omnipotence, seems to be once again sharply restricted. Abelard defines it by using the premise that God's decision concerning what is to be done does not depend on a choice between a number of possibilities, but on one criterion: what is good. Abelard supports his theory with a quotation from Jerome, in which he stresses the goodness of a thing as the reason for its being willed by God. What Abelard means by this becomes clearer when he subsequently explains that people acting badly "do not so much attend to what is good as satisfy their own will, whatever it may be."[35] Once again we see the weighing of will that is not clearly specified

---

[31] *Tsch* 3.27, CCCM 13:511.373 ff.; the end of the passage is not clearly marked.

[32] Cf. *Log. ingr.* 2 in Cat., ed. Geyer, 163.39–164.5: "Hoc falsum videtur, quod eodem quoque tempore eadem actio bona videtur et mala, ut suspensio latronis et bona dicitur ei qui iustitiam facit, et mala videtur quantum ad iniquum impatientiae. Nos talem dicimus eandem fortasse secundum diversos utilem esse et inutilem, bonam vero simul et malam non concedimus. Bona enim esse tantum res quaelibet dicitur, quae a summo loco approbatur atque eius concordat voluntati, eadem vero actio Deo simul placere et non placere non potest." A comparison of this passage with the discussions in the *Theologia* reveals also the tendency of Abelard to stick to once-accepted schemes of thought, which become essential topoi of his philosophy. He develops them, and his argumentation becomes more sophisticated, but he does not abandon his way of thought.

[33] Cf. *Tsch* 3.27–82, CCCM 13:511.375–535.1114; and Marenbon, *Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, 217–25.

[34] "In tantum autem in omnibus que Deus facit, quod bonum est attendit, ut ipso boni precio potius quam uoluntatis sue libito ad singula faciendo inclinari dicitur" (*Tsch* 3.33, CCCM 13:514.449–51).

[35] ". . . non tam quod bonum est attendunt quam ut sue satisfaciant uoluntati, qualiscumque ipsa sit" (*Tsch* 3.33, CCCM 13:514.451–67, lines 463–64 cited).

against the criterion of being good: The opposite of this good is a will that is not specified in the right direction. Obviously the pure function of willing can have different goals and thus does not alone suffice to signify the inclination towards the good; the personal preference in willing this or that is not enough to explain the goodness of God's actions. Abelard clearly assumes that there is a criterion according to which a certain will can be qualified as good. But what is this criterion?

Instead of giving a clear and immediate answer to this question Abelard compares God's acting with the acting of human beings. He presents as an example Christ himself and continues, "we must do nothing with the goal or the intention that we want it or that we like ourselves in doing so, i.e., because we enjoy doing so, but because we judge it to be good that this is done by us."[36] The most striking issue of this remarkable sentence, it seems to me, is that Abelard equates divine and human acting by its evaluation according to a common criterion: doing the good, which Abelard contrasts with following one's own will. This description is in part inspired by an argument discussed several times in the different works of the school of Abelard, which report his own teaching: that a human being has to act as Christ did, which means to follow not one's own will but the will of God;[37] in the Romans commentary Abelard stresses in the same sense that Christ did not want but only tolerated his passion—otherwise it could not be called *passio*.[38] In the cited passage of the *Theologia "Scholarium"* Abelard now links this theory of the human will with a theory of God's will and finds the common goal of human and divine action in doing the good, but has not yet explained how to find this right way of acting. In this context, I would like to stress that Abelard also uses his central concept of *intentio* in the sense of "goal." The interpreters of the *Scito teipsum* should not overlook the fact that according to passage cited above (n. 34) we have to do anything with the intention that "we judge it to be good that this is done by us"; the intention links the goal of the single action with its goodness, as it is perceived by the subject; and the subjectively recognized goodness is objective insofar as it is equivalent to the criterion by which God judges an action as good or bad.

---

[36] ". . . nichil hoc fine uel intentione agere debemus, quia id uolumus, uel quia nobis in hoc placemus, id est quia in hoc delectamur, sed potius quia id a nobis fieri bonum esse censemus" (*Tsch* 3.34, CCCM 13:514.467–71, lines 469–71 cited).

[37] Cf. *Sent. Herm.* 25, ed. Buzzetti, 110.1–112.62; and *Sent. Par.* 1, ed. Landgraf, 31.1–33.18. Regarding the authenticity of Abelardian teaching in these collections, see Constant J. Mews, "The *Sententie* of Peter Abelard," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 53 (1986): 129–83.

[38] *Exp. Rom.* 2, CCCM 11:179.101–16; the same theory of will is also found in *Eth.* 1.6.1, CCCM 190:5.126–27.164 (ed. Luscombe, 8.21–10.27).

What this criterion is we learn in the next paragraphs of the *Theologia "Scholarium."* Here Abelard introduces an element not yet mentioned in this context, i.e., the rationality of action. Once again, we concentrate on the psychological factors which lead to the decision to perform a certain action, leaving aside the logical difficulty that Abelard assumes in every case only one alternative to be good and every other to be bad. He declares, "Whatever is right to do is not right to dismiss, and whoever does not do what reason requires fails no less than if he should do what in no way fits with reason."[39] Here we find the formulation of a principle responding to the question left open by Abelard's discussion of the will. The concordance of a possible action with reason is the criterion which can make an action good, assuming it is performed by a reasonable being. This connection explains why Abelard identifies "what is reasonable" with "what is good";[40] in the view of reasonable beings that follow the best way of acting they see, there can be no other definition of the good than to act in the most effective way taught by their reason.

Since Abelard thinks, as I have stated, that there is only one optimum course of action, all alternatives being worse, he must also identify "a reasonable cause" for an action with "the only reasonable cause." The consequence for an omniscient God is that he always acts in one certain way, lest he does wrong. This is Abelard's position on God's omnipotence, which seems to raise a theological problem concerning God's freedom. But before criticizing Abelard I shall now try to explain why he himself has no problem with his definition and why he sees in it no danger to God's freedom.

4. REASON, WILL, AND FREEDOM

In order to proceed, it is necessary to take a closer look at Abelard's discussion of *liberum arbitrium* in the third book of the *Theologia "Scholarium."* It is widely recognized among Abelardian scholars that he defines the liberty of the *arbitrium* as the possibility of making a reasonable choice between alternative ways of acting.[41] This definition depends on the importance Abelard assigns to the possession of reason in several passages on the problem of free will. In the Romans commentary, for example, he follows Boethius in stress-

---

[39] "Omne quippe quod iustum est fieri, iniustum est dimitti, et quisquis id non facit quod ratio exigit, eque delinquit ac si id faciat, quod rationi minime concordat" (*Tsch* 3.35, CCCM 13:515.477–80).

[40] Cf. Marenbon, *Philosophy of Peter Abelard,* 219–20

[41] Cf., e.g., Odon Lottin, "Les définitions du libre arbitre au douzième siècle," *Revue Thomiste* 32 (1927): 114–16; and Frank De Siano, "Of God and Man: Consequences of Abelard's Ethic," *The Thomist* 35 (1971): 650–51.

ing the dependence of *liberum arbitrium* upon the ability to form a rational judgement.[42] But already in the same work we can see traces of a more complex view of free will, whose definition is influenced also by factors other than reason. So, while speaking about the human nature of Christ, Abelard explains the *liberum arbitrium* of man by the fact "that it is in his power to act well and badly."[43] This claim is in itself not identical with the Boethian definition of free will, which makes it depend on the possession of reason. Though one could perhaps infer that we can act well or badly because we have the ability to judge according to reason, there is no textual evidence to indicate how Abelard himself would relate the two claims in such a way. Still further, the question of God's freedom remains untouched in the commentary.

In the *Theologia "Scholarium,"* Abelard gives for the first time a longer explanation of his position on this problem. Here he states his position more clearly than he did before, and he reformulates one of the two aspects mentioned in order to develop an overall theory of free will. Abelard discusses several aspects of the problem of *liberum arbitrium*. First, he explains, following Boethius,[44] by the example of a man who finds a treasure that actions which follow a free choice have to be differentiated from incidents: The finding of the treasure is only an action proceeding from a free will if someone intended to look for this treasure; if it is found only accidentally in the course of another action, we can not speak about it as about a free action of a rational being. This brings into the discussion the notion *intentio,* which is, as is well known, a central concept of Abelard's ethical theory: Abelard defines an action of *liberum arbitrium* as an act that has as its cause a deliberately formed *intentio,* which means in turn that this action is caused by reason and not incidentally. Only under these conditions can one state that an action is performed by will and not by chance and can therefore be called voluntary.[45] So, the first condition Abelard names for *liberum arbitrium* is that it is the result of a deliberate choice by reason; consequently, he rejects the idea that animals can be called free.[46]

---

[42] *Exp. Rom.* 2, CCCM 11:165.396–166.436.

[43] "Et hoc quidem ad liberum hominis arbitrium pertinet, ut in eius sit potestate et bene agere et male" (*Exp. Rom.* 1, CCCM 11:98.81–83).

[44] Boethius, *Commentarii in librum Aristotelis ΠΕΡΙ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ,* editio secunda 3.9, ed. C. Meiser, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1877–80], 2:193.26–194.23); and *Philosophiae consolatio* 5.1.12–19, ed. L. Bieler, CCL 94 [Turnhout, 1957], 89.32–52); Boethius himself relies on the discussion in Aristotle, *Phys.* 2.5 (197a 12–18).

[45] *Tsch* 3.86, CCCM 13:536.1145–60; an important terminological parallel to the last sentence can be found in *Exp. Rom.* 3, CCCM 11:206.635–207.671.

[46] *Tsch* 3.87, CCCM 13:536.1161–537.1175; cf. *Boeth. in herm. comm.,* sec. 3.9, ed. Meiser, 196.6–14.

Having explained in this way the close connection between freedom and rationality, Abelard shifts by turning his discussion to two aspects of *liberum arbitrium* which are not applicable to God. On the one hand, a free will implies that the willed effect takes place, once it has been willed—otherwise the omnipotent will of God would not be a free will according to this definition.[47] On the other hand, Abelard mentions a definition of *liberum arbitrium* as a faculty which depends on the ability to act well or badly, an opinion which he finds, e.g., in a homily of St. Jerome.[48] Abelard does not hesitate to repudiate both claims, including the reduction of the free will to the ability to act well or badly, which he had himself proclaimed in the Romans commentary as fitting for the human will.

Instead, he leads his discussion in another direction in order to extend his definition also to the will of God. "Those who have looked more diligently into free will," he states, "have said that it would not be alien to anyone who acts well."[49] This definition, which is perhaps influenced by Anselm of Canterbury, is clearly designed to solve the problem mentioned above, in that, according to them, one has to attribute real freedom to God and the saints, who cannot sin.[50] To strengthen this point Abelard develops his definition further: *liberum arbitrium* exists, he says, "when someone will be able to fulfill willingly and without constriction, what he has decided by reason."[51] This is, according to Abelard, especially true of rational beings, who are as far removed from sin as possible; the words *uoluntarie ac sine coactione* indicate the exact sense of this sentence within the intellectual framework of Abelard's ethical thought as shaped by his understanding of will: will is for Abelard an univocal concept which applies to a direct wish to get or to reach something independently of the rationality or irrationality, the goodness or badness of this wish:[52] man qua man "wills" what he recognizes as good by his intellect (*voluntas approbationis*), but more basically he "wills" by concupiscence some-

---

[47] *Tsch* 3.87–88, CCCM 13:537.1175–86.

[48] *Tsch* 3.89, CCCM 13:537.1187–92.

[49] ". . . qui diligentius liberum arbitrium inspexerunt, nulli bene facienti hoc deesse dixerunt" (ibid., lines 1193–94).

[50] Cf. ibid., lines 1194–99.

[51] ". . . cum quislibet quod ex ratione decreuerit, uoluntarie ac sine coactione adimplere ualebit" (*Tsch* 3.90, CCCM 13:537.1201–2).

[52] "Voluntas enim numquam est nisi cum delectatione; quippe quod delectat illud volumus, quod vero molestat abhorrere solemus" (*Sent. Herm.* 25, ed. Buzzetti, 111.36–38); cf. *Exp. Rom.* 2, CCCM 179.106–10: "Quaecumque autem coactus quis sustinet, non utique uelle sed magis tolerare dicendus est. Nihil quippe affligendo grauat aliquem nisi quod contra eius geritur uoluntatem"; for further explications, see my *Liebe als Zentralbegriff der Ethik nach Peter Abaelard,* Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, N.F. 58 (Münster, 2001), 100–105, 212–14.

thing not rational. The consequence is the Pauline conflict between two wills when reason and concupiscence strive for different goals.[53] If Abelard stresses here that freedom consists in a voluntary apprehension of the good as recognized by reason, he includes in his definition not only a right decision for the good in any given case but also a rightness of the will itself in which this conflict between different wills is solved. This conflict reduces the freedom of the human person in that he or she cannot carry out his or her substantial will as a reasonable being, or has to force himself to do so.[54] Not so in God: his will cannot be dissociated from his reason, the result being that he does not feel this conflict and so lives in complete accordance with himself; his freedom of action coincides with a complete freedom marked by the absence of any outward or inward compulsion.

This last solution which Abelard offers for the problem of the free will is clearly determined by the connection between the rationality of agents and their ability to act well, *bene* or *bona intentione*, the role of which for the quality of actions he explains especially in his *Collationes:*[55] to have a good intention means to do the good which one has rightly recognized as good. This perfectness of the intention not involving any error is, of course, primarily a description of the way of acting which fits the nature of God. On the other hand, that freedom depends on the ability to act rationally holds true also for a human being, who is no less rational than God. Human beings are also really free if they act in a way which they have recognized by their reason as good, because they want to do the good. The position that freedom depends on the faculty to do good or bad, as proposed by Abelard himself in the Romans commentary, can be seen as a special case of this general rule, which is dependent on the special situation of a human being: It is the recognition of the good by reason by which man is also made responsible for failing to do good and so is enabled to act badly. The reason of every human being, not only of Christ, shows to him a way of transcending his own ambivalent position towards a higher goal, which is the true nature of a rational being. In order to reach this freedom in a more complete way, man has to develop his

---

[53] *Exp. Rom.* 3, CCCM 11:207.672–93.

[54] Abelard compares explicitly the hindering influence of concupiscence on the rational will with the force exercised by a lord over his servants; cf. *Exp. Rom.* 3, CCCM 11:205.610–14: "Quantum carnalis et infirmus sit factus et quanto prauae consuetudinis iugo depressus ostendit [Paulus], dicens se committere scienter malum ipsum quod non uult, quasi si aliquis, cogente Domino, id quod non uult operetur"; also the passage cited in n. 52 above.

[55] "Non enim bonus homo a malo in eo dissidere uidetur quod id quod bonum sit facit, sed potius quod bene facit. . . . Sicut enim bonum sepe dicitur, nec tamen bene idest bona intentione, ita et bonum fieri posse uidetur, cum tamen bene non fiat" (*Coll.* 2.212, ed. Marenbon and Orlandi, 210 [ed. Thomas, 163.3229–30, 3233–35]).

habits by acquiring the different virtues which in their totality are an equivalent of pure love (*caritas*), the *intentio bona* which makes a life according to reason the only goal of the human will.[56]

These considerations lead us to a further important area of Abelardian thought: it is highly significant that Abelard links his statement on rationality as a necessary condition of the *liberum arbitrium* with his famous overall ethical theory by stressing that freedom is dependent on a rationally chosen *intentio*.[57] The link between reason, freedom, and the *intentio* shows clearly that this term does not mean anything comparable to the German *Absicht*, a subjective wish to do something good or bad. Rather, an *intentio* relies always on a rational judgement, which is the only means by which an action can be qualified as a product of free will. Whether this judgement is right or wrong depends on objective criteria which can be discussed among different rational persons; these criteria include especially the moral quality of the action itself: a murder or a lie cannot be called good, because the intention necessarily involved in these actions cannot be good: murder implies consent to an action which is obviously bad.[58] If Abelard assumes that it is possible for a judge to kill a man without sinning, he relies on the right the judge has to do so in representing a law which objectively transcends his individuality.[59] Hence what is morally indifferent is only the decision to kill regarded as such, without looking at the conditions among which this decision is made. Concerning a lie, Abelard states in the *Collationes,* "We are not guilty of a lie when we believe what we say."[60] A lie presupposes knowledge and consciousness of the incorrectness of our words and consequently a bad intention by accepting a deviation from truth; morally indifferent is only the act of saying something false, regarded as not qualified by any intention. So Abelard's view implies the opinion explicitly shown by Aquinas,[61] viz., that any single human or divine action is not indifferent, because it involves always and necessarily a

---

[56] The *loci classici* for Abelard's theory of love are *Exp. Rom.* 3, CCCM 11:201–4, and *Tsch* 1.3–8, CCCM 13:319–21; other important discussions are the early *Tchr* 5.48–53, CCCM 12:368–70 (which shows especially the close link between *caritas* and *intentio*), and the rarely quoted *Sic et Non* q. 141, 7a MS C, which is, according to the manuscript and to the content, by Abelard himself; see B. Boyer and R. McKeon, *Peter Abailard: Sic et Non,* a critical edition, (Chicago, 1978), 609.

[57] *Tsch* 3.85–89, CCCM 13:535.1128–537.1199.

[58] *Eth.* 1.5.6, CCCM 190:5.111–17 (ed. Luscombe, 8.5–12).

[59] Cf. *Probl. Hel.* 20, ed. Cousin, 1:271: "quum quis justitiam propter Deum exercet; Deus potius id quam ille facit ... quum aliquem recte punit, Deus hoc potius vel lex quam homo facit."

[60] "Mendacii rei non sumus, ita opinantes, ut dicimus" (*Coll.* 2.226, ed. Marenbon and Orlandi, 222 [ed. Thomas, 170.3413–15]).

[61] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1-2.18.9.

certain intention which can be objectively right or wrong.[62] It is especially for this reason that Abelard cannot be seen as a moral Subjectivist.[63]

5. SOME FINAL REMARKS

We are now in a position to explain God's freedom, defined according to Abelard as the freedom of a rational being which by its reason is essentially bound to act morally good. The freedom consists not in the rationality itself but in the will of God, who has a proper direct relation to the good as its object, so that to act well—that is, to act according to the rules of reason—is always the action God himself would chose to do. From Abelard's point of view a further definition of freedom is not necessary. How could it be defined otherwise than in relation to the will of the free subject? In the same sense omnipotence has to be defined according to the needs of the potent subject, and not in itself. Consequently there are, in Abelard's view, no restrictions on God's freedom or power, even though we may discuss the limits of his acting as restricted by the nature of things.[64]

What are the theological and philosophical consequences of this theory? Abelard's theory seems at the first view to encounter some difficulties, especially from a theological point of view. One could adduce, for example, his failure to see the possibility of a plurality of possible worlds which can be equally good from God's point of view.[65] This seems to be in the first place a problem which emerges from Abelard's logical assumption that among two alternatives there is always one that is objectively preferable. It is not necessarily a question which concerns his concept of potency, which is characterized by Abelard as an irresistible force always transcending and eventually interrupting the course of actions. This theory, however, is closely linked with Abelard's theory of a will that is free only in virtue of being totally dependent on the leading judgement of reason, and this is a point where we should recog-

---

[62] *Coll.* 2.205, ed. Marenbon and Orlandi, 206 (ed. Thomas, 161.3162–65).

[63] I have already made this point in *Liebe als Zentralbegriff der Ethik nach Peter Abaelard*, esp. 310–13. At the time I did not know the interpretation of Theo G. Belmans, *Der objektive Sinn menschlichen Handelns: Zur Ehemoral des heiligen Thomas* (Vallendar, 1980), 25–43, which seems to be the best explanation of the supposed subjectivism of Abelard; but for the reasons stated above, I am convinced that Belmans's interpretation of Abelard is not correct.

[64] Cf. the position of Duns Scotus regarding the formal independence, but actual dependence, of the ideas concerning the cognition of God; see Tobias Hoffmann, *Creatura intellecta. Die Ideen und Possibilien bei Duns Scotus mit Ausblick auf Franz von Mayronis, Poncius und Mastrius*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, N.F. 60 (Münster, 2002).

[65] Cf. Marenbon, *Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, 217–18.

nize the importance of Abelard's line of argument: by explaining univocally the functioning of the divine and the human will, Abelard succeeds in construing a link which unifies his philosophical theology with human experience and with human freedom.

So the nature of God becomes significantly comprehensible for human beings, who recognize in him the ideas of goodness which they recognize in their own. Still more importantly, by stressing this common structure of rationality Abelard gives a special weight to the freedom of human beings: insofar as they have in principle the same structure of rationality according to which God, too, makes his decisions, they can be thought of as quasi-autonomous moral persons; they act not according to a law imposed on them by a God who constitutes the rules of moral behaviour, but following the same principles of reason as God himself. It is therefore necessary to criticize one assumption concerning Abelard's ethical teaching that is widely held among scholars. According to the wording of some Abelardian passages, the ultimate criterion for a human being's acting well is the will of God; many interpreters have seen in this idea the crucial difference between Abelard's medieval ethics and the ethics of autonomy of Immanuel Kant, but our analysis has shown that the role of God's will in Abelard cannot be understood in this way. More precisely, God's will and the human will agree with each other by accepting the same criterion for acting well: the rationally known goodness of the action intended by the agent. It is only the limited knowledge of human beings and their failure to accomplish all of their insight which restricts their ability to act well—insofar as they are rational beings, they are no less free and autonomous than God.

Later medieval discussions did not adopt Abelard's important contribution. This is perhaps understandable if we consider the importance that the divine freedom has for the Christian faith, but it should not prevent us from acknowledging the special value of Abelard's way of thinking of God and man. His *Theologia* is perhaps the first great effort towards a philosophical theology intended as such by its author. In the same work Abelard created a remarkable theory of reason and will which has to be seen as real progress in moral psychology.[66] I would like to stress in this regard the clear accentuation of the rational grounding of a moral person and the emphasis on the relationship between this rationality and the goodness of actions. All this is an overall theory with a remarkable internal coherence, one which has to be considered among the finest results medieval philosophy has to offer.

Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena.

[66] Cf. Perkams, *Liebe als Zentralbegriff der Ethik nach Peter Abaelard,* chap. 5.

ANALOGY OF NAMES IN BONAVENTURE[*]

Philip L. Reynolds

A NALOGY, construed as a mean between univocity and equivocity, was firmly established in scholastic theology by the middle of the thirteenth century. Theologians applied the idea to solve a wide range of problems but above all to account for the "divine names." They reasoned that when a univocal name is said of two different things, it implies that they are the same in some respect. For example, human beings and asses, of which the word "animal" is said univocally, are the same insofar as they are animals. But God and creatures are so radically different that they belong to no common genus and have no common attributes. Therefore it seems that there can be no univocity. But if all names were said equivocally, it would follow that God cannot be truly said to be better or wiser than creatures, and perhaps even that all affirmative theology is meaningless. Thus theologians argued that words such as "good," "wise," "just," and "being," whose signification is rooted in our understanding of created things, are said neither univocally nor equivocally but rather are extended to God by analogy.

My aim in this paper is to explain how Bonaventure, O.F.M., understood analogy, to observe how he applies it to certain theological problems, and to consider his theory of analogy in its historical context. Bonaventure never expounds a theory of analogy *ex professo* but rather presupposes one and applies it *ad hoc*. No single passage contains a complete account, and what he says about analogy is sometimes elliptical or obscure. Nevertheless, one may piece together a coherent theory from his fragmentary remarks. He was partly dependent for it on his Franciscan mentors in Paris, who were among the first of the schoolmen to adopt the idea, but his theory is more developed than theirs and contains some original features. It is quite different from Thomas Aquinas's usual theory, which is much better known today and has dominated the modern understanding of analogy around the middle of the thirteenth century. Most of the relevant passages occur in Bonaventure's commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences:* the *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententia-*

rum (which Bonaventure edited in 1254–56), and the earlier *Dubia circa lit-
teram Magistri.*[1]

This paper concerns Bonaventure on the analogy of names, where his point
of departure is an initial presumption that things with the same name (except
in obvious cases of pure equivocation) should be the same in some respect,
insofar as they are so named. One tends naively to assume, until one is per-
suaded otherwise by philosophical arguments, that names such as "good,"
"just," "wise," "free will," and "being" signify the same in God as they do in
creatures, and that the difference between the created and uncreated things
with each of these names is one of degree rather than of kind. Typically, the
question is whether what these names variously denote really have anything in
common apart from the name itself. Hence the schoolmen speak of the "com-
munity" (*communitas*) presupposed by a non-equivocal name, of a name's
signifying something common (*commune*), and of a name's being said or
understood "commonly" (*communiter*). The assumption that a name first sig-
nifies a concept (*ratio*) which in turn signifies a reality presents one means for
finding a medium between equivocity and univocity, for perhaps in some
cases there is a common concept without a corresponding common nature in
reality.

Bonaventure uses the terms "univocal" and "analogous" to characterize
modes of resemblance as well as of naming. Regardless of whether the differ-
ent things in question share a common name, he characterizes as univocal any
resemblance in which they agree "in a third" (*in tertio*), and as analogical any
resemblance that does not consist in the sharing of a common nature. Thus
one might construe both analogical name-sharing and analogical resemblance
as aspects of a single theory of analogy, as Bonaventurean scholars have
usually done.[2] But to do so invites confusion, for the two topics are only
partly coextensive in his work.

---

[1] All references to Bonaventure's works in this paper are to the *Opera omnia*, ed. PP. Col-
legii S. Bonaventurae, 10 vols. (Quaracchi, 1882–1902), the first four volumes of which con-
tain the *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum* and the *Dubia*. On the relation of the
Dubia to the full commentary, see J. Guy Bougerol, *Introduction to the Works of Bonaventure*,
trans. José de Vinck (Patterson, N.J., 1964), 100–105. Other editions cited below include the
following: Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae,
2 vols., Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4–5 (Grottaferrata, 1971–81); William of Auxerre,
Summa aurea, 4 vols. in 7, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 16–20, ed. Jean Ribaillier (Paris and
Grottaferrata, 1980–87); Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lom-
bardi*, ed. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 4 vols., Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii
Aevi 12–15 (Quaracchi, 1951–57); *Summa fratris Alexandri* [published as Alexander of Hales,
Summa theologica], ed. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 4 vols. in 5 (Quaracchi, 1924–48).

[2] For examples of this approach, see the entry under "Analogia" in Jacques-Guy Bougerol,
ed., *Lexique Saint Bonaventure*, Bibliothèque Bonaventurienne (Paris, 1969), 18–19; and John

The problem is not that the analogy of names is a logical doctrine.[3] It is true that analogy in the peculiarly scholastic sense, like univocity and equivocity, is in the first place a feature of language and logic and as such does not always presuppose resemblance. The schoolmen say that a name or a thing is "said analogically" (*analogice dicitur*). The standard examples of analogy in the schools, such as "healthy" (*sanum*), are not based on resemblance. Nor is it obvious that the predicamental analogy of being, whereby substances and accidents are said analogically to be, is based on resemblance. Nevertheless, thirteenth-century theologians usually assume, tacitly or explicitly, that resemblance of some sort underlies transcendental analogy (whereby the same names are said of God and creatures). The modes of resemblance presupposed in the divine names are much more important to a theologian than the logic of analogy *per se*.[4]

The chief obstacle in the way of a single, comprehensive account of analogy in Bonaventure is a discrepancy between his treatments of analogical names and of analogical resemblance. He develops the two topics along different lines. As far as I can see, Bonaventure's theory of the analogy of names always involves what Cajetan will later call "proper proportionality," which presupposes a comparison of relationships, such that A is to B as C is to D. Certainly, this is the only theory that is explicit or developed in his work. But in his theory of resemblance—his analysis and classification of how different things can be alike—Bonaventure posits two distinct analogical modes: not only relational resemblance, characterized as the agreement between two and two (*convenientia duorum ad duo*), but also simple resemblance, characterized as the agreement between one and one (*convenientia unius ad unum*).[5] In simple resemblance, one thing simply *is* a likeness of the other. It is in this way, according to Bonaventure, rather than by relational resemblance, that grace (as a quality of the soul) is like God, and that the sensible species of a color is like the external color.[6] Chiefly because of this discrepancy, the passages in which Bonaventure refers to analogy are confusing and seem to lack

---

Francis Quinn, *The Historical Constitution of St. Bonaventure's Philosophy*, Studies and Texts 23 (Toronto, 1973), 468–91.

[3] Cf. Ralph McInerny, "The Analogy of Names Is a Logical Doctrine," in idem, *Being and Predication: Thomistic Interpretations* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 279–86.

[4] See Battista Mondin, *The Principle of Analogy in Protestant and Catholic Theology* (The Hague, 1963). As a corrective to Ralph M. McInerny's insistence that analogy is a purely logical doctrine in *The Logic of Analogy: An Interpretation of St. Thomas* (The Hague, 1961), Mondin emphasizes the importance of the principle that effects imitate causes (*omne agens agit simile sibi*) in Aquinas's treatment of the divine names.

[5] See, for example, *In I Sent.*, d. 1, a. 3, q. 1 resp. (1:38b–39a); and *In I Sent.*, d. 3, pars 1, a. un., q. 2 ad 3 (1:72b).

[6] *In I Sent.*, d. 48, a. 1, q. 1 resp. (1:852).

any consistent doctrine unless one sorts them into two dossiers, consisting in texts focusing respectively on ambiguity (name-sharing) and on modes of re-semblance. This paper draws mainly on the first dossier. One must treat the analogy of names and the modes of resemblance as distinct but overlapping topics.[7]

Focusing on the analogy of names in Bonaventure, one finds two prevalent ideas. First, Bonaventure assumes that while analogically named things do not share a common nature, they are included under a common concept (*ratio*),[8] which must in turn be founded upon a sameness or equivalence of rela-tionships (*habitudines*). Thus an analogy involves a conceptual community (*communitas rationis*) that is founded on a real but relational community (*communitas habitudinis*). I shall refer to this as "the relational-concept theory." Second, Bonaventure assumes that analogy properly so called in-volves a comparison "to some one thing according to prior and posterior."[9] By this he means that the common concept (*ratio communis*) is realized in one of the two analogates primarily and in the other secondarily.

Bonaventure was dependent for his understanding of analogy on the Franciscan school in Paris, in which he studied and eventually served as a *magister regens*. There are precedents for his theory in the *Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum* by Alexander of Hales, O.F.M., and in the *Summa fratris Alexandri*. But the relation between the novel idea of analogy and older tradi-tions of Parisian theology was complex. During the second quarter of the thirteenth century, two notions of analogy—that of analogy as an equivalence of relationships and that of analogy as ambiguity "according to prior and posterior"—provided fresh approaches to semantic and logical questions that had preoccupied theologians over several generations.

---

[7] See my article, "Bonaventure's Theory of Resemblance," forthcoming in *Traditio*. The characterization of causes as univocal or equivocal might complicate the distinction that I am making here, but Bonaventure, unlike Aquinas, pays little attention to it.

[8] The word *ratio* (corresponding to λόγος in Aristotle) is one of the most difficult in the vocabulary of scholasticism to translate. My usual translation in this paper—"concept"—is merely provisional. Other possible translations, which fit in different contexts, are "definition," "account," "notion," "sense," "cognizable aspect," and "analysis." In general, a *ratio* is the na-ture or form of something as understood, conceived, or defined in the mind. Names signify *ra-tiones,* which in turn (as existing in the mind) signify things. But the scholastics tend to think of the *ratio* attached to a name as existing impersonally, in abstraction from any particular mind, albeit attached to the name by convention. Hence the medieval notion of *ratio* was sometimes similar to the modern one of meaning.

[9] *In III Sent.*, d. 34, pars 2, dub. 1 resp. (3:768a): "Ubi autem est analogia, ibi est compara-tio ad aliquid unum secundum prius et posterius, maxime ubi est dicere proprie analogia." See also *In I Sent.*, d. 29, a. 1, q. 2 arg. 4 (1:510b): "ubi est analogia, ibi est prius et posterius."

THE SOURCES OF ANALOGY

In the peculiarly scholastic sense of the term, analogy is akin to πρὸς ἕν equivocation (also known as "focal meaning") in Aristotle.[10] But Aristotle did not use the term ἀναλογία to denote πρὸς ἕν equivocation. Borrowed from mathematics, Aristotle's term signifies an equivalence of quantitative proportions or (by extension) of qualitative relations, such that A is like C inasmuch as A is to B as C is to D.[11] Interrelational analogy has an important role in medieval theology although not, it seems, in medieval logical texts.[12]

Analogy in Aristotle is important not only in rhetoric but in natural philosophy.[13] Metaphors, such as that whereby old age is called the twilight of life, or twilight is called the old age of a day, are based on analogies. Animals without blood may have something analogous to blood; fish scales are analogous to bird feathers; the menstrual discharge is analogous to semen; and *pneuma* is analogous to aether or to quintessence.[14] Analogy is unlimited in scope and

[10] On the history of analogy, see Harry Austryn Wolfson, "The Amphibolous Terms in Aristotle, Arabic Philosophy and Maimonides," *Harvard Theological Review* 31 (1938): 151–73, rpt. in his *Studies in the History of Philosophy and Religion,* ed. Isadore Twersky and George H. Williams, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 455–77; Hampus Lyttkens, *The Analogy between God and the World: An Investigation of Its Background and Interpretation of Its Use by Thomas of Aquino* (Uppsala, 1952); Pierre Aubenque, "Sur la naissance de la doctrine pseudo-Aristotélicienne de l'analogie de l'être," *Les études philosophiques* (1989): 291–304; Alain de Libera, "Les sources gréco-arabes de la théorie médiévale de l'analogie de l'être," *Les études philosophiques* (1989): 319–45; and the following studies by E. J. Ashworth: "A Thirteenth-Century Interpretation of Aristotle on Equivocation and Analogy," *Canadian Journal of Philosophy,* supplementary volume 17 = *Aristotle and his Medieval Interpreters,* ed. Richard Bosley and Martin Tweedale (Calgary, 1991), 85–101; "Signification and Modes of Signifying in Thirteenth-Century Logic: A Preface to Aquinas on Analogy," *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 1 (1991): 39–67; "Analogy and Equivocation in Thirteenth-Century Logic: Aquinas in Context," *Mediaeval Studies* 54 (1992): 94–135; "Analogical Concepts: The Fourteenth-Century Background to Cajetan," *Dialogue* 31 (1992): 399–413; and "Analogy and Equivocation in Thomas Sutton, O.P.," in *Vestigia, Imagines, Verba: Semiotics and Logic in Medieval Theological Texts (XIIth–XIVth Century),* ed. Constantino Marmo (Turnhout, 1997), 289–303. Important but nonhistorical studies of analogy in Thomas Aquinas include the works of McInerny and Mondin cited in n. 4 above. The literature on analogy in Bonaventure is not extensive and focuses mainly on modes of resemblance (especially vestige, image, and likeness), but see Bernard Landry, "La notion d'analogie chez saint Bonaventure," *Revue neoscolastique de philosophie* 24 (1922): 137–69; and Enrico Berti, "Il concetto di analogia in s. Bonaventura," *Doctor Seraphicus* 32 (1985): 11–21.

[11] Cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 29c, and *Republic* 533e–34a.

[12] See Ashworth, "Analogical Concepts," 401.

[13] See M.-D. Philippe, "*Analogon* and *analogia* in the Philosophy of Aristotle," *The Thomist* 33 (1969): 1–74; and Joseph Owens, *The Doctrine of Being in the Aristotelian "Metaphysics,"* 3d ed. (Toronto, 1978), 123–25.

[14] See John Rist, "On Greek Biology, Greek Cosmology and Some Sources of Theological

connects things that are extremely different. Even things that are so different that they have no common nature can be analogically alike. Hence Aristotle says in the *Metaphysics* that two things may be one (i.e., the same) numerically, specifically, generically, or only by analogy, as when two things are related as another to another.[15] Aristotle is probably thinking of resemblances between things in different categories (such as between substance and accident or between quality and quantity). He is clearly referring to interrelational analogy, although the schoolmen interpret him as if the fourth degree of unity also included analogy in their own, special sense (which Aristotle would have construed as πρὸς ἕν equivocation).[16]

Although analogy in the Greek sense of the term is primarily a feature of things rather than of words, it can be the basis of ambiguity, and not only in cases of metaphor. Aristotle suggests in the *Nicomachean Ethics* that good might be said πρὸς ἕν (rather than by pure equivocation) or perhaps by analogy. Here he gives an example of analogy: "as sight is in the body, so is the intellect in the soul, and another thing in something else."[17] This comparison would explain why one says that the intellect *sees* its objects, and that the agent intellect *illumines* phantasms.

There was some confusion when Greek discussions of analogy were translated into Latin. In Greek mathematical writing, an ἀναλογία is an equality of ratios (such as that between 2:4 and 3:6), while the word for a ratio or the underlying proportion (such as double or half) is λόγος. Latin translators rendered λόγος in mathematical contexts sometimes as *ratio* and sometimes as *proportio*. When they came across the word ἀναλογία, they either transliterated it directly as *analogia* or rendered it too as *proportio*. Hence *proportio* could mean either λόγος or ἀναλογία. Boethius, who usually used the word *proportio* to translate the Greek term ἀναλογία, attempted to remedy the ambiguity in mathematics by defining *proportio* as the relation between two quantities and coining the term *proportionalitas* as a translation for ἀναλογία. He defined proportionality as the "like relationship among two or more

Pneuma," in *Prudentia*, 1985, supplementary number 2 = *The Concept of Spirit,* ed. D. W. Dockrill and R. G. Tanner (Auckland, 1985), 27–47, at 32–34.

    [15] Aristotle, *Metaphysics* Δ.6 (1016b31–1017a3); cf. *Metaphysics* N.6 (1093b18–20) and *De partibus animalium* 2.1 (645b27–28 and 645b3–8).

    [16] Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *In duodecim libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis expositio* 5.8 n.876–79.

    [17] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1.6 (1096b28–29). For Grosseteste's translation, see *Ethica Nicomachea,* ed. R. A. Gauthier, *Aristoteles Latinus* XXVI 1–3, fasc. 4 (Leiden and Brussels, 1973), 381.6–9: "Set qualiter utique dicuntur? Non enim assimilantur a casu equivocis. Set certe ei quod est ab uno esse, vel ad unum omnia contendere, vel magis secundum analogiam; sicut enim in corpore visus in anima intellectus et aliud utique in alio."

proportions" (*duarum uel plurium proportionum similis habitudo*). But Boethius is inconsistent even in this work and often says *proportio* when he should say *proportionalitas*.[18] The scholastics, too, are inconsistent in their use of the terms *proportio* and *proportionalitas,* but they adopt Boethius's analysis of proportionality by defining analogy (in the Greek sense) as relational equivalence (*habitudo consimilis*).

As noted above, analogy in the peculiarly scholastic sense of the term is akin to the kind of ambiguity that Aristotle, pursuing a critique of Platonic essentialism, suggests might account for the sense of names such as "being" and "good."[19] Standard examples, taken from Aristotle, are the word "healthy" as said of an animal, a diet, a potion, a urine sample, and so on, and the word "medical" as said of a science, a scalpel, and a book. Such usage does not presuppose a common nature signified by the name, but the equivocals are all said "toward one thing" (πρὸς ἕν) or "from one thing" (ἀφ᾽ ἑνός), that is, with reference to the same thing but in view of diverse relationships with it. In the case of "healthy," the healthy animal is a subject of health, the healthy diet is conducive to health, the healthy potion restores health, healthy urine is a sign of health, healthy exercise maintains health, and so on.[20] Neither Aristotle nor his Peripatetic and Neoplatonic commentators seem to have regarded as relevant the paronymous relationship between the name of the focal thing (such as "health") and the name of the lateral analogates (such as "healthy").

Aristotle sometimes distinguishes such usage from equivocation and sometimes treats it as a special kind of equivocation, in which the things are equivocal but not "by chance."[21] Univocals, according to Aristotle, are things

---

[18] Boethius, *De arithmetica* 2.40, ed. H. Oosthout and J. Schilling, CCL 94A (Turnhout, 1999), 172–73; the definition is on p. 172. See commentary by Jean.-Yves Guillaumin in his edition and translation, *Boèce: Institution arithmétique* (Paris, 1995), 215–16, note to p. 140.

[19] Aristotle, *Metaphysics* Γ.2 (1003a33–b10) and K.3 (1060b36–1061a7); and *Nicomachean Ethics* 1.6 (1096b26–29). On equivocals in Aristotle, see Owens, *Doctrine of Being,* 107–35. On πρὸς ἕν equivocation in Aristotle and Neoplatonic commentary, see Concetta Luna's extensive remarks in Simplicius, *Commentaire sur les Catégories,* trans. Ilsetraut Hadot, Philosophia Antiqua 51, fasc. III (Leiden, 1990).

[20] Bonaventure rarely mentions the standard examples of *ad unum* ambiguity, but see *In I Sent.,* d. 46, a. un., q. 5 resp. (1:831a): "aliquid dicitur esse sanum tripliciter: aut subiective, ut animal dicitur sanum; aut dipositive, ut potio dicitur sana; aut ostensive, ut urina sana." There is no mention of analogy in this passage, but cf. *In I Sent.,* d. 1, a. 3, q. 1 resp. (1:38b), where Bonaventure cites health in an animal and in food as an example of analogy *secundum dissimilem comparationem duorum ad unum.* See also *In I Sent.,* d. 45, a. 3, q. 1 arg. 3 & ad 3 (1:808, 809), where Bonaventure notes that while a urine sample may be called "healthy," a circle is not called "wine," and suggests that this is because the former is a natural sign while the latter is a given sign. (An inscribed circle—or sometimes a barrel hoop—on a door was a sign that wine was available within.)

[21] See Owens, *Doctrine of Being,* at 117 and 121–23.

that share the same name and have the same notion (λόγος, *ratio*)[22] insofar as they are so named. For example, a human being and an ox are univocals insofar as both are called "animal." Equivocals share the same name but the corresponding notions are different. For example, both a human being and a depiction are called ζῷον.[23] The point of the latter example was probably that in Aristotle's Greek, the word ζῷον could mean either "animal" or "depiction," for Greek artists aimed to make their work as lifelike as possible. But if so, even the Greek Neoplatonist commentators misinterpreted Aristotle. They assumed that he was referring not merely to a particular example of equivocation but to a general feature of language whereby any thing and a depiction of it might share the same name. Thus they sometimes regarded ἄνθρωπος rather than ζῷον as the name in question in Aristotle's example: a real man and a depicted man are equivocally called "man" (rather than "animal"). This is how Boethius interprets the passage.[24] Hence Bonaventure counts the use of the same name to denote both a real thing and a depiction of it as an example not of analogy but of simple equivocation,[25] although clearly this is a less accidental kind of equivocation than that involved in *canis* or in "Alexander."[26]

Commenting on Aristotle's *Categories,* the Neoplatonists distinguished several kinds of equivocity.[27] Porphyry differentiates first between equivocation by chance (ἀπὸ τύχης) and equivocation by design (ἀπὸ διανοίας). Then he subdivides the latter into four, as follows: equivocation by likeness

---

[22] Here Aristotle uses the word λόγος (= *ratio*) and not ὁρισμός (= *definitio*). The Neoplatonist commentators explain that λόγος is broader in meaning than ὁρισμός inasmuch as the latter denotes definition by genus and species and therefore cannot apply to the most general genera (such as being) or to individuals. On this view, λόγοι include definite descriptions that do not state the essence of something. See commentary on this text by Porphyry (ed. A. Busse in *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* [*CAG*] 4.1 [Berlin, 1887], 60.15–16) and by Boethius (PL 64:166A13–B3).

[23] Aristotle, *Categories* 1 (1a1–12).

[24] See commentary on *Categories* 1 (1a2–3) by Porphyry (*CAG* 4.1:65.25–30), Simplicius (ed. K. Kalbfleisch in *CAG* 8 [Berlin, 1907], 21 and 31), and Boethius (PL 64:164A9–11 and 166B7–9). See also Ps.-Augustine, *Categoriae decem,* in *Categoriae vel Praedicamenta,* ed. L. Minio-Paluello, *Aristoteles Latinus* I 1–5 (Bruges and Paris, 1961), 137.3–4: "Similitudo [i.e., aequivocatio secundum similitudinem] est ut 'homo pictus' et 'verus'; sola enim similitudine copulatur."

[25] *In I Sent.,* d. 14, a. 1, q. 2 ad 2–3 (1:248b): ". . . de homine picto et vero, quia ibi non est analogia, sed aequivocatio pura."

[26] The standard scholastic example of simple equivocation is the word *canis,* which can denote a star, a fish, or a dog (*latrabile*). Logicians (following the tradition of Neoplatonic commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*) also use the example of personal names, such as "Alexander."

[27] See Concetta Luna's excellent summary of how the Neoplatonist commentators classified equivocals in Simplicius, *Commentaire sur les Catégories,* trans. Hadot, 82–100.

(e.g., calling both a man and a picture of a man "man"); equivocation by analogy (e.g., as the unit is the *principle* of numbers, so the point is the principle of the line, the spring of the river, and the heart of the body); equivocation *from* one thing (e.g., a book, a drug, and a knife may be called "medical" because they all come *from* the science of medicine); and equivocation *toward* one thing (e.g., food, exercise, and reading may be called "healthy" inasmuch as they all lead to the goal of health).[28] Porphyry notes that some regard equivocation "from one thing and toward one thing" (ἀφ' ἑνὸς καὶ πρὸς ἕν) as a single class, and that some regard such things not as equivocals but rather as a mean between equivocals and univocals, because of the common element (the focal term) in their definitions.[29] This notion of conceptual or definitional inclusion seems to have been one source, if only through misunderstanding, of the idea that there is a common concept (*ratio communis*) in analogy even though there is no common reality.[30]

Boethius, who was the chief but not the only means whereby this complex of ideas passed into the Latin West, repeats Porphyry's classification and uses most of the same examples.[31] "Alexander" is his example of equivocation by chance. He subdivides equivocation by design thus: equivocation by likeness (e.g., *homo pictus, homo verus*); equivocation by proportion (e.g., *principium* as said of unity in relation to numbers and of the point in relation to the line);

[28] *CAG* 4.1:65.12–66.15.

[29] Ibid., 66.15–21. I have not found the idea in Boethius, but Alexander of Aphrodisias likewise notes that πρὸς ἕν ambiguity is a mean between univocity and equivocity in his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Γ.2, ed. M. Hayduck in *CAG* 1 (Berlin, 1891), 241.8–9 and 21–24.

[30] Cf. Simplicius, *Commentaire sur les Catégories d'Aristote: Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke*, ed. A Pattin, vol. 1 (Louvain and Paris, 1971), 43.87–93, on equivocation ἀφ' ἑνὸς καὶ πρὸς ἕν: "Hos autem duos modos quidam copulantes enuntiaverunt ut unum qui ab uno et ad unum, quidam autem neque in aequivocis ipsum posuerunt neque in univocis, sed amborum intermedium, propterea quod ratione quadam participant a medicinali quidem medicinalia, a sanitate autem sana—non enim nomen solum commune est—et propter hoc univocis assimilantur, secundum quod autem non ex aequo participant participantia. . . ." Considered out of context, Simplicius seems to be describing participation *secundum prius et posterius* in a *ratio communis*, although in fact he is describing conceptual inclusion in πρὸς ἕν equivocation. This Latin translation dates from 1266, and thus after the works of Bonaventure that we are considering here.

[31] Boethius, *In Categorias Aristotelis* 1 (PL 64:166B3–C2). According to Boethius's terminology, things may be equivocal (1) *casu* or (2) *consilio;* and *consilio* equivocals may be (2.1) *secundum similitudinem*, (2.2) *secundum proportionem*, (2.3) *quae ab uno descendunt*, or (2.4) *quae ad unum referuntur*. See also Ps.-Augustine, *Categoriae decem*, ed. Minio-Paluello, 136–37, where the author divides equivocation into (1) *fortuitu* and (2) *voluntate*, and then subdivides the second category into (2.1) *similitudo*, (2.2) *pro parte* (sic; *proportione?*), (2.3) *ab uno*, and (2.4) *ad unum*. The author notes that equivocation *pro parte* is called ἀναλογία in Greek.

equivocation from one thing (e.g., "medical"); and equivocation to one thing (e.g., "healthy"). Boethius translates Porphyry's ἀναλογία as *proportio* and drops two of Porphyry's examples of it (the spring and the heart). Boethius adds that one might count metaphor (*translatio*) as a mode of equivocation but that Aristotle did not do so. His initial example is "foot" (*pes*) as said of a man, a ship, and a mountain. Boethius then argues that one should count metaphor as equivocation (by design) only when it is permanent and rooted in the nature of things, and not when it is merely verbal ornament. His example of the latter is the poetic use of the word *auriga* ("charioteer") to signify the pilot (*gubernator*) of a ship.[32]

A modified, vertically ordered model of ambiguity evolved from Aristotle's πρὸς ἕν equivocation at some point in the tradition and came to the scholastics from Muslim sources. This model was first intended to account for the application of ontological vocabulary to substances and accidents. In the πρὸς ἕν model, the ambiguity in question is between lateral terms by virtue of their different relationships to one thing (whose name is not relevant). In the vertical model, the ambiguity is between primary and secondary uses of the common term. Thus an animal is called "healthy" in the primary sense, and a diet or a urine sample is called "healthy" in a secondary sense, perhaps again because of conceptual inclusion, for one cannot define what it is for a diet to be healthy except by reference to what makes an animal healthy. Thus according to Avicenna, Algazel, and Averroes, "being" (as said of substances and accidents) is said according to prior and posterior. Muslim philosophers construed such ambiguity as a medium between univocity and equivocity, and they called ambiguous terms or ambiguously named things *mushakkikah* (an Arabic rendering of Aristotle's term, αμφίβολα).[33]

The new notion of vertically ordered ambiguity first appeared in Parisian scholastic theology during the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[34] The

---

[32] Boethius, *In Categorias Aristotelis* 1 (PL 64:166D–167A). The *auriga/gubernator* substitution is based on an analogy in the Greek sense: the charioteer is to his team or chariot as the pilot is to his ship. As understood by classical authors, metaphor involves the improper substitution of one term for another and is in principle reciprocal (e.g., one can substitute *auriga* for *gubernator* or vice versa). On *translatio* in Boethius and Abelard, see Irène Rosier, "Évolution des notions d'*equivocatio* et *univocatio* au XIIᵉ siècle," in *L'Ambiguïté: Cinq études historiques,* ed. Irène Rosier (Lille, 1988), 103–66, at 111–17. See also Irène Rosier-Catach, "Prata rident," in *Langages et philosophie: Hommage à Jean Jolivet,* ed. Alain de Libera, Abdelali Elamrani-Jamal, and Alain Galonnier, Études de philosophie médiévale 74 (Paris, 1997), 155–76.

[33] See Wolfson, "Amphibolous Terms," 455–77. Wolfson argues that this model of ambiguity probably appeared first in ancient Peripatetic commentary, but a careful reading of the first two pages of this seminal paper suggests that Wolfson's evidence for that claim is tenuous at best.

[34] See Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in III Sent.* 10.4 (3:115), in reference to the word *filius*

schoolmen sometimes characterized the terms or the diction as analogous rather than as ambiguous,[35] and the new terminology was firmly established in theology and in logic by the middle of the thirteenth century.[36] The terminological shift from *ambiguum* to *analogum* indicates that the schoolmen initially associated ambiguity *secundum prius et posterius* with interrelational analogy. Scholars soon applied the term "analogy" to lateral (*ad unum*) ambiguity as well, and they were not always careful to distinguish between the vertical and lateral models.[37]

in "filius Dei" and "filius Mariae": "Dicendum est quod nec dicitur aequivoce nec univoce, sed ambigue, et hoc est secundum prius et posterius"; *Glossa in I Sent.* 5.4c (1:82), on the word *Deus* as applied to the essence and to each Person (for all of which it supposits): "non tenetur aequivoce, quia secundum se est essentiale, et per adiunctum trahitur ad personam. Praeterea, licet utriusque esset nomen, sicut ens, non tamen aequivoce, sed secundum prius et posterius secundum rationem intelligentiae"; and *Glossa in I Sent.* 26.13 (1:258), on the name "spiritus sanctus" as used personally and essentially: "nec aequivoce nec univoce, sed secundum prius et posterius." Alexander composed his *Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum* ca. 1223–27 (see prolegomena, 1:116*).

[35] A possible very early instance is in Philip the Chancellor, *Summa de bono,* where Philip says that free will (*libertas*) is said "secundum prius et posterius sive secundum analogiam" (ed. N. Wicki, 2 vols. [Berne, 1985], 1:188–89.179–82). Wicki (1:66*) dates the work to 1225–28 (although the traditional dating prior to Wicki's work was 1228–36). But it is not clear whether Philip equates the two dictions or rather presents them as alternatives. (There are several uses of the terms *analogice* and *secundum analogiam* in 2:1071–76, passim, but here the precise meaning of these terms is unclear.) Another possible early instance is in Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in III Sent.* 27.19i (3:328.28–30): "sicut [esse] dicitur de creatura et Creatore secundum prius et posterius analogice, ita et amor secundum proportionem consimilis actus." But this passage occurs only in redaction L (London, Lambeth Palace 347). On the major variants in L, see 3:32*–35*: the editors surmise that L is a less reliable witness than their base text, A (Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 189), and that it was the work of an otherwise unknown student who recorded alternative readings but probably elaborated them on his own account. I know of no clear evidence that scholars used the vocabulary of analogy (*analogum, analogia, analogice*) to denote ambiguity *secundum prius et posterius* before ca. 1245. I am indebted and grateful to Prof. Jennifer Ashworth for providing me with the references in this note and the preceding one (personal communication).

[36] For theology, cf. *Summa fratris Alexandri* 1, pars 1, inq. 1, tract. 4, q. 1, membrum 1, c. 2 resp. (1:203a, n.132): "Potentia non dicitur in Deo aequivoce, cum dicitur potentia generandi et intelligendi et creandi, sed analogice, hoc est per prius et posterius secundum rationem intelligentiae"; ibid., pars 2, inq. 2, tract. 1, q. 3, c. 1 ad obiecta a–c (1:544b, n.366): "dicuntur analogice secundum prius et posterius." The main parts of books 1–3 of this work were completed by 1245. For logic, see Ashworth, "Analogy and Equivocation in Thirteenth-Century Logic," 112–14.

[37] Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1.13.5–6. For conventional formulations of analogy as *ad unum* attribution, see Johannes de Fonte, O.F.M., *Parvi flores,* in Jacqueline Hamesse, ed., *Les Auctoritates Aristotelis,* Philosophes médiévaux 17 (Louvain and Paris, 1974), 122 n. 88: "Ens secundum quod est ens dicitur multis modis non aequivoce, sed secundum attributionem omnium in unum, id est analogice"; ibid., 123 n. 107: "Ens nec est uni-

The Historical Setting of Analogy

Parisian theologians used the notion of ambiguity *secundum prius et posterius* to provide new approaches to long-standing logico-semantic problems, especially some pertaining to the divine names and to the doctrine of the Trinity. Although philosophers had posited analogy *secundum prius et posterius* chiefly to account for substantial and accidental being (predicamental analogy), theologians were chiefly interested in its application to the divine names (transcendental analogy). Whereas theologians had argued that names such as "just" and "good" were said univocally of God and creatures but only by univocity of a special sort—one not involving what William of Auxerre calls "conformity"—it now seemed better to argue that they were said neither univocally nor equivocally but analogically, a satisfying approach for scholars fond of the *via media*. By positing a medium between univocity and equivocity, theologians not only discovered new solutions to old questions about the divine names but altered how those questions were interpreted, by sharpening the concept of univocity. For Bonaventure, a univocal name always implies a common nature in reality.

Features of the older tradition worth noting here are discussions of *connotatio*, of *translatio*, of the question whether names can be said univocally of God and of creatures, and of questions about the word *persona* in Trinitarian theology. Scholastic theologians during the second half of the twelfth century and the early thirteenth used the notion of consignification, or connotation, to explain how words such as "just" and "merciful," when said of God, are semantically distinct and yet denote the same essence. They borrowed the term *consignificatio* from grammar. Words are said to consignify (that is, to signify in a secondary way) the grammatical accidents of time, number, gender, and person. Again, grammarians maintained that while the concrete adjective *album* ("white") primarily signifies a quality, which the abstract term *albedo* ("whiteness") signifies too, *album*, unlike *albedo*, consignifies the inherence of that quality in a subject. Adapting this grammatical notion to their own ends, theologians such as Peter of Poitiers, Alan of Lille, and Stephen Langton argued that divine names such as *justus* and *misericors* primarily signify the same divine essence but consignify different created effects: "just" consignifies God's giving to each what is due, while "merciful" consignifies

---

vocum, nec aequivocum, sed est nomen significans plura uni attributa, et est medium inter univocum et aequivocum, id est analogum." On the authorship of this popular *florilegium*, see J. Hamesse, "Johannes de Fonte, compilateur des 'Parvi flores': Le témoignage de plusieurs manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 88 (1995): 515–31. Johannes de Fonte died after 1309.

God's bestowing grace and forgiveness independently of merit.[38] The divine names are synonyms in respect of their primary signification but are semantically distinct by consignification. It seems to have been Stephen Langton who introduced the term *connotare* alongside *consignificare*.[39] Perhaps because the new term distinguishes the theological theory from the grammatical one (to which it is only distantly related), the term "connotation" largely replaces the grammarian's "consignification" in theological contexts after Langton. The theory of connotation not only underscored the peculiar semantics of the divine names but also led the way to construing the divine names relationally or causally, in respect of extraneous effects.

Augustine and Boethius maintained that human language is adapted to human circumstances and to the experience of created things and is capable of naming and describing God only provisionally and imperfectly. Abelard makes the same point in several places.[40] Theologians after Abelard considered how names are transferred from creatures to God and inquired whether all affirmative names are applied to God only improperly. The term *translatio* ("transference"), which generally means the same as "metaphor," was central to the debate. Were affirmative names said properly (*proprie*) of God, or only by transference and thus improperly (*translative, transumptive*)? Two broad trends emerged. According to some (Robert of Melun, Peter Lombard, Peter of Poitiers), some divine names were said by transference and improperly, while others were said properly. But according to the followers of Gilbert of Poitiers, especially Alan of Lille and Simon of Tournai, all names are said of God by transference in respect of their use as names (*proprietas dicendi*), although not necessarily in respect of the signified reality (*proprietas essendi*). Although questions about *translatio* in the divine names continued throughout the thirteenth century, theologians of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, such as Praepositinus of Cremona, Stephen Langton, and William of

    [38] See Luisa Valente, "*Iustus* et *misericors:* L'usage théologique des notions de *con-significatio* et *connotatio* dans la seconde moitié du XIIᵉ siècle," in *Vestigia, Imagines, Verba,* ed. Marmo, 37–59. See also Irène Rosier, "*Res significata* et *modus significandi:* Les implications d'une distinction médiévale," in *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter,* ed. Sten Ebbesen (Tübingen, 1995), 135–68, at 144–46. Thomas Aquinas presents a fundamentally different solution to the semantic problem in *ST* 1.13.4, obviating the need to posit connotation by focusing on the *modus significandi* rather than on the *res significata.*

    [39] See Valente, "*Iustus* et *misericors*," 50; and Stephen Langton, *Summa quaestionum theologiae,* in Sten Ebbesen and Lars Boje Mortensen, "A Partial Edition of Stephen Langton's *Summa* and *Quaestiones* with Parallels from Andrew Sunesen's *Hexaemeron*," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 49 (1985): 25–224, at 39.

    [40] See Peter Abelard, *Theologia christiana* 3.126–34 and 4.46, ed. E. M. Buytaert, CCCM 12 (Turnhout, 1969), 242–43 and 285–86; and *Theologia 'Summi boni'* 2.71–78, ed. E. M. Buytaert and C. J. Mews, CCCM 13 (Turnhout, 1987), 138–41.

Auxerre, focused instead on whether affirmative names said of both God and creatures were said univocally or equivocally.[41]

The twelfth-century notion of *translatio,* like the new notion of analogy that would appear in the thirteenth century, focused on diction in which names were said in a primary and secondary manner. Thus the twelfth-century commentators on Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* divide equivocation into three sorts: (1) equivocation in which the same word has separate institutions (e.g., *canis,* "Alexander"); (2) equivocation in which the word is said in a primary and secondary manner (i.e., metaphors, such as *prata rident*); and (3) equivocation in which the sense of a word depends partly on its context (e.g., *simplex* in "propositio simplex" and "oratio simplex").[42]

By the early thirteenth century, the theme of univocity-vs.-equivocity had largely replaced that of *translatio* in theology except in discussions of obviously metaphorical usage (the "symbolic theology" of Ps.-Dionysius), as when one calls God a rock or a shield. Inquiries into divine names such as "just" and into the problem of the word *persona* in Trinitarian theology centered on whether the names in question were said univocally. Although the *persona* problem had a complex history and many ramifications,[43] it was simple enough in itself. According to orthodox doctrine, everything that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit have in common is essential rather than proper, and everything is common except where a real relation intervenes. Hence the word "person" seems anomalous, for if all three Persons in God are said univocally to be persons, then "person" should denote an essential attribute. If, on the contrary, the word "person" is equivocal, it is not clear what one

---

[41] See Luisa Valente, *Doctrines linguistiques et théologie dans les écoles de la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle* (doctoral dissertation, University of Paris, 1999), chap. 2 (pp. 154–261). For a summary, see Valente's abstract (under the same title) in *Bulletin d'information de la Société d'histoire et d'épistémologie des sciences du langage (S.H.E.S.L.)* 42 (1999): 38–43, at 40–41. See also Luisa Valente, "Langage et théologie pendant la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle," in *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter,* ed. Ebbesen, 33–54, esp. 37–39 (on Augustine, Boethius, Abelard) and 41–42 (on equivocity vs. univocity of the divine names in Alan of Lille, Praepositinus, Stephen Langton); and Rosier, "*Res significata* et *modus significandi,*" 141–44.

[42] See Rosier, "Évolution des notions d'*equivocatio* et *univocatio* au XIIe siècle," 132–33, and "*Res significata* et *modus significandi,*" 155. On the *prata rident* example ("the meadows are laughing" or "smiling"), see Rosier-Catach, "Prata rident," 155–76.

[43] For some background in Abelard and Gilbert of Poitiers, see Simo Knuuttila, "Philosophy and Theology in Twelfth-Century Trinitarian Discussions," in *Medieval Analyses in Language and Cognition: Acts of the Symposium, The Copenhagen School of Medieval Philosophy, January 10–13, 1996,* ed. Sten Ebbesen and Russell L. Friedman (Copenhagen, 1999), 237–49. On the medieval problem of extending standard definitions of person to relations in God, see M. Bergeron, "La structure du concept latin de personne," *Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale* 1 (1932): 121–61.

means by saying that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are persons. Theologians also ask, often as a subsidiary question, whether the name "person" is said univocally of uncreated and created persons.

Praepositinus's treatment of these topics in his *Summa,* composed in the late twelfth century, laid the foundations.[44] Praepositinus argues that names said of both God and creatures signify the same divine essence but in different ways. When one says that God is just, one means that God is justice itself. When one says that Peter is just, one means that Peter participates in God's justice. Peter is just by both uncreated and created justice, but in different ways, since uncreated justice is the efficient cause, and created justice the formal cause, of his justice.[45] There is perhaps a trace of Platonic epistemology in Praepositinus's approach, for he seems to assume that to recognize that Peter is just, one must compare Peter with God. Alexander of Hales notes that the priority involved in the divine names is a function of human understanding as well as of the reality that is named, and that the priority in one respect may be the inverse of that in the other.[46] The distinction that Alexander presupposes is akin to that made by the Porretani between the *proprietas dicendi* and the *proprietas essendi* of divine names.

Inquiring as to whether *persona* is said univocally in his *Summa aurea* (composed in the 1220s), William of Auxerre distinguishes five modes of univocity.[47] The first mode, which involves "conformity," is that of names such as "man" and "white." William tacitly assumes that no name is said of both God and creatures in this way. The second and third modes are rather conceptual than real. The second mode, of which William's example is *res,*[48] depends on the fact that the intellect, being made in God's image, is a likeness of every thing (*res*) that it knows. The third mode is more abstract: William's

---

[44] See Praepositinus, *Summa* 1 (*De divinis nomininibus*), ed. Giuseppe Angelini, in *L'Ortodossia e la grammatica: Analisi di struttura e deduzione storica della Teologia Trinitaria di Prepositino* (Rome, 1972), appendix, 207–14 (*De hoc nomine persona*) and 245 ff. (*Utrum nomina essentialia in eadem significatione conveniant Deo et creature*). Angelini's date for the *Summa* is 1188–94 (ibid., 198).

[45] Ibid., ed. Angelini, 248–49.

[46] See Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in I Sent.* 25.1d (1:238–39): "Si vero quaeratur utrum ['persona'] secundum prius dicatur de divinis et rationabilibus, dicendum: principalius de divinis; sed secundum usum nominis, de creaturis."

[47] William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* 1.6.2 (1:82–84). On the date of the work, see Ribaillier's *Introduction générale* (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 20), 16; and see D. and O. Van den Eynde's introduction to Guy of Orchelles, *Tractatus de sacramentis* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1953), xli. William probably composed his *summa* between 1222 and 1225, but in any case after 1215 and before 1229.

[48] Questions about the univocity of *res* arise because Peter Lombard, at the beginning of his *Sentences,* rehearsed Augustine's division of *res* into those to be enjoyed and those to be used, for any division presupposes a genus or class, and thus univocity.

example is the technical term *notio*, with which theologians labeled the four or five distinguishing relational properties in the Trinity.[49] The fourth mode consists in agreement in effects (e.g., "just"), while the fifth is merely privative (e.g., "not white"). William argues that "person" is said univocally of all created persons in the first mode; of uncreated and created persons in the second and fourth modes; and of the three divine Persons chiefly in the fifth mode. For "person" implies rationality, and both God and creatures can be said to be rational in view of an agreement in effect. But as applied within the Trinity, the word chiefly picks out whatever belongs distinctively to each person, that is, whatever is *not* shared; and it picks this out precisely as being distinctive, and not as what distinguishes. As we shall see, Bonaventure concedes that *persona* implies privative community but prefers to construe *persona* in God in terms of interrelational analogy.

Inquiring whether any name is said univocally of God and creatures, William outlines a dilemma.[50] His discussion focuses on the name, "just." Uncreated and created things never agree in genus or species or property or accident. If the justice of God were greater than Peter's justice, then since God's justice is identical with his essence, it should follow that God's essence or being is greater than Peter's justice; but (according to Aristotle) essence or being is not subject to degrees of more or less. These arguments suggest that "just" is said equivocally. But then why does Scripture say that God is *better* or *more* just than human beings? Such comparisons make sense only if good and just are univocals.

William solves the problem by arguing that there is equivocity in one respect but univocity in another. Uncreated and created justice are strictly (*proprie*) equivocal because in reality there is no agreement in respect of any predicable.[51] But the word "just" is said univocally inasmuch as divine and human justice agree in relation to their respective effects (*conveniunt in effectu*). For one may define justice in either case as rendering to each what is due (*reddere unicuique quod suum est*). Insofar as God achieves this effect to the supreme degree, God is *more* just than any creature.

---

[49] See William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* 1.7.1 (1:110–16). The *notiones* are fatherhood, sonship, active and passive spiration, and the Father's unbegottenness (*innascibilitas*). Whether the last was truly a distinguishing property or merely a privation was controvertible.

[50] Ibid. 1.5.3 (1:72–73).

[51] Ibid., resp. (1:72.17–19): "Re vera iustitia creata et iustitia increata in nullo conveniunt, nec in genere nec in specie nec in proprio nec in accidente, et ideo proprie ⟨equivoce⟩ dicitur 'iustus' de Deo et de Petro." The word *equivoce* is missing from the base manuscript but appears in others. One might instead amend *proprie* to *improprie*, but the sense would be the same.

By saying that uncreated and created justice agree in nothing in reality, William implies that their agreement is rather conceptual than real. A variant from an earlier, briefer recension of book 1 makes this explicit:

> We say that the word "just" is not said equivocally. Rather it signifies a certain common understanding [*communis intellectus*] of both created and uncreated justice. We say the same about other things of the same sort, such as the word "is," which signifies the concept [*intellectus*] of any reality. The same is true of the word "reality".[52]

This version of the thesis presupposes the Aristotelian doctrine that words signify concepts, which in turn signify realities. According to another variant from the brief recension, the word "just" is primarily equivocal, signifying created justice in one signification and uncreated justice in another, and yet the word univocally signifies both uncreated and created justice through a certain "consignification."[53] The appearance of consignification (i.e., connotation) in this context indicates the relationship between William's account of the univocity of "just" and the older theory that "just" and "merciful," as divine names, are semantically distinct through the consignification of effects.[54] What distinguishes justice from mercy in God unites divine justice and human justice.

Where William argues that there is univocity of a special sort (one not involving "conformity"), Alexander of Hales, also writing in the 1220s, approaches the same problems by applying the novel idea of ambiguity *secundum prius et posterius*. Inquiring whether "person" is said of God and of creatures with a single *ratio* (sense, definition, concept), Alexander argues that there is a single *ratio*, perhaps the standard definition of person as "an incommunicable existence of an intellectual nature"; nevertheless, the common *ratio* does not apply to God and to creatures in the same way, and the word is therefore said of both not "commonly" but "according to prior and poste-

---

[52] Ibid. (apparatus to lines 17–37): "Nos dicimus quod hec dictio 'iustus' non tenetur equivoce; sed significat quemdam communem intellectum pro iustitia creata et increata. Similiter dicimus de consimilibus, sicut dicimus de hoc verbo 'est,' quod significat intellectum pro qualibet re. Similiter iste terminus 'res'." Ribaillier's base text is the "long recension" in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 15746 (s. xiii); this variant is from the "short recension" in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 17472 (s. xiii). On the two recensions, see the introduction to the volume (1:9–11).

[53] Ibid. (1:73, apparatus to line 34): "Unde dicimus quod hoc nomen 'iustus' quadam significatione significat iusticiam increatam, in alia iusticiam creatam. Iusticia vero quasi quadam consignificatione univocat iusticiam creatam et iusticiam increatam." This variant is from the "short recension" in Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana Scaff. XI 223 (s. xiii).

[54] See Valente, "*Iustus* et *misericors*, 47.

rior."[55] To which does the word primarily apply? Chiefly to God, but to creatures as regards the "use of the name."[56]

Later, when Alexander considers the ambiguity of "person" within the Trinity as well as between God and creatures, he argues that the word signifies something common but only "by proportion." The passage seems to be garbled. Alexander first says that proportion is twofold, for it may be according to a "relationship of two to one" (habitudo duorum ad unum), or according to a "relationship of another to another" (habitudo alterius ad alterum). These phrases might seem to characterize respectively lateral (ad unum) and vertical (secundum prius et posterius) ambiguity, but while Alexander's example of the second is "healthy" as said of an animal and its urine, his example of the first is the director (rector) of a ship and of the schools (a standard example of interrelational analogy). As the discussion proceeds, it becomes clear that Alexander presupposes three modes of proportion, not two: (1) proportion according to the relationship of one to another (habitudo unius ad alterum); (2) proportion according to an equivalence of relationships (consimilis habitudo alterius ad alterum); and (3) proportion according to different relationships with one thing (habitudo ad idem). The phrase consimilis habitudo is from Boethius's definition of proportionality. What Alexander is defining are respectively (1) ambiguity secundum prius et posterius, (2) interrelational analogy, and (3) ad unum ambiguity. He concludes (without further explanation) that the word "good" is said in the first way (secundum prius et posterius) of God and creatures; that the word "person" is said in the second way (interrelational analogy) of divine and human persons; and that the word "person" is said in the third way (ad unum ambiguity) of Father and Son in the Godhead.[57]

Although no single account of ambiguity as a medium between univocity and equivocity emerges from Alexander's Glossa, two themes are notable: the existence of a common but differently applied concept (ratio), and the application of a name according to prior and posterior (secundum prius et posterius). The same themes are apparent in Book I of the Summa fratris Alexandri when the author (probably John of La Rochelle, O.F.M.) discusses whether affirmative names are said of God and creatures univocally or equivocally. The discussion is dependent on Praepositinus and William of Auxerre.

---

[55] Alexander of Hales, Glossa in I Sent. 25.1d (1:238): ". . . non communiter dicitur de utroque, sed secundum prius et posterius; tamen aliquo modo est una ratio, quae est: 'Persona est existentia incommunicabilis intellectualis naturae.' "

[56] Ibid. (1:238–39): "Si vero quaeritur utrum secundum prius dicatur de divinis et rationabilibus, dicendum: principalius de divinis; sed secundum usum nominis, de creaturis."

[57] Ibid., 2h (1:242).

The author argues that "just" cannot be said univocally, since it denotes something essential in God and something accidental in human beings. Yet "just" always signifies some agent inasmuch as it renders to each what is due. The word signifies an equivalent act (*consimilis actus*). Even though the *ratio* of the name is not the same, it is not entirely different either, and therefore the name is not said equivocally.[58] In fact, names such as "just" and "good" are said neither univocally nor equivocally but analogically and according to prior and posterior:

> names that are understood not symbolically (i.e., according to the property of a corporeal form) but mystically (i.e., according to the property of a spiritual form), such as "just," "good," and others of that sort, are said neither equivocally nor univocally, because they are not said according to an entirely different concept [*ratio*], nor yet according to the same one, but rather are said analogically according to prior and posterior. This analogy depends on some one comparison or proportion of some effect of justice or of goodness, by which the creature is compared to God, as to render to each what is due is compared with the justice of the Creator and to created justice. In the same way, one derives from this unity of comparison a single concept according to analogy, which concept does not posit agreement in genus or species and so on, but in a single comparison.[59]

The author does not say whether the name applies first to God or to creatures, still less why it does so.[60] Nevertheless, the outlines of a theory of analogy have emerged. When the same affirmative name is said truly both of God and of creatures, the diction is neither univocal nor equivocal but ana-

---

[58] *Summa fratris Alexandri* 1, pars 2, inq. 2, tract. 1, q. 3, c. 1 sed contra (1:544a, n.366). The role of Alexander in the preparation of this work (to whom it was ascribed contemporaneously and until doubts began to emerge in the 1880s) remains obscure. See Victorin Doucet's *Prolegomena* to vol. 4 (1948) or his article "The History of the Problem of the Authenticity of the *Summa*," *Franciscan Studies* 7 (1947): 26–41 and 274–312.

[59] *Summa fratris Alexandri* 1, pars 2, inq. 2, tract. 1, q. 3, c. 1 ad obiecta a–c (1:544b): "Propterea, sicut supra dictum est, dicendum quod nomina quae non accipiuntur symbolice, hoc est secundum proprietatem formae corporalis, sed accipiuntur mystice, hoc est secundum proprietatem formae spiritualis, ut iustus, bonus et huiusmodi, non dicuntur aequivoce nec univoce, quia non penitus secundum aliam rationem nec tamen secundum eamdem, sed dicuntur analogice secundum prius et posterius. Quae quidem analogia attenditur ex una aliqua comparatione sive proportione alicuius effectus iustitiae vel bonitatis qua comparatur creatura et Creatorem, ut 'reddere unicuique quod suum est' comparatur iustitiae Creatoris et iustitiae createae. Consimili modo et ab hac unitate comparationis accipitur una ratio secundum analogiam, quae quidem ratio non ponit convenientiam vel in genere vel in specie etc., sed in una comparatione."

[60] Cf. Rosier, "*Res significata* et *modus significandi*," 155. Rosier states that according to the *Summa fratris Alexandri*, "just" is said first of God because of the priority of cause over effect. I cannot find anything in the text to support this intepretation.

logical. What are named are so different *per se*, in ontological status, that there is no common nature. In the case of the word "just," for example, God is justice itself, while the creature possesses justice accidentally and by participation. Nevertheless, the names connote comparable relationships with effects, and in this respect one may formulate a general, extraneous definition in abstraction from the ontological conditions (for example, "rendering to each what is due"). Hence there is a common concept (*ratio*), but that concept befits God and creatures according to prior and posterior.

What is new in this theory, apart from the word "analogy" itself, is the notion of ambiguity according to prior and posterior. That apart, what the *Summa fratris Alexandri* calls analogy is what William of Auxerre construed as the fourth mode of univocity (univocity *secundum convenientiam effectuum*), a notion that evolved from the twelfth-century theory of connotation.

BONAVENTURE'S RELATIONAL-CONCEPT THEORY

Although a common name that is said analogically of two things cannot, by definition, designate a common nature or *tertium quid*, Bonaventure assumes that it must signify a common concept (*ratio*). But he maintains too that the common concept must be grounded in reality, for a concept that has no basis in reality is vacuous.[61] Echoing Boethius's definition of proportionality, Bonaventure defines the agreement presupposed by the *ratio communis* as a "like relationship" or "equivalent relationship" (*similis habitudo, consimilis habitudo*),[62] and he illustrates analogical agreement with examples of two-to-two comparisons (such that A is like C inasmuch as A is to B as C is to D). The term *consimilis* implies that the relationships have been compared and are akin, but as we shall see, it does not necessarily imply that the kinship can be reduced to a single, identical relationship in reality.

---

[61] *In I Sent.*, d. 25, a. 2, q. 1 arg. 4 contra (1:442b): "Si tantum nominis et rationis, ita quod nihil est commune in re: ergo est vanitas solum."

[62] *In I Sent.*, d. 48, a. 1, q. 1 resp. (1:852b): "contingit conformari aliquid alicui secundum consimilem habitudinem sive comparationem"; *In I Sent.*, d. 25, a. 2, q. 1 ad 4 (1:444b): "communitas realis duplex est, sicut visum est, scilicet secundum naturae unitatem, et secundum similem habitudinem." See also *In I Sent.*, d. 25, a. 2, q. 1 resp. (1:443a). Cf. Boethius, *De arithmetica* 2.40 (ed. Oosthout and Schilling, 172): "proportionalitas [i.e., analogia] est duarum uel plurium proportionum similis habitudo." See also Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 5.3 (1131a31–32), trans. Grosseteste, ed. Gauthier, 458: "Proporcionalitas enim equalitas est proporcionis, et in quatuor minimis." Bonaventure interprets the term *habitudo* (translated in this paper as "relationship" rather than as "relation") very broadly. This abstract noun corresponds to the reflexive verb *se habere*, whose sense depends on its context, and for which there is no single term with an equivalent semantic field in English.

The relational-concept theory is evident in Bonaventure's treatment, in the *Dubia,* of the ambiguity of *res* ("thing," "reality"). The question of whether the transcendental term *res* is said univocally arises because Augustine, in the first book of *De doctrina christiana,* divides things (*res*) into three sorts: those which should be enjoyed, those which should be used, and those which do the using and enjoying.[63] God alone should be enjoyed, creatures (both material and immaterial) should only be used, and created spirits (both human and angelic) do the using and enjoying. Since Peter Lombard quotes this passage at the beginning of the *Sentences,* when (following Augustine) he divides the subject matter of theology into *res* and *signa,*[64] the subdivision of *res* into *fruibilia* and *utibilia*—and thus into uncreated and created things—was a standard topic in *Sentences* commentaries and elsewhere.

As Bonaventure notes in a *dubium* on this passage, division into sorts presupposes a common genus that is simpler than each of its divisions (since each subordinate species is constituted by the genus and a difference). But one class of *res* is God, and nothing is simpler than God. Therefore it seems that Augustine's subdivision of *res* is invalid. Bonaventure solves the problem by distinguishing three kinds of community: (1) univocity, in which both name and reality are common; (2) equivocity, in which the name alone is common; and (3) analogy, in which the name and its concept (*ratio*) are common, but there is no corresponding common reality. The word *res* is said analogically, and analogical community is sufficient for the division in question, for analogy is a mean between equivocity and univocity. Whereas in univocity, there is a community "according to a unity of nature," in analogy there is community "according to a likeness of proportion."[65] The word *proportio* can be a synonym for ἀναλογία, but it is unlikely that Bonaventure means to define analogy as a community of analogy! The phrase "likeness of proportion" echoes Boethius's definition of proportionality,[66] although Bonaventure does not explain how one might analyze *res* relationally.

Analogy, according to Bonaventure, presupposes a common concept rather than a common nature, but the concept must be based on a relational resemblance. Discussing the ambiguity of "person" in the full commentary, Bonaventure distinguishes, in an argument *ad oppositum,* three kinds of com-

[63] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 1.3.3, ed. W. M. Green, CSEL 80 (Vienna, 1963), 9.

[64] Peter Lombard, *I Sent.* 1.2.1 (1.2:56.2–7).

[65] *In I Sent.,* d. 1, dub. 5 resp. (1:43): "est etiam tertia medio modo; et ista est analogi, ubi non est communitas secundum unitatem naturae, sed secundum similitudinem proportionis; et haec communitas est rationis." Cf. *In I Sent.,* d. 7, a. un., q. 4 resp. (1:143b): "est analogum, sicut hoc nomen res ad fruibilia et utibilia. Quamvis enim Creator et creatura non habeant commune univocum, habent tamen analogum."

[66] Cf. Boethius, *De arithmetica* 2.40 (n. 62 above).

munity: community of name alone (equivocity); community of name and concept (*ratio*) alone; and community of name, concept, and reality (univocity). But he notes that the second kind of community would be vacuous unless the concept corresponded to something in reality.[67] Replying to the argument, therefore, Bonaventure modifies the division, eliminating the second class and subdividing real (rather than vacuous) community into (i) community according to unity of nature (*secundum naturae unitatem*), and (ii) community according to like relationship (*secundum similem habitudinem*). The first is univocity, and the second is analogy.[68]

To analyze any interrelational analogy, one must grasp and try to express the *habitudo consimilis*. In a *dubium* on the third book of the *Sentences,* Bonaventure considers whether there is a single definition of *timor* (the virtue or gift of fear) that applies both to the *viatores* and to the blessed. It seems not, for fear of punishment and of doing evil will pass away in beatitude, while the reverential fear of God will remain and be perfected. Bonaventure replies that one can encompass fear of every sort in a definition that expresses "one common concept" (*una communis ratio*). Whatever the fear, there is the same object, or more precisely, a single concept of an object: that of the daunting. Likewise, there is a common act: that of recoil from what is daunting. Hence one can define fear as "recoil from something daunting or surpassing."[69] The definition applies whether the object is good or bad, although if it is bad, the recoil will involve the passion of flight, while if it is good, the recoil will be that of reverence. The community presupposed in the definition is neither univocal nor equivocal but analogous. Analogy properly so called, Bonaventure argues, entails a comparison to one thing according to prior and posterior,[70] and in this case the "one thing" is the formal object of fear, the arduous. Bonaventure does not explain how (reverential) fear of the Lord, fear of punishment, and fear of doing evil are related *secundum prius est posterius.*

Bonaventure regards *habitudo consimilis* as rather conceptual than real especially when the mind must consider it in abstraction from its ontological conditions. This feature of his theory appears most clearly when he discusses

---

[67] *In I Sent.,* d. 25, a. 2, q. 1 arg. 4 contra (n. 61 above).

[68] Ibid., ad 4 (1:444).

[69] *In III Sent.,* d. 34, pars 2, dub. 1 resp. (3:768a): "... timor secundum omnes suas differentias habet aliquod obiectum unum sive unam rationem obiecti, circa quod consistit eius actus secundum prius et posterius. Obiectum autem timoris sub ratione sua generali est arduum; actus vero communis est resilitio ab illo arduo; et hoc est in omni timore reperire. Unde una communis ratio potest de omni timore assignari, ut dicatur, quod timor est resilitio ab aliquo arduo sive excellente, sive illud arduum sit in genere boni, sive sit in genere mali. Sed cum est in genere boni, est resilitio cum reverentia; cum vero est in genere mali, est resilitio cum fuga."

[70] Ibid. (quoted in n. 106 below).

the analogy of *liberum arbitrium* (free choice) in the *Dubia* on the second book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.[71] Here Bonaventure inquires whether the term is said univocally (i) both of God and of created spirits and (ii) both of human beings in this life (*viatores*) and of the blessed.

As to the first question, Anselm's general definition of the will's freedom as "the power of maintaining rectitude" (*potestas servandi rectitudinem*) seems to apply as well to God as to creatures. It seems that free choice has the same definition in God as in creatures, just as animal has the same definition in a human being as in an ass. In his response, Bonaventure distinguishes between two ways of construing free choice: according to its "general conditions," and according to its "special conditions."[72] In the first case, one considers free choice in abstraction from its ontological status and other essential conditions in a certain subject. In the second case, one considers its manner of existence concretely and *in situ,* as a property existing in a certain substance and belonging to that substance in a certain way.

Considered according to its general conditions, free choice may be defined as that faculty or power which is free from coercion and ordained to the conservation of rectitude. Free choice is defined in this way both in God and in creatures. (William of Auxerre would have called such community *convenientia in effectu.*) Nevertheless, although the concept (*ratio*) of free choice is the same, the conformity or unity is not that of univocity but that of analogy, for the common *ratio* represents not a common nature but only an equivalent relationship (*consimilis habitudo*). When one considers free choice in its special conditions, on the contrary, there is no conformity at all, and the name is said equivocally. For the created faculty of free choice is a capability (*habilitas*) that is distinct both from the essence of its subject and from rectitude and justice, since creatures may err when they choose freely. In God, on the contrary, free choice is identical with the divine essence and with divine justice, and it cannot err.[73]

Bonaventure says less about the community of free choice in *viatores* and the blessed, although again he argues that "free choice" is said analogically. It cannot be univocal because it is open to error in one case and not in the other.

---

[71] *In II Sent.*, d. 25, pars 1, dub. 3 (2:608–9); ibid., d. 26, pars 2, dub. 3 (2:626).

[72] Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super I Sent.* 19.5.2 ad 1, ed. P. Mandonnet (Paris, 1929), 492; ibid., 35.1.4 ad 5, ed. Mandonnet, 821. Here Thomas argues that *corpus,* as said of corruptible (sublunary) and incorruptible (celestial) bodies, is said univocally and with the same *ratio* inasmuch as there is a common "intention," but equivocally and with different *rationes* inasmuch as the modes of being are different. Hence the logician, who considers only the intentions of things, considers the name to be said univocally, while the metaphysician and the natural philosopher consider it to be said equivocally.

[73] *In II Sent.*, d. 25, pars 1, dub. 3 resp. (2:608–9).

But it cannot be equivocal either, for the two kinds of free will are comparable as more and less: the blessed are *more* free than the *viatores*. Whenever one can compare things as greater and lesser, the comparison must be in respect of something common.[74] Bonaventure replies that free choice in these two cases must be said analogously, for analogy is a mean between equivocity and univocity. Like univocity, it is capable of comparisons of more or less:

> As to the question about whether liberty may be said equivocally or univocally, one should say, neither in one way nor in the other but by a certain analogy, which through what it shares with univocity receives comparison according to more and less, and through what it shares with equivocity receives a certain distinction of multiplicity. For the analogous occupies a middle place between the univocal and the equivocal.[75]

Bonaventure provides his most complete account of analogy when he discusses the divine Persons in his full commentary on the *Sentences*. In separate questions, Bonaventure first asks whether the name "person" is common to the three uncreated Persons and then whether the name is said univocally of created and uncreated persons.[76] The first problem, as we have seen, arises because everything that the Persons of the Trinity share is essential rather than proper (personal). If all three Persons were persons, it should follow, paradoxically, that personhood is an essential attribute.

The discussion both presupposes and sharpens some assumptions about the supposition of names such as "person" and "individual."[77] Even in ordinary discourse, the word *persona*, unlike the word *homo* (which signifies humanity), does not signify a universal or common nature but instead signifies indi-

---

[74] For example, one can compare as more and less the univocal sharpness of two knives but not the equivocal sharpness of a knife with the sharpness of a wine.

[75] *In II Sent.*, d. 25, pars 2, dub. 3 ad quaest. incid. (2:626b): "Ad illud quod quaeritur, utrum dicatur libertas aequivoce, vel univoce; dicendum, quod nec sic nec sic, sed secundum quandam analogiam, quae propter conventientiam cum univoco recipit comparationem secundum magis et minus; propter convenientiam cum aequivoco recipit quandam distinctionem multiplicitatis; analogum enim medium tenet inter univocum et aequivocum."

[76] *In I Sent.*, d. 25, a. 2, qq. 1–2 (1:442–45).

[77] On supposition theory in twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century logic and grammar, see L. M. De Rijk, "The Origins of the Theory of the Properties of Terms," in Norman Kretzmann et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1982), 161–73, esp. 166–71. See also Stephen F. Brown, "Medieval Supposition Theory in Its Theological Context," *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 3 (1993): 121–57. It is easiest to understand the distinction between supposition and signification as applied to the analysis of propositions (*enunciationes*), where the subject *stands for* something while the predicate *signifies* a form that belongs to it. Nevertheless, the scholastics (at least until the late thirteenth century) posit natural supposition as a property of the terms *per se*. I follow modern scholarly convention here in using the verb "to supposit" (= *supponere*), although one might as well say "to suppose for" or simply "to stand for."

viduals as such.[78] It is univocal in a broad sense, since one applies it in every case with the same "intention," but as applied even to several persons of the same kind (whether divine or human), "person" is in some sense rather analogous than univocal. The word *homo* (even before its use as the subject or predicate of a proposition) signifies a universal form or essence, although it supposits "naturally" for this or that individual human being. The word *persona,* on the contrary, signifies not the universal form as such but this or that individual with a certain universal form. Like the term "individual," one uses the word "person" to pick out precisely what is unique and incommunicable in each subject.

Bonaventure reviews three solutions to the Trinitarian problem.[79] As is customary, he does not name their proponents, but the first is William of Auxerre's solution: some say that something may be possessed in common either positively or negatively. For example, animal is positively common to a human being and an ass, while non-animal is negatively common to a stone and a tree.[80] The word *persona* is only negatively common to the divine Persons, since it signifies incommunicability, which is the privation of sharedness (*communitas*). Only positively common divine attributes, the argument proceeds, must be essential rather than personal.

Second, some distinguish between community "according to the unity of an absolute nature" and community "according to the likeness of a compared relationship."[81] Humanity is common to Peter and Paul in the first way. A certain way of governing (*modus regendi*) is common to a sailor and a teacher in the second way, for the sailor is to a ship as the teacher is to his students: they both govern skillfully, by applying an art.[82] The word "person" signifies in the

[78] See *In I Sent.,* d. 25, a. 1, q. 2 (1:439), regarding the correctness of Boethius's definition of person: "rationalis naturae individua substantia." Bonaventure also notes this definition from Richard of St. Victor: "persona est intellectualis naturae incommunicabilis existentia" (ibid., ad 4, 1:441b); and he explains that while Boethius's definition is common to God and creatures, Richard's definition applies chiefly to the divine persons.

[79] *In I Sent.,* d. 25, a. 2, q. 1 resp. (1:442–43).

[80] Cf. William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* 1.6.2 sol. (1:83–84): "Quinta univocatio est per convenientiam in privatione vel etiam negatione, sicut non album est univocum ad omne quod non participant albedinem, et hoc modo hoc nomen 'persona' univocum est ad omnes personas increatas, quia hoc nomen 'Pater' significat paternitatem que distinguit Patrem et facit ipsum non esse Filium nec esse Spiritum Sanctum. . . ."

[81] *In I Sent.,* d. 25, a. 2, q. 1 resp. (1:443a): "Alii dicunt, quod duplex est communitas: quaedam secundum unitatem naturae absolutae, quaedam secundum similitudinem habitudinis comparatae." In ad 4 (1:444), Bonaventure subdivides community into *secundum naturae unitatem* and *secundum similem habitudinem.* The latter phrase is derived from Boethius's definition of proportionality as "duarum uel plurium proportionum similis habitudo": see *De arithmetica* 2.40 (ed. Oosthout and Schilling, 172).

[82] *In I Sent.,* d. 25, a. 2, q. 1 resp. (1:443a): "sicut modus regendi communis est nautae ad

second way, for it signifies "a relationship to a property, which [relationship] is alike in each of the Persons." Precisely because "person" implies incommunicability, it signifies the subject's relationship to whatever it is that belongs uniquely to that subject.[83] (Here the *habitudo* in question cannot be real relation, since real relations in God always imply a distinction of Persons. Bonaventure seems to have in mind nothing more than the "having" whereby each subject *has* what is proper to that subject and belongs to nothing else.)[84]

Third, some distinguish between real community (*communitas rei*) and conceptual community (*communitas rationis*). A universal is common to particulars in the first way (e.g., *animal* in relation to a man and an ox), but *individual* is common to Peter and Paul in the second way. In the latter case, what is common is not a real *tertium quid* but a mental intention, which the soul grasps and applies in the same way in both cases (*intentio accepta ab anima secundum consimilem modum accipiendi*).[85]

Bonaventure argues that all three solutions are not only equally acceptable but mutually congruent. The word "person" signifies a privation of real community, a likeness of relationship (analogy), and an intention of reason. Inasmuch as the name expresses a single concept, there is community in all three respects: of privation, of analogy, and of concept.[86] But the second notion (community of analogy) captures the truth more completely than the first because personhood and incommunicability are in reality positive attributes rather than privations; and more completely than the second because the intention of the name "person" is not purely conceptual but rather is grounded in reality.[87]

---

regendam navem, et doctoris ad regendas scholas, quia uterque debet esse non sorte, sed arte peritus."

[83] Ibid.: "Nam persona dicitur quasi proprietate distincta; et ita dicit habitudinem ad proprietatem, quae consimilis est in qualibet personarum." Later in the same response, Bonaventure explains (1:443a–b): "Persona ... quia incommunicabilitatem habet ratione eius quod subest proprietati distinguenti, dicit habitudinem ad proprietatem, sicut per nomen hypostasis."

[84] Cf. *In I Sent.,* d. 34, a. un., q. 2 ad 7 (1:591b): "communicabilitas et incommunicabilitas non sunt oppositae proprietates, sed sic differunt, sicut habere proprietatem, et non habere. Quia enim persona habet proprietatem relativam, ideo distinguitur et est incommunicabilis; sed quia essentia caret illa proprietate, ideo communis est, et communicabilis pluribus."

[85] *In I Sent.,* d. 25, a. 2, q. 1 resp. (1:443a). Bonaventure may have in mind William's third mode (exemplified by the Trinitarian *notiones*).

[86] Ibid. (1:443b): "Et ita patet, quod de ratione sui nominis ['persona'] importat privationem communitatis, similitudinem habitudinis et intentionem rationis. Et quia communitas eius accipitur secundum rationem nominis, ideo importat communitatem secundum privationem, et proportionem sive analogiam, et rationem."

. [87] Ibid. (1:443b): "Tamen inter omnes hos modos medius magis accedit ad naturam rei, quia revera privatio illa in persona magis est positio quam privatio. Et rursus, nominis intentio fundamentum et radicem habet in re."

Having shown how the name "person" is analogously common to the divine Persons (and likewise to several human persons), Bonaventure shows how the name is said analogously of created and uncreated persons. The word "person" does not denote a common nature but a relational community (*communitas habitudinis*), on which is founded a conceptual community (*communitas rationis*).[88] But here one needs to distinguish between relational communities among things of the same kind (*genus*) and among things of different kinds. In the former case the same *ratio* applies to the analogates in the same way, while in the latter case the *ratio* applies according to prior and posterior. Again, in the first case there is an equality of relationships, while in the second case there is only a likeness of relationships.[89] When one says that Paul is an individual and Peter is an individual, the community is between things of the same kind. As such, it is analogical but can be counted as univocal. But when one says that Peter is an individual and Peter's whiteness is an individual, there is an analogy of prior and posterior, for the *ratio* of individuality befits Peter primarily and his whiteness secondarily.[90]

Although Bonaventure maintains that there is a common *ratio* in analogical naming, therefore, he argues that in cases of intergeneric analogy, the *ratio* applies in a prior and posterior manner. Whereas analogy properly so called involves a comparison by prior and posterior, the *habitudo similis* among pairs of the same kind may be counted as a kind of univocity. Bonaventure uses the terms "genus" and "nature" in this context to denote categories or ranks in the Chain of Being: two created substances or two divine Persons have the same nature and belong to the same genus; God and a creature have different natures and are different in kind.

When one applies the word "person" both to divine persons and to human persons, it must be said analogously in the second way, according to prior and posterior, for no creature shares the same thing equally with God.[91] The name "person" first befits the divine Persons as regards the reality that it denotes, but it first befits human persons as regards our imposition of the name, since we "transfer" the name from created persons to God.[92]

---

[88] *In I Sent.*, d. 25, a. 2, q. 2 resp. (1:444b): "hoc nomen persona, sicut visum est prius, non dicit nisi communitatem habitudinis, super quam fundatur communitas rationis."

[89] Ibid., ad 2 (1:445b): "non est similitudo aequalitatis; et propterea talis similitudo non facit univocationem, sed analogiam solum."

[90] Ibid., resp. (1:444b). Peter's whiteness is individual or exists individually only because Peter is an individual.

[91] Ibid., arg. 3 contra (1:444a): "nihil participat aequaliter creatura cum Deo."

[92] Ibid., resp. (1:444–45) & arg. 4 contra (444). Cf. Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in I Sent.* 25.1d (n. 46 above).

Naming according to Prior and Posterior

Bonaventure assumes that in analogy properly so called, two things are compared according to prior and posterior. The order of human understanding or diction is not necessarily the same as the order of the signified reality. Moreover, what an analogical name *first* signifies is neither of the analogates but an abstractly construed relationship or common concept. It is this common concept that is realized primarily in one analogate and secondarily in the other.

Whenever one applies the same name to both God and a creature, there is analogy according to prior and posterior, but here Bonaventure notes that the application to God is prior in one way, while the application to something created is prior in another.[93] When applied to God, language as it were reaches out beyond its normal means, which are adapted to the created world (and especially to the sensible world). Thus in his discussion of the analogy of "person," Bonaventure argues that this name is said first of God as regards what is named (*secundum rem nominis*) but first of creatures as regards the name itself (*secundum nomen*):

> therefore the name "person" is said analogically and equally of the divine Persons, and therefore in a certain sense univocally, since it is said of things of the same nature; and likewise when it is said of created persons. But when "person" is said both of created and of uncreated persons, it is said through a comparison of things of diverse natures, and therefore according to prior and posterior. And thus "person" is said first of the created persons as regards the name, but it is said first of uncreated persons as regards the reality that is named.[94]

The word "person" is said first of creatures inasmuch as "it has been transferred thence to divine things," and first of God inasmuch as "intellectual nature and substance and distinction is in God first and then in creatures."[95]

---

[93] Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 1.13.6 resp.: "quantum ad rem significatam per nomen, per prius [nomina divina] dicuntur de Deo quam de creaturis, quia a Deo huiusmodi perfectiones in creaturas manant. Sed quantum ad impositionem nominis, per prius a nobis imponuntur creaturis, quas prius cognoscimus." The difference between Bonaventure's and Thomas's positions regarding mental illumination seems to have made no difference to their treatment of priority in the divine names.

[94] *In I Sent.*, d. 25, a. 2, q. 2 resp. (1:444–45): "Sic dicendum, quod hoc nomen persona, dictum de personis divinis, quia dicitur secundum comparationem rerum eiusdem naturae, ideo analogice et aequaliter; et ideo quodam modo univoce; similiter, cum dicitur de personis creatis. Cum autem dicitur de personis creatis et increatis, dicitur per comparationem rerum diversarum naturarum, et ideo per prius et posterius. Et sic persona prius dicitur de personis creatis secundum nomen, sed secundum rem nominis per prius dicitur de personis increatis."

[95] Ibid., arg. 4 contra (1:444): ". . . per prius dicatur de creaturis, quia inde translatum est

A related disconnection between the *how* and the *what* of signification comes to light when qualifiers are used to designate the mode with which a perfection (which we know primarily as it exists in creatures) exists in God. In one of his disputed questions on the Trinity, Bonaventure considers the force of the qualifier *summum* in the phrase *summum bonum*.[96] The word "supreme" must add something to the word "good" in one's understanding, for the notion of "supreme good" includes and amplifies that of "good." Yet there cannot be a corresponding addition in reality (*ex parte rei*). The point is more evident when one says that God is a simple being (*ens simplex*): clearly, one does not posit any composition in reality, for by adding the notion of simplicity to that of being, one posits a reality in which there is no complexity and therefore no addition.

Bonaventure presents three arguments to show that the supreme, uncreated good cannot be a species within a genus of goods. First, uncreated good and created good do not share a common nature. Second, the supreme good itself is simpler even than the "common intention" signified by the word "good." Third, the supreme good is incommensurably greater than any created good. Therefore the supreme good is not a species of good, nor is the good a genus. But because "every created good flows from the uncreated good as from a first cause," the word "good" is applied "through a certain analogy" both to the absolutely simple, uncreated good and to the created good, which falls short of the supreme good's simplicity. While one's understanding ascends to some notion of divine goodness by the addition of the qualifier "supreme" to one's concept of goodness, the order of reality implied in the very notion of a *supreme* good proceeds in the opposite direction.[97]

Bonaventure applies the distinction between the order of reality and the order of names in his treatment of metaphor. The central idea in the scholastic treatment of metaphor was that of transference (*translatio*), which had been conspicuous in twelfth-century discussions of the divine names. The word *translatio* usually means "metaphor," as the adverb *translative* means "metaphorical." But the schoolmen used the same notion of *translatio* to characterize the analogical extension of literal names from creatures to God. Since Bonaventure does not believe that all the divine names are metaphorical, he needs to show that even if all names are transferred to God, some are literal

---

ad divina. Contra: natura intellectualis et substantia et distinctio per prius est in Deo quam in creaturis; et non sunt plura de ratione personae: ergo etc."

    [96] *Quaestiones disputatae de mysterio Trinitatis*, q. 3, a. 1 ad 4 (5:72a).

    [97] Ibid. As always in the scholastic distinction between *modus significandi* and *res significata*, the distinction is not simply between language (or understanding) and reality in itself, but between two poles implicit in language: the *way* in which one signifies, and *what* is signified. The Kantian notion of a cognitively inaccessible thing-in-itself has no role here.

and some are metaphorical.[98] Like most of the scholastics, and following Ps.-Dionysius, Bonaventure assumes that names of corporeal things are said metaphorically of God, while names of spiritual things (such as "wise") and names that transcend the distinction (such as "good") are said properly of God, albeit by a kind of transference.

Bonaventure rejects the theory that only the names by which God has designated himself, such as "good" and "he who is" (*qui est*), are said literally (*proprie*), while all others are said metaphorically (*translative*). Instead, Bonaventure places the divine names in three classes by ascertaining whether the truth (*veritas*) of the reality signified by the name (*res significata*) is in God or in creatures.[99] (1) If the truth is in God while its opposite is in creatures, there is no transference. Such is the case with the negative divine names, such as "immense" and "eternal." (2) When the truth is in God while its likeness is in creatures, there is no transference as regards reality (*secundum rem*), but there is transference regarding our imposition of the name (*secundum impositionem*). Examples are "power," "wisdom" and "goodness." The signified reality exists first in God and secondarily in creatures, but we impose the name first on creatures and secondarily on God. (3) When the truth is in the creature and its likeness is in God, the name is properly metaphorical. (Bonaventure perhaps assumes that in this case, there is transference *secundum rem* as well as *secundum impositionem*.) Here we transfer the name in view of some godlike attribute in the creature, such as the stability of a rock or the strength of a lion.[100]

In a few troubling passages, Bonaventure appears to assume that a distinguishing feature of analogical names is that they are *not* said according to prior and posterior. Thus in a *dubium* on the second book of the *Sentences,* where Bonaventure considers the analogical use of the word *imago,* he regards prior and posterior naming as a feature characteristic of equivocation rather than of analogy.[101] The discussion concerns the kinship between the uncreated image of God (i.e., the Son) and the created image in human beings. Bonaventure considers the following objection: because the divine image is

---

[98] *In I Sent.,* d. 22, a. un., q. 3 arg. 3 (1:394b): "non est nisi duplex theologia, scilicet mystica et symbolica, secundum quod vult Dionysius; sed utraque Deum nominat translative—nam mystica per creaturas spirituales et invisibiles, sed symbolica per corporales—ergo omnis nominatio Dei translativa est." The distinction Bonaventure wants to articulate is precisely that between conceptual and symbolic names (theologies) in Ps.-Dionysius.

[99] Bonaventure bases his solution partly on Ps.-Dionysius's idea that one names God by effect, by negation (*ablatio*), or by excellence. See Ps.-Dionysius, *Divine Names* 7.3 (PG 3:869D–872A); *Dionysiaca* 1 (Bruges, 1937), 403.

[100] *In I Sent.,* d. 22, a. un., q. 3 resp. (1:395–96).

[101] *In II Sent.,* d. 16, dub. 4 (2:407–8).

produced by nature (*per naturam*), while the created image is produced by art (*per artem*), the term "image" must be equivocal. The objection presupposes that real and artificial versions of the same thing, inasmuch as they share the same name, are equivocals.

Bonaventure replies that the name "image" is said of the Son and of human beings neither univocally nor equivocally but analogously. He then offers two different solutions to the objection. First, one might distinguish between (i) works of art that imitate nature, as in the example of the man in a picture (*homo pictus*) and the real man (*homo verus*), and (ii) works of art that are the foundation of nature. In the first case, the works of art and of nature are equivocals; in the second case, they are not. Second, one might argue that there is equivocation only when the name is imposed (as in metaphor) primarily on one thing and secondarily on another. In the case of the Son of God and human beings, on the contrary, the *ratio communis* of "image" applies equally to both, since it pertains *first* to a certain abstractly construed relationship, that of exact representation:

> Or it should be said that there is equivocation when one speaks of a real man and a depicted man because the word "man" is imposed first and principally on the true man, and therefore it is understood differently and has a different signification when it is said of a depicted man. But "image" is not imposed first and principally on the Son of God thus, but on everything that expressly represents something else.[102]

One might surmise that this text predates Bonaventure's acceptance that comparison by prior and posterior is a feature of analogy. But when Bonaventure discusses the analogy of God as *principium* in the full commentary, he again argues that the name is not imposed first on one of the analogates and then on the other. What the word "principle" first signifies is neither the relationship between the Father and the Son, nor that between Creator and creation, but rather the general relationship of any subject to whatever is produced or proceeds from it.[103] But Bonaventure assumes elsewhere in the article that when one uses this name analogously to signify God both as generator and as Creator, one applies it according to prior and posterior. Thus according to one objection, the word "principle," inasmuch as it is said of God

---

[102] Ibid., resp. (2:408): "Vel dicendum, quod ideo est aequivocatio, quando dicitur homo pictus et homo verus, quia hoc nomen homo primo et principaliter imponitur homini vero; et ideo, cum dicitur de homine picto, alia est acceptio et alia significatio. Non sic imago primo et principaliter imponitur Dei filio, sed omni ei, quod expresse repraesentat alterum."

[103] *In I Sent.*, d. 29, a. 1, q. 2 resp. (1:511b): "principium non dicitur primo ad Filium vel ad creaturam, sed ad hoc quod est productum sive principiatum; quod quidem dicitur de Filio et de creatura, quamvis non univoce, sed analogice."

both personally and essentially, cannot be analogous because "where there is analogy there is prior and posterior, but in God nothing is prior or posterior."[104] Bonaventure replies that although there is nothing prior or posterior in God, there is in relation to the effects that God causes, and an analogy arises from this comparison.[105]

How may one resolve this apparent contradiction? What is at issue is whether, prior to the application of the name to the signified things, there is a common concept. One should distinguish between (i) what an analogous name *first* signifies or is *first* imposed to signify and (ii) the application the already significant name first to one and secondly to another of two comparable realities. An analogous name first signifies a certain relationship (*habitudo*) construed abstractly, apart from its setting and ontological conditions. (The priority in question here is semantic rather than cognitive, for the mind gets its understanding of the abstract relationship from some actual instance or setting, or from comparing such instances.) This significance is the *ratio communis*, which may befit one thing primarily and another secondarily (*secundum prius et posterius*). It is in such cases that there is analogy in the proper sense. I take it that this is what Bonaventure means when he says that in analogy properly so called, there is a comparison to one thing according to prior and posterior:[106] the one thing is the *ratio communis*. It is the primary signifying of a common concept that distinguishes such usage from that in which the name properly signifies one thing and improperly signifies another, as in metaphor (e.g., *prata rident*) and in equivocity by imitation (e.g., *homo verus, homo pictus*).

ANALOGY AND THE TRINITY

In three closely related passages, all pertaining to the Trinity, Bonaventure tries to explain how some aspect of God that is one in itself may be regarded as diverse in view of its relationships to other things. Here he applies the notion of analogy in inventive and unexpected ways. The passages touch on Bonaventure's most important contribution to Trinitarian theology: his explo-

---

[104] Ibid., arg. 4 (1:510): "Item, quod non dicatur analogice, videtur, quia ubi est analogia, ibi est prius et posterius; sed in divinis non est prius et posterius; ergo nec analogia."

[105] Ibid, ad 4 (1:511b): "quamvis non cadat ibi prius et posterius in se, cadit tamen respectu effectus, quia in comparatione ad effectum accipitur analogia." Bonaventure may imply that the personal application of the name "principle" is prior to its essential application because the latter connotes God's created effects, or that the essential application is prior because the essential relation presupposes the personal one; his intentions are not explicit.

[106] *In III Sent.*, d. 34, pars 2, dub. 1 resp. (3:768a): "Ubi autem est analogia, ibi est comparatio ad aliquid unum secundum prius et posterius, maxime ubi est dicere proprie analogia."

ration of the connectedness between the immanent life of the Trinity and the economy of God's work *ad extra*. The connectedness is epistemic as well as ontological, for it links what one knows through natural reason about God as first cause with what one knows through faith and revelation about God as Trinity.[107]

The three passages respectively concern *principle, procession,* and *power,* each of which may be construed either as an *ad intra* relationship pertaining to the Trinity or as an *ad extra* relationship between God and creatures. For example, as God the Father, God is the *principium* (source, origin) of the Son, while as Creator, God is the *principium* of creation. Construed in the first way, the relationship is proper and personal; construed in the second, it is essential. Whereas in the analogies of "person," "free will" and "fear," one applies the same name to numerically different things in view of their comparable relationships, here one and the same thing (the Deity) is differently but analogically "said."

The three passages are fraught with difficulty, and what follows is at best a preliminary review. Whereas analogy is usually a medium between equivocal and univocal naming of different things, here Bonaventure construes analogy as a medium between numerical identity and multiplicity. Things that are numerically one in themselves, Bonaventure argues, can be differently "said" in a way that is analogous rather than equivocal, and that is based on a real difference. The special multiplicity that Bonaventure has in mind is related to connotation.[108] I shall consider the three passages in ascending order of difficulty.

Bonaventure inquires whether the word *principium* ("principle," "source," "origin") is said univocally when it said of God personally or notionally and when it is said essentially.[109] Understood essentially, the word "principle" names God as the source of all created things. Understood personally or notionally, the word "principle" names either the Father as the source of the Son, or Father and Son together as the source of the Holy Spirit.[110] Strictly, according to Bonaventure, the name is said personally when it denotes the Father singly, and notionally when it denotes Father and Son together as the common

---

[107] See Luc Mathieu, *La Trinité créatrice d'après saint Bonaventure* (Paris, 1992); and Gilles Emery, *La Trinité créatrice: Trinité et création dans les commentaires aux "Sentences" de Thomas D'Aquin et de ses précurseurs Albert le Grand et Bonaventure* (Paris, 1995).

[108] On connotation in twelfth-century theology, see Valente, "*Iustus* et *misericors,* 37–59. As explained above, a connotation is a secondary signification that distinguishes the sense of one divine name from another (here, analogous applications of the same name) by reference to external effects.

[109] *In I Sent.,* d. 29, a. 1, q. 2 (1:510–11).

[110] See *In I Sent.,* d. 29, divisio textus (1:507–8).

source of the Holy Spirit. But the distinction between the personal and no-
tional senses is not significant in the article, and Bonaventure seems to vacil-
late inconsistently between the two terms. In what follows, I shall drop the
term "notional" and retain only "personal."

Bonaventure distinguishes three ways in which the divine names, even as
applied only to God, can be ambiguous. The ambiguity may be according to
supposition, according to signification, or according to connotation.[111] Only
the third mode entails any multiplicity in reality. First, the name "God" *sup-
posits* ambiguously in the propositions "God is Trinity" and "God generates."
Bonaventure presupposes here the distinction between supposition and signi-
fication.[112] (For example, the word *homo* always signifies humanity, as the
word *humanitas* does, but it supposits for a certain man or for several indi-
viduals.) The name "God" *supposits* for the divine essence in the first propo-
sition ("God is Trinity"), and for a divine Person (God the Father) in the
second proposition ("God generates"), but it *signifies* the same divine essence
in both cases. The name "wisdom" (*sapientia*) is likewise ambiguous in sup-
position inasmuch as it supposits both for God's essential wisdom and for the
Son as begotten wisdom (*sapientia nata*), although it signifies the same wis-
dom in both cases.[113] Bonaventure argues that ambiguity of supposition does
not imply any multiplicity at all, that is, neither in reality nor in understand-
ing. (I take it that according to Bonaventure, the name is said univocally in
these cases, notwithstanding the difference in supposition.)

Second, the name "Father" *signifies* ambiguously in the phrases "the Father
of the Son" and "our Father." In the first phrase, it signifies a Person, while in

---

[111] Cf. *Breviloquium*, pars 1, c. 4 (5:213b): Bonaventure distinguishes among three classes
of differentiation in God: *modi essendi sive emanandi*, between Persons; *modi se habendi*, be-
tween Person and essence; and *modi intelligendi*, such as between God's goodness and wis-
dom. These differences are in decreasing order, and they depend respectively on supposition,
attribution (i.e., predication), and connotation. See Sandra S. Edwards, "St. Bonaventure on
Distinctions," *Franciscan Studies* 38 (1978): 194–212. For the historical background, see Luisa
Valente, " 'Cum non sit intelligibilis, nec ergo significabilis': *Modi significandi, intelligendi* ed
essendi nella teologia del XII secolo," *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale*
11 (2000): 133–94.

[112] On the application of supposition theory to the construal of traditional but problematic
propositions such as "Deus genuit Deum," see Brown, "Medieval Supposition Theory in Its
Theological Context," 121–57.

[113] *In I Sent.*, d. 29, a. 1, q. 2 resp. & ad 2–3 (1:511). On the signification and supposition
of the name *Deus*, cf. Praepositinus, *Summa*, ed. Angelini in *L'Ortodossia e la Grammatica*
(1972), pp. 214–18; William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* 1.4.3–4 (1:43–49); and *Summa fratris
Alexandri* 1, pars 2, inq. 2, tract. 1, q. 2, membrum 3 (1:535–41, nn.358–65), especially a. 7
(n.365), on whether the proposition "God is Trinity" is true. The name *Deus* signifies the divine
essence (*deitas*), but because (like *homo*) it is grammatically a concrete noun, it may supposit
as well for any of the three Persons or for the Trinity as for the essence.

the second it signifies the divine essence. It is true that there is no diversity in reality between Persons and essence, but there is diversity in signification,[114] and thus in understanding, for it is one thing to understand the essence and another to understand a Person.[115] And since "Father" is ambiguous in signification in these cases, Bonaventure argues, the name is said equivocally.[116]

Third, the name "principle," with which the question is concerned, is ambiguous in connotation. For although the word "principle" signifies the same thing whether it is said personally or essentially, it connotes created effects when it is used essentially but not when it is used personally. The point is a subtle one, for Bonaventure maintains that one way of being a principle is implicit in the other: the work of creation presupposes the procession of the Son, who in a special (and not merely appropriative) sense is the model or paradigm through which God creates.[117] The word *principium* is not said equivocally, for an equivocal name, such as *canis,* has several distinct institutions. It might be construed as equivocal if it signified, in separate senses, God as generator of the Son and God as creator of the world. But in fact the word "principle" is primarily imposed to signify the source of *any* act of producing, and not to signify either a source of generating or a source of creating. (Such is its *ratio communis.*) Inasmuch as God is a "principle," there is a multiplicity not of equivocation but of analogy, since the word connotes diverse things between which there is a "unity of proportion."[118] In other words, the Father is to the Son as the Creator is to creation, inasmuch as a relationship of "principiation" is involved in both cases.

In the second of the three passages, Bonaventure inquires whether the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit *ad intra* and the Spirit's temporal procession *ad extra* into human hearts can be enumerated as two processions.[119] The root of the question is Peter Lombard's reference to the *gemina processio* ("twofold procession") of the Holy Spirit. The word *geminatio,* which recurs throughout the article, implies univocity, for it signifies what happens when there are two things of the same kind (such as two human beings or two ani-

---

[114] *In I Sent.,* d. 29, a. 1, q. 2 resp. (1:511a): "est diversitas significationis non in re ipsa, sed in significando."

[115] Ibid., ad 4 (1:511b).

[116] The distinction between the first two kinds of ambiguity is not easy to grasp. It perhaps pertains to the fact that while the word "father" is intrinsically relational, the word "God" is not. But since calling God "our Father" presupposes a relationship with creation, it seems that "father" should be ambiguous in connotation (the third kind of ambituity) as well.

[117] *In I Sent.,* d. 6, a. un., q. 3 (1:129–30).

[118] *In I Sent.,* d. 29, a. 1, q. 2 resp. (1:511).

[119] *In I Sent.,* d. 14, a. 1, q. 2 (1:247–48): "utrum processio temporalis ponat in numerum cum aeterna."

mals). Bonaventure uses the term *enumeratio* in this question as well. The two terms are basically synonymous but differ in emphasis: *geminatio* emphasizes that the things are of the same kind, while *enumeratio* emphasizes their numerical difference.

The crucial question is whether the eternal and temporal processions may be counted as two processions, for it is invalid to say that there are two Ns when the name "N" is said equivocally.[120] This question appears clearly in an argument against the thesis that there is a twofold procession:

> Again, a man in a picture and a real man are not two men. For only univocals and whatever is said about two things in respect of a common nature can be enumerated. But the temporal and the eternal have less in common than a depicted man and a real man. Therefore temporal and eternal procession cannot be said to be twofold.[121]

Bonaventure solves the problem by introducing analogy as a middle *modus dicendi* between univocity and equivocity. The case of the depicted man and the real man, on the contrary, is one not of analogy but of pure equivocation.[122]

In equivocity, Bonaventure argues, there is duplication only as to what is said (*geminatio circa dici*) and not as to being (*geminatio circa esse*). For example, when one calls both a real man and a depicted man "a man," one uses the word in two senses but does not posit two men. In univocity, on the contrary, there is duplication in respect of being but not in respect what is said. For example, when one says that Socrates is a man and that Plato is a man, one uses the word "man" in only one sense but posits two men. In analogy, there is enumeration in both respects (*numeratio et in essendo et in dicendo*), for analogy has something in common both with univocity and with equivocity.

The procession of the Holy Spirit is twofold in the last sense. The word "procession" is *said* in two ways (i.e., it is not univocal), but because one way of speaking is included in the other, one may say that there is a twofold procession in reality (rather than two unrelated things that happen to be called "procession").[123] Because the notion of temporal procession includes within it

---

[120] E.g., one may call both a certain fish and a barkable "dog," but one should not refer to them as two dogs, nor include them under the distribution of "all dogs."

[121] Ibid., arg. 3 contra (1:247): "Item, homo pictus et homo verus non sunt duo homines; non enim numerantur nisi univoca, et quod dicitur de duobus secundum unam naturam; sed temporale et aeternum minus communicant quam homo pictus et homo verus; ergo processio temporalis et aeterna non est dicenda gemina."

[122] Ibid., ad 2–3 (1:248b): "Et per hoc patet sequens de homine picto et vero, quia ibi non est analogia, sed aequivocatio pura."

[123] Ibid., resp. (1:248a): "processio, secundum quod dicta est de processione temporali et aeterna, non est dicta univoce nec aequivoce, sed analogice, quia unus modus clauditur in alio."

that of eternal procession, eternal procession is prior and temporal procession is posterior.

Bonaventure rebuts arguments showing the eternal and temporal processions are numerically identical. Here he considers the following objection. Temporal procession differs from eternal procession only through an additional relation (*respectus*) to created effects (i.e., by connotation); but the addition of some relation to an effect does not enumerate (divide numerically) the cause of that effect. For example, the luminous sun and the illuminating sun are not two suns; nor are God as being and God as creator two Gods.[124] In reply, Bonaventure concedes that a reference to an extraneous effect is not in itself sufficient to divide and enumerate the subject, but he argues that whenever a causal relation can be included in or left out of the signification of a term, then the term may be said in more than one sense. The result may be equivocity. But if the second signification is ordained in some way to the first, rather than simply nullifying it, then the term will be analogous, and analogy entails enumeration in reality as well as in words. Thus if the word *illuminatio* ("shining"), as said of the sun, signified both the immanent act of shining itself (*actus lucendi absolutus*) and the act of shedding light on other things (*actus lucendi comparatus*), then it would be "said in two ways," and the sun's shining would be twofold (*gemina*).[125]

Nevertheless, Bonaventure argues that the duplication (*geminatio*) of the Holy Spirit's procession is best considered as a way of speaking (*modus dicendi*), whereby "procession" is "said in two ways" (*dupliciter dicta*), since there are not two different processions. For the duplication is not in respect of what proceeds, as when a man has two sons. Nor is it in respect of the manner of procession, as when the Son proceeds as a word and the Holy Spirit proceeds as mutual love.[126] Therefore although Peter Lombard was not incorrect when he spoke of a twofold procession (*processio gemina*), it would be better to say that the procession of the Holy Spirit is *said* in two ways.[127]

The third passage, in which Bonaventure considers the potency to be created (*posse creari*), is among the most difficult in his work, and one suspects that the text is garbled. Alexander of Hales established that "power" was said analogically and *secundum prius et posterius* of God's power to generate (the Son) and of his power to create, although there is a common concept (*ratio*

---

[124] Ibid., arg 4 contra (1:247b).
[125] Ibid., ad 4 (1:248b).
[126] Ibid., resp (1:247b).
[127] Ibid., ad 4 (1:248b): "Unde Magister magis proprie loqueretur, si diceret: processio Spiritus sancti dicitur dupliciter, quam cum dicit, quod est gemina, quia non cadit ibi proprie geminatio."

communis). The power to generate is prior to the power to create because whereas the former pertains to a relation between two divine things, the latter pertains to a relation between God and what comes into existence from nothing.[128] Bonaventure takes the inquiry a step further. He inquires whether power (*posse*) is univocal in the Son's power to be generated (*posse generari*) and in creation's power to be created (*posse creari*).[129] Bonaventure reasons that these are really active powers of the Deity, despite their grammatically passive form. There is no passivity in God, and the *posse creari* cannot really be a passive potency in the created world because it is (causally) prior to the world's very existence.[130] To possess a passive potency to be created, the world would have to exist before it exists.

Bonaventure has already established that the Father's power to generate the Son (*posse generare*) and God's power to create (*posse creare*) are one and the same power said in two ways.[131] One would therefore expect that the Son's power to be generated and creation's power to be created will likewise be the same power said in two ways (that is, analogically). To prove this, Bonaventure shows that the power to create (*posse creare*) and the power to be created (*posse creari*) are the same power said in two ways. They differ only grammatically, for one is denoted as a passive power, while the other is denoted as an active power. It follows, Bonaventure argues, that the power to be created (*posse creari*) and the power to be generated (*posse generari*) are not only univocal but identical, at least in respect of what their names primarily signify. (The argument presupposes as a hidden premise that the power to be generated is identical with the power to generate, although Bonaventure has not proved this.) But the two quasi-passive powers differ by connotation. The phrase "power to be created" *connotes* an effect in creatures, while "power to be generated" does not. In respect of connotation, therefore, the power to be generated and the power to be created are called "powers" by analogy, inasmuch as God and creatures can have nothing univocal in common but only something analogous, just as the name *res* is analogous in re-

---

[128] Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in I Sent.* 7.1 (1:94): "Respondeo: potentia communem rationem habet, et per prius et posterius dicitur de utrisque: primo de potentia gignendi, eo quod extrema eius sint aeterna; per posterius de potentia creandi, eo quod creatum de nihilo, quod posterius est naturaliter." The sense seems to require the removal of the last *quod*, before *posterius*.

[129] *In I Sent.*, d. 7, a. un., q. 4 resp. (1:143).

[130] See *in I Sent.*, d. 42, a. un., q. 4 ad 2 (1:758b): "quamvis ['possibile'] dicat potentiam per modum passionis, tamen secundum rem non dicit nisi potentiam activam, quia ante mundi creationem nihil est nisi potentia activa."

[131] *In I Sent.*, d. 7, a. un., q. 3 resp. (1:141b): "Dicendum, quod posse generare et posse creare est posse unicum, tamen dupliciter dictum."

spect of things that should be enjoyed (*fruibilia*) and things that should be used (*utibilia*).[132]

The chief difficulty of the article pertains to the unexplained relation between the power to generate (*posse generare*) and the power to be generated (*posse generari*). Some equation between them is necessary for Bonaventure's argument. Perhaps the reader is supposed to fill in some steps of the argument, or to assume that the two powers are univocal or identical. At several points in the discussion, he seems to be comparing the *posse generare*, rather than the *posse generari*, with the power to be created (*posse creari*). Thus one of the arguments against the thesis that the two quasi-passive powers are univocal concerns whether the power to generate (*posse generare*) is included in God's omnipotence. Here the opponent argues that the word "all" (*omne*) usually distributes over all the things that are analogically as well univocally signified by the name that it qualifies.[133] (Thus if several things are called "N" either univocally or analogously, one may validly include all of them in the expression, "all Ns.") But the term "all powerful" (*omnipotens*) cannot include the power to generate, for the power to generate is not in the Son.[134] If the power to generate (to beget) were included under "all powers," the Son would not be omnipotent, for the Son does not generate anything; but the Son is omnipotent too. Therefore "power" (*posse*) is not univocal but analogous.[135] This objection concerns the *posse generare* and not the *posse generari*, and its supposed force in relation to the question of the article is unclear. There is no explicit reply to it: Bonaventure merely notes that the solutions should be obvious from the response.

The most interesting aspect of this article for our present purposes is Bonaventure's thesis that *omne* ("all," "every") can sometimes distribute an analogical term but not when God and a creature are the analogates. Here he distinguishes between (i) analogy "by reduction to unity of nature according to prior and posterior" and (ii) analogy "by reduction to unity of proportional likeness, and not of nature." Bonaventure argues that the word *omne* can distribute a term across analogy of the first sort but not of the second. The first kind of analogy can exist among creatures, and here one may validly say "all Ns" even though the word "N" is said analogically, unless the scope of "all" is restricted in some conventional way. But in analogy of the second sort, some-

[132] *In I Sent.*, d. 7, a. un, q. 4 resp. (1:143).

[133] On distribution, see Alain de Libera, "Référence et quantification: Sur la théorie de la *distributio* au XIIIe siècle," in *Langages et Philosophie*, 177–200. De Libera defines distribution as "the reference of a term affected by a universal quantifier" (177).

[134] Bonaventure has established this in d. 7, q. 2 (1:138–40).

[135] *In I Sent.*, d. 7, a. un., q. 4 arg. 3 (1:142).

thing is signified that "is not among other others, but above the others," and therefore the word "all" cannot strictly include it. For "God is not a being among all things but a being above all things."[136]

Clearly, Bonaventure is distinguishing here between analogies of limited and of unlimited scope. But the phrases that he uses to subdivide analogy—"unity of nature" and "unity of proportional likeness"—are similar to ones that he uses elsewhere to distinguish univocity from analogy. For example, in the discussion of the analogy of *res,* Bonaventure characterizes univocity as community "according to unity of nature" (*secundum unitatem naturae*), and analogy as community "according to a likeness of proportion" (*secundum similitudinem proportionis*).[137] The notion of an analogy "according to unity of nature" is not one that Bonaventure develops elsewhere.

SUMMARY: BONAVENTURE'S THEORY OF ANALOGY

Notwithstanding some areas of obscurity, the outlines of a coherent theory of analogy emerge from Bonaventure's writings. If one uses the same name to refer to two different things, and the name expresses the same concept (*ratio*), and the concept represents a common absolute nature in reality, then the name is said univocally. If the name does not express the same concept, it is said equivocally. In analogy, there is a common concept (*ratio communis*) without a common absolute nature, but the common concept must be grounded in reality. In fact, the analogical name first signifies an abstractly conceived relationship that is realized in an interrelational equivalence, which Bonaventure calls a *habitudo consimilis,* a term derived from Boethius's account of proportionality: A is like C *and has the same name* inasmuch as A is to B as C is to D. Analogy is a mean between univocity and equivocity because it has something in common with both: there is univocity to the extent that there is a single concept founded upon something real, but there is equivocity inasmuch as the concept does not represent a common absolute nature in reality. Analogical resemblance can exist between radically unlike things, even things that belong to no common genus and have no nature in common.

---

[136] *In I Sent.,* d. 7, a. un., q. 4 resp. (1:143b): "Notandum tamen, quod duplex est analogia: quaedam per reductionem ad unitatem naturae secundum prius et posterius; et haec potest esse comparando creaturam ad creaturam, et in hac signum [i.e., 'omne'] distribuit pro omnibus contentis, nisi sit distributio restricta ex additione, vel ex usu sive modo loquendi, sicit dicitur distributio accommoda, ut si dicatur: caelum tegit omnia. Alia est analogia per reductionem ad unitatem similitudinis proportionalis, non naturae; et quod sic analogatur non est inter alia, sed super alia. Unde distributio proprie pro illo non distribuit, nisi sit extensa. Unde Deus non est ens inter omnia, sed super omnia."

[137] *In I Sent.,* d. 1, dub. 5 resp. (n. 65 above).

Bonaventure's theory seems to have evolved from analysis of the kind of analogies presupposed by metaphors. One's ability to grasp that A is to B as C is to D presupposes one's cognizance, at a higher level of abstraction, of some common relationship. For example, to understand that a teacher is to his students as a pilot is to a ship, one must grasp some common relationship, namely, a certain "mode of governing,"[138] just as to understand that two is to four as four is to eight, one must grasp the notion of double. It is through abstraction and explication of this sort that one arrives, not always easily, at a statement of the *habitudo consimilis*. For example, by comparing ordinary fear with the virtue of fear, and the virtue of fear in this life with fear among the blessed, one arrives at the definition of fear as "recoil from something daunting or surpassing," a definition that detaches fear from the very different conditions in which it concretely exists and applies as well to fear of God *in patria* as to fear of evil *in via*.

Why does Bonaventure maintain that what is common in analogy is rather conceptual than real? Why not simply say that whereas in univocity there is a common absolute nature, in analogy there is a common relationship? Bonaventure concedes that when the analogates are of the same kind, one can count them as univocals. For example, when one calls both Peter and Paul "person," the usage is strictly analogical (since the name does not signify a common nature), but since Peter and Paul are of the same kind, one may count such naming as univocity. In this special case, the *habitudo* is not a real relation, but Bonaventure assumes that it corresponds to something real, and that that reality is the same in both cases. It is when the analogates are different in kind that the *ratio communis* does not represent the same relationship in reality. Examples of pairs of things that differ in kind in the sense intended here include God and creatures, *ad intra* and *ad extra* processions from God, and human beings in this life and in beatitude. Bonaventure would probably include substances and accidents in this list, but he has very little to say about the predicamental analogy of being.

Bonaventure suggests two reasons why analogies between things that are different in kind involve conceptual rather than real community. First, it may be necessary to consider the relationships in abstraction from what Bonaventure calls their special conditions, that is, apart from their ontological and

---

[138] Cf. *In I Sent.*, d. 25, a. 2, q. 1 resp. (n. 82 above); and *In II Sent.*, d. 16, a. 1, q. 1 resp. (2:394b): "quaedam vero [similitudo est] secundum proportionalitatem, sicut nauta et auriga conveniunt secundum comparationem ad illa quae regunt." See also *In I Sent.*, d. 3, pars 1, a. un., q. 2 ad 3 (1:72b): "non est commune per univocationem, tamen est commune per analogiam, quae dicit habitudinem duorum ad duo, ut in nauta et doctore." The comparison between *nauta* and *auriga* is a standard example of metaphor: cf. Boethius, *In Categorias Aristotelis* 1 (PL 64:165A).

other essential conditions *in situ.* Despite the radical ontological difference between the relationships *in situ,* the mind makes the same comparison in each case, so that the mental intention is the same. Such is the case when one uses the same name for something created and for God. Because God is simple, infinite, and eternal, any divine attribute must be utterly different from any created one with the same name or *ratio.*

In such cases, analogy in Bonaventure is similar to *convenientia effectuum* in William of Auxerre, although according to Bonaventure, the extremes of the analogically comparable relationships may be intrinsic to their respective subjects (as when, following Augustine, one compares the *ad intra* relations of the Godhead to those within the human mind). It is because what are compared are construed as relations, and not because they are extraneous or *ad extra,* that they can be considered in abstraction from their ontological conditions. Relations are intrinsically ambiguous in scholastic thought, for one may either consider them as accidents inhering in something, or focus instead on their mode of existing toward something (*ad aliquid*). By doing the latter, one performs a special kind of abstraction whereby one considers something apart from it mode of being.

The second reason is that when the analogates are radically different in kind, they are named "according to prior and posterior." Although the resemblance is real, and although the *ratio communis* captures it, there is no univocally common relationship in reality. The analogical name is imposed "first" to signify a certain relationship, considered abstractly and formally, but the concept of the relationship befits one of the analogates exactly and the other by a kind of *translatio.* When an analogy is between God and a creature, therefore, the name will befit the creature first as regards one's understanding of the *ratio communis* (since one forms the concept by considering created things), although it will befit God first as regards the signified reality (perhaps because the divine relation is the exemplar of the created one).

It is this last feature of Bonaventure's theory—naming according to prior and posterior—that was relatively novel in relation to Parisian theology. But it is a problematic addition. If interrelational equivalence is unlimited in scope, it is not clear why the name or concept should necessarily apply primarily to one of the analogates and secondarily to the other. Why should it not fit both equally? In fact, one may regard analogy according to prior and posterior and interrelational analogy as two independent ways of accounting for the divine names. The two ideas had independent histories. While it is not difficult to see that one might combine them, it is difficult to see how they constitute a single theory of analogy, or that one completes the other.

Bonaventure suggests two reasons for supposing that the *ratio communis* in analogy befits the analogates according to prior and posterior. One pertains to dependence or presupposition. For example, the individuality of Peter's whiteness depends on and presupposes Peter's own individuality. The second is a function of radical difference, especially that between God and created things. These comparable relationships cannot be the *same,* even though they are alike, for nothing created is really the same, at any level of analysis, as anything divine. Here the arithmetical paradigm of analogy breaks down: it is not true that the relationship between A and B is *identical* with that between C and D, although it is true that A is to B as C is to D.

Comparison according to prior and posterior seems to obviate such problems. But one might argue that the extension of the basic theory also subverts it, inasmuch as the point of the relational-concept theory is that in any analogy (proportionality), there is sameness and community no matter how greatly the compared natures differ. It is both significant and puzzling that Bonaventure recognizes the existence of one-to-one rather than interrelational analogies in his theory of resemblance but not in his theory of the analogy of names. The role of the *ratio communis* in Bonaventure's theory is crucial. In a simple, one-to-one analogy (such as the transcendental and predicamental analogies that Thomas Aquinas usually envisages), the notion of the secondary analogate includes the primary analogate by referring to it, but there is no common concept of both analogates. Bonaventure seems to assume that every analogical name signifies a common concept, and it is hard to see how there can be a common concept (*ratio communis*) without an equivalence of relationships (*habitudo consimilis*). Certainly the two ideas are inextricably linked in his mind.

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF BONAVENTURE'S THEORY

Although the idea of ambiguity *secundum prius et posterius* was a novelty during the second quarter of the thirteenth century, Bonaventure's notion of analogy was dependent on older traditions in scholastic theology. These included discussions of metaphor and *translatio,* of connotation, of modes of univocy, of the logic of the Trinity, and of the peculiar semantics of names implying incommunicability (such as "person" and "individual"). In particular, his theory of analogy evolved from the idea that what distinguish divine attributes with different names (such as justice and mercy), and what unite created and uncreated attributes with the same name, are their respective relationships with external effects.

Such theories pre-dated the importing of ambiguity *secundum prius et posterius* (later called "analogy") from Muslim philosophy. Bonaventure's understanding of analogy seems relatively unfamiliar today partly because it is so traditional. He rarely mentions those features of analogy that have figured most prominently in modern medievalist scholarship, such as the predicamental analogy of being and the standard examples of analogy borrowed from Aristotle on πρὸς ἕν equivocation (e.g., *sanum*). He is more influenced by theological traditions than by philosophical innovations. His interest in philosophical questions that have no immediate relevance to theology is minimal. These traits set his treatment of analogy apart from those of some of his contemporaries, but because of them, Bonaventure reminds us of the kind of thinking that prepared the ground for analogy and conditioned how the schoolmen first construed it.

The role of the *ratio communis* in Bonaventure's theory is interesting because the notion was to be the subject of much debate from the late thirteenth century. Then scholars attributed the doctrine of an analogical *ratio communis* of being to Avicenna,[139] who had said that being "is an intention in which [beings] agree according to prior and posterior."[140] While some argued that the *ratio communis* was a confused notion of being, Scotus argued that as a precondition for coherent thought, there must be a definite univocal *concept* of being, albeit one that did not represent a common *reality*.[141] To posit a clear and distinct *ratio communis* where there was no common reality was to imply a separation between concept and reality that was foreign to Aristotle, and it might seem that Scotus was contradicting a consensus that had obtained hitherto.[142] But in fact one can trace the idea of an analogical *ratio communis* back to the early treatments of analogy (or ambiguity) by Bonaventure and

---

[139] See *Incertorum auctorum Quaestiones super Sophisticos elenchos,* q. 823, ed. Sten Ebbesen, Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi 7 (Copenhagen, 1977), 316. On the debates regarding a *ratio communis* of being, see Ashworth, "Analogy and Equivocation in Thirteenth-Century Logic," 113 and 120–21, and "Analogical Concepts: The Fourteenth-Century Background to Cajetan," esp. 402 ff.; Stephen F. Brown, "Avicenna and the Unity of the Concept of Being: The Interpretations of Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus, Gerard of Bologna and Peter Aureoli," *Franciscan Studies* 25 (1965): 117–50; and Steven P. Marrone, "The Notion of Univocity in Duns Scotus's Early Works," *Franciscan Studies* 43 (1983): 347–95.

[140] Avicenna Latinus, *Liber de philosophia prima* 1.5, ed. S. Van Riet (Louvain and Leiden, 1977), 40.46–48: "Dicemus igitur nunc quod quamvis ens, sicut scisti, non sit genus nec praedicatum aequaliter de his quae sub eo sunt, tamen est intentio in qua [entia] conveniunt secundum prius et posterius."

[141] Although Scotus argues (at least in mid-career) that being is univocal, he concedes that God and creatures have nothing real in common: see Efrem Bettoni, *Duns Scotus: The Basic Principles of his Philosophy* (Washington, D.C., 1961), 33–39, esp. 37–39.

[142] See Marrone, "Notion of Univocity," 347–50.

Alexander of Hales, and thence to theologians writing prior to the introduction of analogy, such as William of Auxerre.

In Bonaventure, the idea of the *ratio communis* is linked to that of interrelational equivalence (*habitudo consimilis*). His theory of analogical names is based on analogy in the Greek sense. He presupposes an established theory about such comparisons and how to make them, a development that has received little attention in modern scholarship. Scholars today usually assume that before Cajetan, analogy as *ad unum* or *secundum prius et posterius* ambiguity had little to with proportionality. But it is likely that the basic elements of Bonaventure's theory were circulating in the schools, and that he was not being idiosyncratic. Some passages in Thomas Aquinas corroborate this supposition.

First, where Aristotle says that things may be the same numerically, specifically, generically, or only analogically, Thomas comments that in referring to sameness of analogy, Aristotle may mean either "diverse relationships to one thing," as in the example of healthy urine and healthy medicine, or the same proportion of two things to two other things (i.e., interrelational analogy). For example, Thomas explains, as calmness (*tranquillitas*) is to the sea, so stillness (*serenitas*) is to the air, for each is the condition of rest (*quies*) in its setting.[143] Rest is precisely a *habitudo consimilis* discovered in two equivalent relationships and considered in abstraction from their special conditions.

Second, for a short period during 1256, when both Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas were regent masters in Paris, when Bonaventure was completing his commentary on the *Sentences,* and when Thomas was disputing the questions on truth, Thomas maintained that the transcendental analogy underlying the divine names must be one of proportionality, reasoning that there could be no determinate relationship (*aptitudo determinata*), and therefore no one-to-one analogy, between creatures and God. Thomas points out that proportionality is limitless: the ratios 2:1 and 6:3 are not more alike than are 2:1 and 100:50.[144]

Thomas's temporary emphasis on analogy of proportionality in his treatment of the divine names influenced Cardinal Cajetan and the Thomistic school that followed Cajetan.[145] Cajetan's theory of analogy is best considered in its own right, but Bonaventure's example suggests that the historical exponent should construe Cajetan's position rather as one of several traditional

---

[143] Thomas Aquinas, *In Metaph.* 5.8, nn.876–79.

[144] See Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* 2.11 resp. & ad 4. See also ibid., 23.7 ad 9.

[145] See John F. Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 550–54.

options than as a misreading of Thomas. Further study of interrelational analogy in theology during the first half of the thirteenth century may explain why the schoolmen extended the term *analogia* from proportionality to what Aristotle would have construed as πρὸς ἕν equivocation, a case of transference whose significance has gone largely unnoticed.

Emory University.

THE PRINCESSES OF CHERNIGOV (1054–1246)*

Martin Dimnik

T HE roles of princesses in the dynastic and inter-dynastic relations of Rus'
have not been studied. One important reason for this seeming lack of in-
terest is the paucity of information regarding these women. Even for the ones
who are mentioned by the sources, we usually obtain only snippets of news
concerning one or two episodes from their lives. The most frequently reported
event is a girl's marriage. In some cases her name is given, but in many it is
not, and rarely is she referred to again after her wedding. The occasions on
which she may be alluded to are the birth of one of her children or her death.
If she is identified by name it is by way of exception. Such a report usually
signifies that her association with an event was noteworthy for its solemnity,
for its religious significance, for the history of her dynasty, or for political
reasons.

   The purpose of our investigation is to examine the princesses from the dy-
nasty of Chernigov for whom we have information. These number around
fifty from seven generations. The list includes the daughters born to princes of
the dynasty and the princes' wives from other dynasties or foreign ruling
families. We shall try to determine their privileges, their obligations, their re-
lationships with parents, husbands, and children, their personal achievements,
and their political roles. Concerning the latter, we must keep in mind that the
princes of Rus' followed a system of lateral succession. Accordingly, political
power passed from an elder brother to his younger brothers in turn according
to genealogical seniority, and from the youngest brother to the eldest eligible
nephew. The latter was succeeded by his brothers according to seniority and
then by the most senior family of eligible cousins and so on. The system did
not allow for the line of succession to pass through a princess.

   Our examination covers the period from the eleventh century to the middle
of the thirteenth century. That is, it begins with Svyatoslav Yaroslavich
(† 1076), and ends with the family of Mikhail Vsevolodovich († 1246), the last

autonomous senior prince of the dynasty at the time of the Tatar conquest. It
should be noted that after Svyatoslav's death, the dynasty divided into the
families of his sons Oleg (the Ol'govichi) and David (the Davidovichi). After
the Davidovichi died out in the middle of the twelfth century, the Ol'govichi
bifurcated into the senior branch, descended from Vsevolod Ol'govich, and
the junior or cadet branch, descended from Svyatoslav Ol'govich.[1]

THE FIRST GENERATION

Svyatoslav Yaroslavich.

Svyatoslav, the second eldest son of Yaroslav the Wise at the time of the
latter's death in 1054, was the progenitor of the princes of Chernigov, Murom,
and Ryazan'.[2] Svyatoslav, however, could not marry within the dynasty of
Rus' because the only marriageable women of princely stock during the first
half of the eleventh century were descended from his uncles, Yaroslav's
brothers, and therefore unsuitable owing to consanguinity.[3] Consequently,
Yaroslav arranged for Svyatoslav to marry a certain Killikiya, who may have
been a Greek.[4] Their four sons were Gleb, Oleg, David, and Roman, and, as
we shall see, they may have had two daughters, one named Vysheslava and
the other Predslavna.[5]

Circumstantial evidence suggests that a prince, especially if still young,
normally remarried after his first wife died. His office evidently required him
to obtain a second spouse in order to sire more offspring and to obtain a con-
sort who would bring him additional political allies. Svyatoslav was a case in
point. After Killikiya died on an undisclosed date, and evidently after the
death of his father Yaroslav the Wise, he remarried. His elder brother Izyaslav
of Kiev or Svyatoslav himself arranged his match with the German countess

---

[1] See the genealogical tables, pp. 210–12 below.

[2] For the history of the dynasty of Chernigov, see M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov,*
1054–1146 [hereafter *Dynasty*], Studies and Texts 116 (Toronto, 1994), and *The Dynasty of*
Chernigov 1146–1246 [hereafter *Dynasty II*] (Cambridge, 2003).

[3] M. Hellmann, "Die Heiratspolitik Jaroslavs des Weisen," *Forschungen zur Osteuro-*
päischen Geschichte 8 (1962): 7–25; N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux*
des Rurikides russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle [hereafter Baumgarten], Orientalia Christiana 9-1, no.
35 (Rome, 1927), Table I.

[4] *Dynasty*, 36. Yaroslav arranged for his other children to marry spouses from the Ger-
mans, the Poles, the Greeks, the Norwegians, and the French (Baumgarten, Table I, 22–28; S.
Franklin and J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200* [London and New York, 1996],
215).

[5] *Dynasty*, 38–39.

Oda, the daughter of Ida von Elstorpe and a certain Count Lippold. She bore Svyatoslav the son Yaroslav.[6]

The data for the role of princesses as formal consorts is sparse. The only pictorial evidence we have is that of Svyatoslav's family. Oda is portrayed with Svyatoslav and his five sons in the miscellany known as the *Izbornik* of 1073. The family "portrait" has Oda standing next to her husband with her right hand resting on the shoulder of her little son,[7] but it does not depict any daughters that Svyatoslav may have had, probably because they were insignificant for dynastic succession. Consequently, the fact that Oda is pictured suggests that as the consort of the senior prince she enjoyed a special political and dynastic status. Her importance would have been enhanced in 1073, after Svyatoslav usurped Kiev, the capital of Rus' and became the most powerful in the land. In addition to ruling Kiev, he retained control of Chernigov, Murom, Ryazan', and Tmutarakan' on the Black Sea coast. Even so, the artist fails to give her full recognition. Whereas Svyatoslav and his sons are identified by name, Oda is referred to merely as "princess."

Bringing brides from abroad had certain disadvantages. A foreign spouse faced the problem of communication. Moreover, women like Oda belonged to the Latin rite and, as we shall see, the Orthodox hierarchy forbade princes to arrange marriages with the Latins. Nevertheless, there were also advantages to bringing a wife from another land. Such matches injected new princely blood into the husband's dynasty and raised the prestige of his family in the eyes of foreign rulers. Moreover, the wife would introduce her culture to her husband's court.[8] Thus, Killikiya probably fostered cultural and commercial exchanges with her homeland but, to judge from the sources, she brought no political advantages to Svyatoslav. We have no record that her family sent him military assistance or asserted political pressure on his enemies.

Oda's case was different. In 1075 Emperor Henry IV sent Oda's brother Burchard, the Provost of Trier, on a mission to Svyatoslav. As the latter's brother-in-law, Burchard would have been favourably disposed to him. The Provost undoubtedly took advantage of the occasion to visit his sister and see

---

[6] Concerning Oda's identity, see R. Bloch, "Verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen des sächsischen Adels zum russischen Fürstenhause im XI. Jahrhundert," in *Festschrift Albert Brackmann,* ed. L. Santifaller (Wiemar, 1931), 188–91; Hellmann, "Die Heiratspolitik Jaroslavs des Weisen," 21; and *Dynasty,* 36–37.

[7] See *Dynasty,* frontispiece; and *Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073 goda: Faksimil'noe izdanie* (Moscow, 1983).

[8] See, for example, the case of the Polish wife who brought a Latin bishop and her entourage to the court of Svyatopolk Vladimirovich († 1019); for Svyatopolk, see Baumgarten, Table I, 4; see also M. Dimnik, "Succession and Inheritance in Rus' before 1054," *Mediaeval Studies* 58 (1996): 108.

his nephew Yaroslav, probably for the first time. His personal association with Svyatoslav's family must also have influenced his official conduct. He had come to intercede on behalf of Izyaslav who was a fugitive in Germany. Svyatoslav had evicted him from Kiev, and Izyaslav had asked the emperor to help him regain the throne. It would be reasonable to assume that Burchard did not exert undue pressure on his brother-in-law to abdicate. This is supported by the news that Svyatoslav evidently had little difficulty in buying off the German delegation with precious gifts.[9] After Svyatoslav's death, Oda returned to her homeland where she remarried and estranged herself from Svyatoslav's family.[10]

Although Svyatoslav, like every prince of Kiev, was formally installed in the Cathedral of St. Sofia, the chronicles never report such a ceremony for a princess. This suggests that there was none. Her wedding probably served as her official installation, so to speak, in that from then on she would serve as her husband's consort through his political career. In that capacity, her role would have been, in the main, ceremonial. As we shall see, her formal duties included being at her husband's side at funerals, at weddings, at receptions of other princes, at the consecration of churches, and at the installation of bishops.

Even though chroniclers never comment on the importance of a princess having offspring, they regularly report her children's births, especially those of her sons. This suggests that producing heirs was one of the wife's main duties. Indirect evidence supports this observation, since we learn that on occasion a prince repudiated his wife if she failed to provide him with a son. The outstanding example is a prince from the House of Vladimir Monomakh. We are told that Roman Mstislavich († 1205) from Vladimir in Volyn' rejected his wife Predslava because, it appears, she had given him only daughters. He therefore married the Greek princess Anna who gave him two sons.[11] We may assume that his attitude towards raising heirs reflected those of his princely contemporaries in the dynasty of Chernigov.

---

[9] D. Oljančyn, "Zur Regierung des Grossfürsten Izjaslav-Demeter von Kiev (1054–1078)," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F. 8 (1960): 401–2; *Dynasty*, 97.

[10] *Dynasty*, 129.

[11] Roman Mstislavich first married a daughter of Ryurik Rostislavich (Baumgarten, Table IX, 6) but renounced her after she bore him three daughters and no sons ("Lavrent'evskaya letopis'" [Lav.], in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey* [PSRL], vol. 1, 2d ed. [Leningrad, 1926], cols. 412–13; concerning the three daughters, see Baumgarten, Table XI, 1–3). He then married a Greek princess named Anna who begot him two sons, Daniil and Vasil'ko (Baumgarten, Table XI, 4–5; J. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200–1304* [London and New York, 1983], 24). If his reason for repudiating his wife was her failure to produce a male heir, as is likely the case, his action testifies to the importance that princes, or at least powerful ones, attached to siring sons who would carry on the line and retain control of their patrimony.

Ideally, a princess would give birth to more than one son. This was desirable because on occasion the eldest son did not ascend to the office of senior prince. In the system of lateral succession he might predecease a prince of the more senior generation who had prior claim to that office.[12] Nevertheless, having many sons also had a drawback. It meant that the father weakened the patrimonial domain by carving it up among several heirs. Since daughters were ineligible to inherit patrimonies, they played no part in the partitioning process of the dynasty's land base.

THE SECOND GENERATION

The Svyatoslavichi.

Indirect evidence suggests that Svyatoslav, like his father, had to arrange matches for his children (the Svyatoslavichi) with foreign rulers. We know that Oda's son Yaroslav married because he was the father of the dynasty of Murom and Ryazan', but the sources do not tell us the identity of his wife.[13] Since his dynasty became debarred from ruling Chernigov, however, it is not necessary for us to examine his offspring.

We know more about Killikiya's five or six children. Her daughter Vysheslava married Boleslav II "the Bold" (*Smialy*) of the Poles. Svyatoslav arranged the match around 1067, some thirteen years after the death of his father Yaroslav the Wise.[14] He therewith initiated family relations with the Poles that would prove to be most valuable for his descendants. In the future, the princes of Chernigov would turn to their Polish relatives to establish political, commercial, and cultural relations. They would also form new marriage alliances. The chroniclers suggest that Svyatoslav and Killikiya may have had a second daughter. We are told that in 1116 "the nun Predslavna, Svyatoslav's daughter (*Svyatoslavna*)" died.[15] If Predslavna was their second daughter, and given that this is the only chronicle reference to her, the news that she died in a monastery suggests that she never married and was thus the first princess of the dynasty to chose the life of a nun as a vocation. Nevertheless, some have suggested that Predslavna was the name Vysheslava

---

[12] For an example of such an instance, see n. 131 below. Concerning the system of lateral succession, see M. Dimnik, "The 'Testament' of Iaroslav 'The Wise': A Re-examination," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 29 (1987): 369–86.

[13] N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies des branches régnantes des Rurikides du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* [hereafter Baumgarten 2] Orientalia Christiana 35, no. 94 (Rome, 1934), Table XIV.

[14] *Dynasty*, 39, 41.

[15] "Ipat'evskaya letopis' " [Ipat.], in PSRL 2, 2d ed. (St. Petersburg, 1908), col. 284; "Gustinskaya letopis' " [Gust.], in PSRL 2 (St. Petersburg, 1843), 291.

adopted on becoming a nun.[16] If this was so, Vysheslava probably entered a monastery—as other princesses of Chernigov would do after her—on her deathbed.[17]

Killikiya gave birth to four sons. There is no record that Gleb and Roman married. Oleg and David, however, fathered the two dynasties of Chernigov. If their mother was a Greek, that blood tie may have influenced their choice of spouses. The wife of David (†1123) was a certain Feodosia.[18] The sources do not report her ethnic origin, but there is indirect evidence to suggest that she may have been a Greek. In the second half of the eleventh century, after the so-called schism of 1054, the patriarch of Constantinople and the pope in Rome engaged in a sharp debate which touched upon marriages between Orthodox and Latin Christians. The Orthodox Church prohibited its faithful from marrying pagans, people of different creeds (e.g. Latins), and heretics. Decrees prohibiting the princes from arranging matches with the Latins are found in sources written in Rus' by the Greek Metropolitan Ioann (†1089) of the Caves Monastery, and in a letter penned by a certain Feodosy. Some claim that he was Abbot Feodosy (†1074) of the Caves Monastery, while others believe he was the Greek Feodosy who served as abbot (*igumen*) of that institution from 1142 to 1156.[19] Thus it is possible that the person who arranged David's marriage—his father Svyatoslav or his elder brother Oleg—may have been influenced in his selection of the bride by the anti-Latin directives. This, however, cannot be confirmed because, as we have seen, Svyatoslav ignored that injunction in arranging the marriage of David's sister Vysheslava to Boleslav II of the Poles.

Feodosia had the great distinction of being the wife and mother of two saints. Her husband David and her son Svyatoslav (Svyatosha) were canonized by the Orthodox Church.[20] Their sanctity may well have reflected Feodosia's own piety. Aside from that, we know nothing about her life except that she bore David five sons: Svyatoslav, Rostislav, Vsevolod, Vladimir, and Izyaslav.

Killikiya's son Oleg (†1115) was the progenitor of the Ol'govichi, the dynasty which would rule Chernigov up to the time of the Tatar invasion. In

---

[16] R. V. Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh po Lyubetskomu sinodiku i o Chernigovskom knyazhestve v Tatarskoe vremya* (St. Petersburg, 1892), 260.

[17] See, for example, Maria, who adopted the schema (p. 172 below), and Vseslava's mother Maria, who entered a monastery before she died (p. 192 below).

[18] Baumgarten, Table IV, 3; *Dynasty,* 178.

[19] Viktor Aleksandrov, *"To zhe i s latiny:* Zapret brakov s katolikami u pravoslavnykh slavyan v srednie veka," *Studia Slavica Hungarica* 47 (2002): 101–4.

[20] *Dynasty,* 301–2, 398; M. Dimnik, "Svyatosha—the 'First' Prince-Monk of Kievan Rus'," *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hilandar Conference* (Raška, forthcoming).

1079 he was evicted from Tmutarakan', on the northern shore of the Black Sea, and exiled to Byzantium.[21] It is generally believed that, while there, he married the Greek aristocratic woman Feofania (Theophania) Muzalon. If Oleg's mother had been a Greek, he may have asked her family to help him find a bride. He would also have turned to her family and to his new in-laws for military assistance. Later evidence suggests that Feofania came from a powerful Byzantine family, which, in the thirteenth century, was associated with the town of Adramyttium (modern Edremit) on the west coast of Asia Minor.[22] In the twelfth century one of its members became Patriarch Nicolas IV from 1147 to 1151,[23] and in the thirteenth century George Muzalon evidently became the regent for the Empire of Nicaea.[24] Moreover, it may well be that Oleg's marriage to a Greek was part of his pact with the imperial court at Constantinople. In 1083 its support enabled him to repossess Tmutarakan'.[25] Although circumstantial evidence suggests that this was the first occasion on which a Svyatoslavich used his marital tie with a foreign power to his military advantage, the sources do not state so outright.

As the wife of the senior prince of Chernigov, Feofania enjoyed considerable prestige. This is confirmed by sphragistic evidence. Two lead seals with the Greek inscription "O Lord, help your servant Feofania, the *archontissa* of Rossiya, Mouzalona," have been attributed to her. She evidently issued them after 1094 either from Chernigov, the place to which Oleg moved his family from Tmutarakan', or from Novgorod Severskiy, which became his patrimony after the Congress at Lyubech in 1097.[26] As we shall see, there is only one other recorded instance of a princess of Chernigov issuing seals.[27] Significantly, both women were the spouses of senior princes of the dynasty. We know nothing more about Feofania's life except that she bore Oleg four sons: Vsevolod, Igor', Gleb, and Svyatoslav.

---

[21] *Dynasty,* 156.

[22] A. P. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy sostav gospodsvuyushchego klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974), 150–51, 203.

[23] V. Grumel, *Les régestes de 1043 à 1206,* Le patriarcat byzantin, 1st ser., 1.3 (Paris, 1947), 98–103.

[24] A. V. Soloviev, "Domination Byzantine ou Russe au Nord de la Mer Noire à l'Époque des Comnenes?" in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses Munchen 1958,* ed. F. Dolger and H.-G . Beck (Munich, 1960), 580.

[25] *Dynasty,* 160–61.

[26] V. L. Yanin, *Aktovye pechati Drevney Rusi X–XV vv.,* vol. 1, Pechati X–nachala XIII v. (Moscow, 1970), 171–72, and his "Pechati Feofano Muzalon," *Numizmatika i sfragistika* 2 (1965): 76–79, 89; see also M. Dimnik, "Oleg's Status as Ruler of Tmutarakan': The Sphragistic Evidence," *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993): 142–43.

[27] Concerning the seals attributed to Maria, the wife of Vsevolod Ol'govich, see pp. 170–71 below.

THE THIRD GENERATION

The Ol'govichi.

The Ol'govichi would become the most important dynasty of Chernigov and a number of their princesses would become notable personages. We know little about the wives of Oleg's sons Igor' and Gleb. Indeed, there is no evidence that the latter married. Igor' had a wife but her identity is unknown; they probably had no children.[28] We have more information for the spouses of Vsevolod and Svyatoslav. The two couples became the progenitors of the senior branch and the cadet or junior branch of the Ol'govichi.

Oleg's eldest son Vsevolod (†1146) married Maria, the daughter of Mstislav and the granddaughter of Vladimir Monomakh.[29] From their union we learn that the princesses and princes of the third generation were finally intermarrying between dynasties because their blood lines were now sufficiently separated. Significantly, the inter-dynastic match made it more feasible for the families of the couple, because both were from Rus', to collaborate in their political policies. Thus, Maria's powerful family was able to provide her husband with valuable military assistance. In 1127, when Vsevolod seized the dynastic capital of Chernigov from his uncle Yaroslav, Maria's father Mstislav was prince of Kiev. He backed his son-in-law's usurpation.[30] Later, in 1139, after Vsevolod captured Kiev, his personal bond with Maria prompted him to form political pacts with her brothers, the Mstislavichi. He supported their bid for control of Novgorod and their claims for succession to their dynastic capital of Pereyaslavl' against those of their uncles, Monomakh's youngest sons.[31]

Moreover, with regard to dynastic considerations, Maria, as we shall see, proved to be a successful mother by bearing four offspring. Her close ties with her children, at least with her eldest son Svyatoslav, and her collaboration with her husband in building projects suggest that theirs was a stable family relationship. Nevertheless, V. N. Tatishchev—and he alone—claims that Vsevolod loved many concubines and devoted more time to merry making than to his administrative duties.[32]

As the matriarch of the dynasty she issued documents; at least, we may assume this was the case if the lead seals with the name Maria on them that

---

[28] Concerning the existence of Igor's wife, see Ipat., cols. 334–35.

[29] Baumgarten, Table V, 22.

[30] *Dynasty,* 314–17.

[31] See, for example, ibid., 364–68.

[32] V. N. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiyskaya* [Tat.], 7 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962–68), 2:162 and 4:201. Vol. 4 has an earlier redaction than vol. 3.

have been attributed to her were truly hers.[33] As the wife of the senior prince of the Ol'govichi and the prince of Kiev she also had personal wealth. This is attested to by a graffito in St. Sofia Cathedral in Kiev, which states that she bought land from a certain Boyan.[34] She may well have purchased it for building St. Cyril's Monastery, which her husband founded in the Kievan suburb of Dorogozhichi.[35] It is possible that Maria—who belonged to the House of Monomakh, which was favoured by the Kievans—bought the property on Vsevolod's behalf because his dynasty, the Ol'govichi, was despised by the townspeople. Maria also owned a town. This is testified to by the news that after her husband died in 1146 she was living in Glukhov in the Posem'e region of the Chernigov lands. As was evidently the practice, she had probably received the town as a wedding gift.[36]

Although there is evidence that Maria assisted Vsevolod in ecclesiastical building projects, we have no information to suggest that she influenced his political policies. Nevertheless, she may have collaborated with him to a limited degree to judge from later data which reveals that she did not shy away from involvement in political controversies. In 1167, while she was living at Glukhov, she gave sanctuary to the family of one of her relatives from the House of Monomakh, namely, Vladimir Mstislavich of Dorogobuzh, who had failed in his bid for Kiev.[37] Her action must have antagonized the victorious prince of Kiev and embarrassed her son Svyatoslav of Chernigov who was allied to the successful claimant. Thus, even though she may not have become actively involved in succession disputes, she was not an impartial bystander. What is more, at a later date her genealogical ties proved to be of political benefit to Svyatoslav. The Kievans welcomed him as their prince, in part no doubt because he was Maria's son and thus descended from their favourite dynasty, the Monomashichi.[38]

A widowed princess in Rus' never attempted to seize power in her own name. Although Maria had great moral stature among the Kievans, the Ol'govichi, and the House of Monomakh, she would never have contemplated usurping supreme authority. The most opportune occasion would have been in 1146 during the power struggle that followed her husband's death. Vsevolod

[33] *Dynasty*, 313, 399; Yanin, *Aktovye pechati*, 189.

[34] Concerning Maria's purchase of land, see S. A. Vysotsky, "Nadpis' o Boyanovoy zemle v Sofii Kievskoy," *Istoriya SSSR* (1964/3): 112–17.

[35] *Dynasty*, 397–98.

[36] Concerning her residence in Glukhov, see Ipat., col. 537. Concerning fathers-in-law giving towns to brides, see n. 50 below.

[37] Concerning the flight of Vladimir Mstislavich (Baumgarten, Table V, 30), see Ipat., cols. 536–37; and *Dynasty II*, 113. See also pp. 183–84 below.

[38] Concerning Svyatoslav's occupation of Kiev in 1176, see Ipat., cols. 604–5.

had designated his brother Igor' to succeed him, but Maria's brother Izyaslav
Mstislavich of Pereyaslavl' challenged Igor'. It probably occurred to no one
that Maria, who was related to both, might be a compromise candidate. As an
aside it may also be useful to observe that, although in Constantinople an em-
press might act as the regent for a minor,[39] the system of lateral succession in
Rus' did not allow for such a possibility. There was always a successor avail-
able after the death of the senior prince of the dynasty or the prince of Kiev.
The only female regent of Rus' had been Olga in the tenth century. She ruled
in the name of her son Svyatoslav while he was a minor because her husband
Igor' evidently had no other blood relative eligible to succeed him.[40]

When Maria died in 1179 she was probably in her seventies. She was bur-
ied in the Church of St. Cyril, which she had built.[41] Before her death she was
professed into the schema, the strictest monastic observance in the Orthodox
Church.[42] In 1167, as we have seen, she had been living in Glukhov. It would
seem, therefore, that in 1176, after her son occupied Kiev, she joined him to
live in her former residence, where she had lived with her husband Vsevolod.
She probably commissioned the building of the church in her husband's mon-
astery during the last three years of her life.[43]

The Kievans' willingness to allow a princess of the detested Ol'govichi
family to be buried in Kiev was unprecedented. Until then they had granted
that privilege to no member of the Chernigov dynasty. But because she was a
Monomashich by birth, her family affiliation probably persuaded the towns-
people to allow Svyatoslav to bury her in her husband's monastery. Indeed, at
her death Maria was the senior member in the House of Monomakh. She was
the last of Mstislav Vladimirovich's children.[44] Accordingly, the Izyaslavichi
of Vladimir in Volyn', the Vladimirovichi of Dorogobuzh in Volyn', and the

---

[39] Examples of regents were Sophia (573–74), Martina (641), Irene (780–90, 792–97),
Theodora (842–56), Zoe Carbopsina (913–19), and others; see S. Runciman, *Byzantine Civili-
sation* (London, 1933; rpt. 1966), 301–3.

[40] See Dimnik, "Succession and Inheritance," 92–93.

[41] Concerning the confusion surrounding the identities of the two wives, namely, that of
Vsevolod Ol'govich, who died in 1179, and that of Vsevolod Svyatoslavich, who came from
the Poles in the same year, see M. Dimnik, *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of
Kiev, 1224–1246* [hereafter *Mikhail*], Studies and Texts 52 (Toronto, 1981), 9–10.

[42] See *sub anno* [hereafter, s.a.] 1178: Ipat., col. 612; a number of chronicles identify her as
Maria (Gust., 317; "Mazurinskiy letopisets," PSRL 31 [Moscow, 1968], 65). Tatishchev alone
claims that she adopted the schema on 6 August; see Tat. 4:294; and Tat. 3:121. Concerning the
pitfalls in using Tatishchev's work as a source, see *Mikhail*, xiii–xiv, and n. 50 below.

[43] As has been suggested elsewhere, Maria either completed building the Church of St.
Cyril which her husband had founded, or she built one of the adjoining chapels, where she was
later interred (*Dynasty*, 390).

[44] Concerning Maria, see p. 170 above.

Rostislavichi of Smolensk were her nephews. She was also the eldest first cousin of Vsevolod Yur'evich Bol'shoe Gnezdo of Suzdalia.[45] As for the dynasty of Chernigov, she was the matriarch of the senior branch. Moreover, she had been the consort of Vsevolod of Kiev and she was the mother of the incumbent prince of Kiev. Consequently, because of her blood relationships, her longevity, and her strong personality, she was the dowager princess of Rus'.

Vsevolod's youngest brother Svyatoslav (†1164) married twice. In 1108 he took as wife a Polovtsian princess, the daughter of Aepa, the son of Girgen.[46] That family tie allowed him to establish amicable relations with the hostile nomads. This is confirmed by the news that after the death of his brother Vsevolod in 1146, and even after his wife had passed away, he used his Polovtsian in-laws to help him fight the Davidovichi.[47] The Polovtsian woman gave birth to Oleg and to an unidentified daughter.[48] The chronicles never report childbirth as the cause of a mother's death. It would seem, however, that this was one reason why a number of princes remarried, especially those who remarried soon after their first marriage. Thus, we are told that in 1136 Svyatoslav took an aristocratic woman named Catherine as his second wife. She was the daughter of *Posadnik* Petrilo of Novgorod.[49] It is noteworthy that she also was not descended from the stock of Yaroslav the Wise. Svyatoslav's father and brother Vsevolod, who most likely arranged his two marriages, may have believed that, as the fourth brother in precedence, he was too low on the ladder of succession to merit being given a bride from a powerful dynasty in Rus'. Instead, they formed useful family alliances with the ever-menacing nomads and with the wealthy emporium in the north.

One of Svyatoslav's wives, probably Catherine, owned a town. We learn this when we are told that in 1159 Izyaslav Davidovich rejected the token of friendship proffered to him by the Ol'govichi. Instead, he antagonized Svyatoslav by razing Oblov, on the boundary between the Chernigov and Smolensk lands, which belonged to Svyatoslav's wife. She had probably received it as a wedding gift.[50] Thus we see that like her sister-in-law Maria,

---

[45] For Vsevolod, see Baumgarten, Table VI, 14.

[46] *Dynasty*, 241.

[47] *Dynasty II*, 29.

[48] Ibid., 27.

[49] *Dynasty*, 337–38.

[50] On a number of occasions, the chroniclers report how the bride's father-in-law gave her a town as a wedding gift. In 1188 Ryurik Rostislavich gave his new daughter-in-law Verkhuslava the town of Bryagin (Ipat., col. 658), and in 1211 Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo gave his new daughter-in-law Agafia, the town of Yur'ev (Tat. 4:340; Tat. 3:183); see also M. Dimnik, "A Bride's Journey from Kiev to Vladimir (1211): Pitfalls in Using V. N. Tatishchev as a Source," in *Roma, magistra mundi: Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L. E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75ᵉ anniversaire*, ed. J. Hamesse, 3 vols., Textes et études du

Catherine also owned a town which could support her after she became a widow.

On several occasions the chronicler alludes to the close bond that existed between Svyatoslav, Catherine, and their children. In 1147, we are told, the prince gathered his wife and family, along with his brother Igor's wife, and fled from Novgorod Severskiy northeast to Karachev. When his enemy pursued him, Svyatoslav debated whether he should flee and abandon Catherine and their children to the mercy of the attackers or whether he should stand his ground and fight, therewith endangering his own life. He chose to place the safety of his family ahead of his own life.[51] At a later date, when Izyaslav Davidovich attacked Chernigov, the chronicler found it noteworthy to report that Svyatoslav was caught unawares because he, his wife, and children were evidently on a family outing.[52] At a later date, the eldest son Oleg used Catherine's illness as the pretext for excusing himself from the company of Rostislav of Kiev.[53] His host found Oleg's anxiety for his stepmother to be a compelling reason for letting him return home. After Svyatoslav died in 1164, Catherine would have demonstrated her devotion to him by burying him with due ceremony.[54]

At that time she also became involved in a plot. The rightful successor to Svyatoslav was his nephew Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Novgorod Severskiy. Catherine, however, schemed with her husband's retinue to hand over Chernigov to her stepson Oleg, whom they summoned from Kursk without informing Svyatoslav.[55] This is the first recorded instance in the history of the dynasty when a princess became implicated in a succession rivalry. It suggests that she was a strong-willed consort who demonstrated leadership qualities during the volatile interim period when there was a transfer of power. The deceased prince's retainers rallied round her in an effort to secure as many of

moyen âge 10 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998), 1:150. Since Svyatoslav Ol'govich's father was dead in 1136 when he married the Novgorodian bride (*Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov* [NPL], ed. A. N. Nasonov [Moscow and Leningrad, 1950], 24, 209), Vsevolod Ol'govich, as senior prince of the Ol'govichi, probably gave a town to his new sister-in-law.

   [51] Ipat., col. 335.

   [52] *Dynasty II*, 93.

   [53] Ipat., cols. 512–13.

   [54] It was evidently the wife's duty to arrange her husband's burial; concerning the Polotsk widow of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich, see p. 178 below, and concerning *Volodimiryaya*, see pp. 182–84 below. We also learn that in 1145, six years after the death of her husband Yaropolk, a son of Vladimir Monomakh (Baumgarten, Table V, 10), his widow transferred his body from its original burial place to the prestigious Church of St. Andrew in Kiev (Ipat., col. 319; Lav., col. 312).

   [55] Ipat., col. 522.

their privileges as possible from the new prince of Chernigov, Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich. Significantly, Catherine was not seeking to usurp control of the capital for her son. Rather, she probably sought to save her family's wealth from Svyatoslav's clutches. Moreover, by handing over Chernigov to Oleg, she hoped to provide him with an advantage for negotiating larger territorial grants for himself and his half-brothers from Svyatoslav before the latter occupied Chernigov. As it turned out, she failed.[56]

Catherine's conspiracy on Oleg's behalf, however, also suggests that she had a close personal friendship with him.[57] Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that after he relinquished his control of Chernigov, she accompanied him to Novgorod Severskiy where she had given birth to her sons, Igor' and Vsevolod, and to her three daughters. She died in the following year.[58]

The Davidovichi.

The Davidovichi princesses receive little coverage in the chronicles. We know almost nothing about David's son Rostislav except that he died in 1120.[59] If he had a wife, we are not told. His brother Vsevolod († 1124) married a Polish woman, the daughter of Boleslav III "the Wrymouthed" (*Krzywousty*).[60] In negotiating the match, David followed up on the contacts that his father Svyatoslav had established with the Poles when he had David's sister Vysheslava marry Boleslav II.[61] David formed a very promising match for his eldest son Svyatoslav (Svyatosha) by having him marry Anna the daughter of Svyatopolk Izyaslavich († 1113), the prince of Kiev.[62] Svyatoslav, however, proved to be a political disappointment. He abandoned his wife to become a monk in the Caves Monastery of Kiev. When their only child, a girl, married the prince of Novgorod, Anna followed her to the northern town. She evidently remained at her daughter's court until she died.[63]

The most important Davidovichi were Vladimir and Izyaslav, to whom Vsevolod Ol'govich gave Chernigov in 1139 after he usurped Kiev. Five years later Vladimir († 1151) married an unidentified princess of Gorodno in Volyn', a town near the Lithuanian border.[64] The match is noteworthy because by that year Vladimir was a mature man and it would appear that this

[56] *Dynasty II*, 105–6.
[57] Oleg was evidently the son of Svyatoslav's Polovtsian wife (*Dynasty II*, 27).
[58] Catherine died in 1165 (see s.a. 1166: Ipat., col. 525; Gust., 308).
[59] Baumgarten, Table IV, 11.
[60] *Dynasty*, 304; W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia: Tablice* (Warsaw, 1959), Table 29.
[61] See p. 167 above.
[62] *Dynasty*, 253–54. For Svyatopolk, see Baumgarten, Table II, 3.
[63] *Dynasty*, 337; Dimnik, "Svyatosha," (forthcoming).
[64] Baumgarten, Table IV, 9; *Dynasty*, 387–88.

was probably his second marriage. More importantly, he was the senior prince of the Davidovichi.

When a father arranged a match for his son, the bride was not chosen for her beauty, personality, or talents. The father's main consideration was to form a personal alliance with a powerful family. Since Vsevolod Ol'govich was prince of Kiev, he undoubtedly had a hand in selecting the wife for his underling Vladimir. In keeping with his autocratic practices, he made his cousin marry a woman from a backwater dynasty to prevent the Davidovichi from increasing their power. The political insignificance of her family is also implied by the chronicler's failure to record the event. Nevertheless, despite the princes' preoccupations with the dynastic affiliations of brides, we have seen that princesses like Maria and Catherine, and others whom we shall meet, were prominent personages. Vladimir's widow also seems to have had a mind of her own. After his death, she married the Polovtsian khan Bashkord and went to live with him in the steppe.[65] In doing so she deserted her son Svyatoslav, whom Vladimir had fathered.[66]

Vladimir's younger brother Izyaslav (†1161) evidently married a Polovtsian princess. This is implied by the news that she helped him to negotiate the release of Vsevolod's son Svyatoslav from the Polovtsy, presumably her relatives, who had captured him.[67] From the little information that is available, we may conclude that the wives of the Davidovichi, except perhaps for the Polovtsian princess who appears to be an anomaly, played no active roles in the politics of their husbands. Most critically, however, they failed their dynasty in their important task of producing male progeny. The next generation of Davidovichi would be the last.

THE FOURTH GENERATION

The Ol'govichi: Senior Branch.

The senior branch of Ol'govichi was descended from Vsevolod Ol'govich and Maria. They had four children: two sons, Svyatoslav and Yaroslav, and two daughters, Zvenislava and an unidentified girl. Zvenislava became the wife of Boleslav "the Tall" (*Wysoki*) of the Piast dynasty.[68] As we have seen,

---

[65] Ipat., cols. 500–501; "Moskovskiy letopisniy svod kontsa XV veka" [Mosk.], in PSRL 25 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949), 65.

[66] Svyatoslav would have been in his early teens in 1160 when he married Andrey's daughter (see p. 185 below). Since, as we have seen, Vladimir married the Gorodno princess in 1144, she would have been his mother.

[67] Ipat., col. 475.

[68] Ipat., col. 313; Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 268–69.

Vsevolod's aunt Vysheslava had married Boleslav II, and the wife of his cousin Vsevolod Davidovich was a daughter of Boleslav III. Thus Vsevolod Ol'govich was maintaining the ties with the Poles that his family had initiated. As was frequently the case, the match sealed a political pact. It enabled him to summon Polish troops against Izyaslav Mstislavich of Vladimir in Volyn'.[69] Vsevolod and Maria's second daughter, perhaps named Anne,[70] evidently married Igor' Vasil'kovich of Terebovl' in Galich.[71] Their family, if they had one, died out or became debarred.

All we know about the wife of the younger son Yaroslav († 1198) is that her name was Irene.[72] This suggests that she may have been Greek. We have more data concerning the bride of Yaroslav's elder brother Svyatoslav († 1194) who would become one of the most important princes of the Chernigov dynasty. In 1143 he married the daughter of Vasil'ko Svyatoslavich of Polotsk; her name was evidently Maria. For the wedding "all the brothers [viz. Vsevolod's allies] assembled" including "the godless Poles." They celebrated at Vsevolod's court in Kiev and returned home.[73] He used the occasion to demonstrate his supremacy over his allies and to express his munificence by bestowing lavish gifts on them. Moreover, he invited the Poles whose number would have included his daughter Zvenislava and her husband Boleslav. At that time he evidently initiated commercial exchanges and arranged to send a team of builders (artel) to his new in-laws in Polotsk. He may also have sent the first bishop to that town as part of the marriage agreement.[74] Thus, unlike the lackluster match that he had orchestrated for his cousin Vladimir Davidovich of Chernigov with the princess of Gorodno, Vsevolod formed a prestigious union for his son with the powerful dynasty of Polotsk and celebrated it with ostentatious fanfare.

The little we know about Maria suggests that she had a strong personality and played an active role in Svyatoslav's affairs. The most dramatic instance of her collaboration occurred in 1180, when she conspired unsuccessfully with her husband to take David Rostislavich of Vyshgorod captive while he was hunting, and to demand that his brothers vacate their Kievan domains.[75] This is a rare report of a wife taking part in her husband's political scheming.

---

[69] Concerning Izyaslav, see Baumgarten, Table V, 23; and *Dynasty*, 383–84; see also p. 172 above and p. 178 below.

[70] Baumgarten, Table III, 9.

[71] Ibid., Tables III, 9, and IV, 23; Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 269.

[72] Baumgarten, Table IV, 24; Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 267–68.

[73] Ipat., col. 313; Lav., col. 310. Concerning Maria's name, see Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 267; and Baumgarten, Table IV, 22.

[74] *Dynasty*, 384–87.

[75] For David, see Baumgarten, Table IX, 4; and see p. 184 below.

Although Svyatoslav took Maria into his confidence, we have no way of knowing if her complicity on this occasion was an exception. It was probably not. This is suggested by the news that after her husband's death, her sons intervened in the affairs of Polotsk. They helped their uncles and cousins in their internal rivalries and, in return, the princes of Polotsk sent troops to help their relatives in Chernigov.[76] There can be no doubt that the Ol'govichi were persuaded to assist the princes of Polotsk not only because the latter were their mother's family, but also because of her direct prompting.

Maria enjoyed a close companionship with her husband to judge from the news that in 1194, over forty years after their marriage, she assiduously ministered to him on his deathbed. The only dialogue that the chroniclers record between a princess and her husband is one that took place between Maria and Svyatoslav. When the prince was dying, we are told, his ailments sapped his strength and impeded his speech. On regaining consciousness he asked Maria on what day the Feast of the Maccabees fell. (The feast, on 1 August, was the day on which Svyatoslav's father had died.) After Maria told him it would be on Monday, he replied that he would not live that long. The princess, perceiving that he had had a dream, asked him to describe it, but he ignored her request. Instead, he professed to believe in the one true God and asked to be tonsured as a monk.[77] She carried out his bidding and arranged for his burial in the Monastery of St. Cyril where his mother Maria had been buried. It was undoubtedly because Svyatoslav was the son of Maria, Monomakh's granddaughter, that the Kievans allowed him to be interred in Kiev. According to one source, he was laid to rest in the Church of St. Cyril that his mother had built.[78] We are not told where or when Svyatoslav's wife herself died and was buried.

The Ol'govichi: Cadet Branch.

The cadet branch of Ol'govichi was descended from Oleg's youngest son Svyatoslav. Surprisingly, the chronicles give us more information about Svyatoslav's family than about that of his eldest brother Vsevolod. In 1147, after the latter had died and Igor' his brother and successor in Kiev had been taken captive by Izyaslav Mstislavich, Svyatoslav became a fugitive from the Davidovichi. He formed an alliance with Yury Dolgorukiy of Suzdalia and the two ratified their pact by betrothing Svyatoslav's son Oleg to one of

---

[76] *Dynasty II*, 219.

[77] Ipat., col. 680.

[78] Gust., 324. According to another tradition he was buried in the Church of St. Cyril that his father had built (s.a. 1195: Lav., col. 412); see also n. 43 above.

Yury's daughters. The wedding took place three years later.[79] The young bride, however, either died in childbirth or failed to produce children and Oleg rejected her.[80] Significantly, it should be noted that the chronicles never accuse a princess of infidelity or report adultery as the reason for repudiation. It is possible, of course, that if knowledge of such immoral conduct became known to the chroniclers, who were for the most part monks, they refused to record it. Yury died in 1157, seven years after the marriage. Consequently, if Oleg renounced his wife he probably did so after Yury's death to obviate any requital from his father-in-law.[81] Whatever the fate of Oleg's wife, since he was Svyatoslav's eldest son it was important for him to find a second spouse.

There seemed to be no sense of obligation on Svyatoslav's part to find a second wife for Oleg from the same dynasty. Indeed, this would have been awkward if Oleg had discarded Yury's daughter! Since political considerations were the main reason for selecting a bride, it is not surprising that Svyatoslav turned to Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk.[82] His choice is understandable when we learn that in 1160 Rostislav, who was then prince of Kiev, expressed a special fondness for Oleg.[83] Consequently, on 29 June 1164, some four months after the death of his father,[84] Oleg married Rostislav's daughter Agafia.[85] By becoming Rostislav's son-in-law he offset the advantage that his cousin Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov had over him as Rostislav's nephew.[86]

Two years after their wedding, Oleg and Agafia had a son whom they named Svyatoslav.[87] Soon after, the chronicler once again alludes to the close friendship that existed between Oleg and his father-in-law, and between Agafia and her father. Around the beginning of 1167, while travelling to

---

[79] Ipat., col. 394; Gust., 300; *Dynasty II,* 41. For Yury, see Baumgarten, Table V, 16.

[80] As we have seen (p. 166 above), Roman Mstislavich renounced his wife Predslava, evidently, because she produced no boys. Nevertheless, she had three daughters for whom the chroniclers never give her credit. On occasion, as was the case with Predslava's daughter who married Mikhail (see pp. 199–200 below), we learn of a girl and her lineage in passing if she is reported as being the spouse of an important prince.

[81] In 1118, for example, Vladimir Monomakh attacked Yaroslav Svyatopolchich (Baumgarten, Table II, 11) because the latter rejected his wife, Monomakh's granddaughter (Mosk., 28). But the hostility of Ryurik Rostislavich towards Roman for rejecting his wife was perhaps the most dramatic example of a father-in-law's ire at his son-in-law (Fennell, *Crisis of Medieval Russia,* 24).

[82] For Rostislav, see Baumgarten, Table V, 27.

[83] Ipat., col. 512.

[84] Svyatoslav died on 15 February 1164 (Ipat., col. 522).

[85] See s.a. 1165: Ipat., cols. 524–25; Gust., 308.

[86] Rostislav's sister Maria had been Svyatoslav's mother (Baumgarten, Table V, 22, 27).

[87] See s.a. 1167: Ipat., col. 526; Gust., 308; and s.a. 1166: Mosk., 74.

Novgorod, Rostislav took the longer route via Chichersk, a town in the Chernigov lands that belonged to Oleg. He rendezvoused with his daughter and Oleg who evidently came from Novgorod Severskiy to proudly present their newborn son.[88] If Oleg's first wife had died in childbirth, or if he had spurned her because she had failed to produce an heir, Agafia's success in giving birth to a son was an occasion for great rejoicing. She had fulfilled her most important duty to the dynasty.

Svyatoslav arranged for his second son, Igor' (†1201), to marry Yaroslavna, the daughter of Yaroslav Osmomysl of Galich.[89] She is famous from her lament for Igor' in "The Lay of Igor's Campaign" (*Slovo o polku Igoreve*).[90] Nevertheless, the chronicles neither refer to her by name nor record her marriage. The first allusion to it is made under 1170 when we are told that on 8 October a son was born to Igor' and he was given the name Vladimir.[91] Although the chronicler makes no reference to the mother, by reporting the boy's birth he alludes to the importance of producing male offspring and therewith implies that Igor's wife was performing her duty of propagating her husband's line. However, we know almost nothing about Yaroslavna as a person. Tatishchev alone gives us a snippet of information when reporting Igor's escape from his Polovtsian captors. A half-day's journey from Novgorod Severskiy, he writes, Igor's steed stumbled and the prince injured his leg in the fall. As a result he had to remain in the nearby village of St. Michael overnight. On learning this, a villager hastened to Novgorod Severskiy to report Igor's escape. Even though Yaroslavna could not believe her good fortune, her distress got the better of her. She set out that same night to seek her husband. When she found him, we are told, she embraced Igor' and "they gazed at each other through tears of joy."[92] This is a rare report of a romantic tie existing between a princess and her husband.

---

[88] Ipat., col. 528.

[89] Concerning Yaroslav, see pp. 186 and 194 below.

[90] Basing their observations on the evidence of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, a number of historians have suggested that Yaroslavna's name was Evfrosinia and that she may have been Igor's second wife (Baumgarten, Tables III, 16, and IV, 28; Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 270). For a discussion of this problem, see M. D. Kazan, "Yaroslavna," *Entsiklopediya 'Slova o Polku Igoreve,'* vol. 5 (St. Petersburg, 1995), 295–97. The chronicles neither give Yaroslavna's name nor state that she was Igor's second wife.

[91] See s.a. 1173: Ipat., col. 562; Gust., 313. Zotov suggests that Igor' had two sons named Vladimir (*O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh,* 276), but there is no chronicle evidence for this assertion.

[92] Tat. 4:305–6; Tat. 3:139; see also L. I. Sazonova, "Letopisnyy rasskaz o pokhode Igorya Svyatoslavicha na polovtse v 1185 g. v obrabotke V. N. Tatishcheva," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoy literatury* 25, A.N. SSSR, Institut russkoy literatury (Moscow and Leningrad, 1970), 42, 45.

From the chronicles we learn that Igor's marriage to Yaroslavna prompted him to help her brother Vladimir. Her relatives were, it could be argued, one of the most dysfunctional families in Rus'. Her father Yaroslav Osmomysl had a concubine who bore him a son. Her mother Olga, a daughter of Yury Dolgorukiy of Suzdalia, was a strong willed woman who quarreled with her husband, ran away from Galich, and won the backing of a boyar faction. It rebelled against Yaroslav, burnt his concubine at the stake, and forced him to be reconciled with his wife.[93] It should be noted at this point that there is no record in the chronicles of a wife in the Chernigov dynasty having a confrontational marriage relationship or abandoning her husband.

Yaroslavna's brother Vladimir was a drunk and womanizer.[94] Under the year 1184 we are told that he quarreled with his father who drove him out of Galich. He found sanctuary with his sister and her husband in Putivl'. Ignoring the threat of Yaroslav's reprisals, Igor' harboured his brother-in-law for two years and, in the third, reconciled him with his father and sent him home.[95] We may assume that Yaroslavna urged Igor' to give asylum to her evicted brother. There can also be no doubt that, even though the chronicler claims Igor' was the mediator, Yaroslavna must have played a part in the reconciliation. At the very least, Igor' would have intervened because Vladimir and Yaroslav were her brother and father.[96] Igor' and Yaroslavna also demonstrated their desire to foster family ties with her relatives in Galich by ordering their son Svyatoslav to accompany his profligate uncle home and to visit his grandparents.

Some twenty years later, in 1206, Vsevolod "the Red" (*Chermnyy*), the senior prince of the dynasty, decided to seize Galich for his family. To this end he assembled all the Ol'govichi and their in-laws for a council of war in Chernigov. Mstislav Romanovich, whose mother, as we shall see, was Igor's sister, came from Smolensk.[97] The brothers-in-law of Vladimir Igorevich, who would marry a Polovtsian princess, brought their tribesmen. Vsevolod Chermnyy's Polish kinsmen also sent troops.[98] Although these Ol'govichi in-laws joined the attack, it was Igor's family tie to Yaroslavna that determined the outcome of the campaign. After Vsevolod's allies marched against Galich, the townspeople invited Igor's sons (the Igorevichi) to be their princes because, it would seem, they were descended from the dynasty of Galich

---

[93] Ipat., col. 564; for Yaroslav and Olga, see Baumgarten, Table III, 13.

[94] For Vladimir, see Baumgarten, Table III, 17; see also pp. 186 and 194 below.

[95] See s.a. 1183: Ipat., cols. 633–34.

[96] In another instance, a princess of Ryazan' asked Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich to intercede on behalf of her husband and son, Svyatoslav's son-in-law Roman (see p. 187 below).

[97] See pp. 192–93 below.

[98] As we shall see (p. 190 below), his wife Anastasia was the daughter of Casimir II.

through their mother.[99] We have no way of knowing, however, if Yaroslavna was still alive at that time. If she was, she probably endorsed her son Vladimir's usurpation by accompanying him to Galich where she herself had probably been born. The chronicles do not report her death.

Svyatoslav's third son, Vsevolod (†1196) of Trubetsk, married the daughter of Gleb of Pereyaslavl', the granddaughter of Yury Dolgorukiy. Her name may have been Olga.[100] This was an important match for the Ol'govichi not only because she came from the powerful dynasty of Suzdalia but also because she became a personal link between two families with a common enemy. Vsevolod belonged to the cadet branch which controlled the Posem'e region and Gleb ruled the adjacent domain of Pereyaslavl'. The two were thus encouraged to cooperate even more closely against Polovtsian incursions onto their lands.

Svyatoslav had three daughters. On 9 January 1149 one of them, whose name is not revealed, arrived in Smolensk to marry Roman the son of Rostislav Mstislavich.[101] The family bond would prove to be militarily beneficial to the Ol'govichi in the long term: as already noted, when Vsevolod Chermnyy assembled forces to attack Galich in 1206, Mstislav Romanovich, the offspring of that union, brought auxiliaries from Smolensk.[102] We have also seen that in 1164 Svyatoslav's son Oleg had taken Rostislav's daughter Agafia as his second wife.[103] In the following year the cadet branch formed yet another dynastic association with Rostislav, who was then the prince of Kiev. Svyatoslav gave his daughter Maria to Yaropolk Izyaslavich of Buzhsk,[104] thus establishing a family link with the Mstislavichi in Volyn', Rostislav's nephews.

Svyatoslav's third daughter also married a princeling of Volyn'. We learn this from a twelfth-century graffito in the Cathedral of St. Sofia in Kiev. The text, deciphered by S. A. Vysotsky, reads as follows:[105]

> Vladimir's wife [*Volodimiryaya*], Andrey's grief-stricken daughter-in-law, was here [in St. Sofia]. [She is] the sister of Oleg and Igor' and Vsevolod. The priest Vanko, the metropolitan's man, wrote this.[106]

---

[99] Concerning the campaign against Galich, see Lav., cols. 426–28; and Mosk., 104–5.

[100] Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh,* 271; Baumgarten, Table VI, 25.

[101] Ipat., col. 368.

[102] See p. 181 above and p. 192 below.

[103] See p. 179 above.

[104] Maria was evidently Yaropolk's second wife (Ipat., col. 525; Gust., 308). See also Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh,* 271; and Baumgarten, Table V, 40.

[105] S. A. Vysotsky, "Nadpis' s imenami geroev 'Slova o polku Igoreve' v Kievskoy Sofii," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoy literatury* 31, A.N. SSSR, Institut russkoy literatury (Leningrad, 1976), 327–33.

[106] "Volodimiryaya. Se byla mnogopechal'naya Andreeva snokha, Olega sestra i Igorya i

The identity of Vladimir's wife is unclear from the text. Vysotsky observed, however, that the inscription refers to prominent personages because the graffito is located on the choir that, during ceremonies, was reserved for princely families. Moreover, to judge from other graffiti that identify princes only by their first names, the names of the men given here belong to princes.[107] Consequently, since the woman's husband Vladimir was the son of Andrey, he was most likely the son of Andrey Vladimirovich, Monomakh's youngest son who, during the 1160s, ruled Dorogobuzh in Volyn'.[108] Under the year 1170 the chronicler confirms the existence of this princely family when he speaks of Vladimir Andreyevich of Dorogobuzh and his wife.[109]

Although the scribe does not identify her and refers to her simply as "princess," the priest Vanko tells us that she had three brothers: Oleg, Igor', and Vsevolod. From among Vladimir Andreyevich's contemporaries, the only known trio of brothers possessing those names, and born in that order of seniority, were the sons of Svyatoslav Ol'govich, the progenitor of the cadet branch. The graffito therefore offers unique information in revealing that Svyatoslav had a third daughter who married Vladimir Andreyevich.[110] The match was prestigious for the cadet branch because the girl's husband was a grandson of Vladimir Monomakh.

Having established *Volodimiryaya's* identity, we learn that she is the unnamed princess about whom the chronicler gives us a moving cameo. In 1167, after the death of Rostislav Mstislavich in Kiev, Mstislav Izyaslavich of Vladimir in Volyn' succeeded him.[111] In March of 1169 Andrey Bogolyubskiy of Suzdalia sent a coalition of princes against him.[112] Among the attackers were Vladimir Andreyevich from Dorogobuzh and his brothers-in-law Oleg and Igor'. They drove out Mstislav and sacked Kiev. He fled to Volyn' where he made a futile attempt at retaliation by besieging Dorogobuzh. Despite Vladimir's ill health, Mstislav failed to capture the town. On 28 January 1170 Vladimir Andreyevich died. On hearing the news, his cousin Vladimir Mstislavich, who had been prince of Dorogobuzh at an earlier date, persuaded

Vsevoloda. Napisal Vanko pop chelovek vladyki" (Vysotsky, "Nadpis' s imenami," 327).

[107] For example, in reporting the treaty between Svyatopolk Izyaslavich, Vladimir Monomakh, and Oleg Svyatoslavich at the river Zhelan, the author of the graffito referred to the princes simply as Svyatopolk, Vladimir, and Oleg (S. A. Vysotsky, *Drevne-russkie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoy XI–XIV vv.*, vol. 1 [Kiev, 1966], 24–34; *Dynasty*, 228).

[108] Baumgarten, Table V, 17, 31.

[109] See s.a. 1171: Ipat., cols. 546–48.

[110] Tatishchev gives further testimony to the identity of the princess when he reports that, after the death of Vladimir Andreyevich, Vladimir Mstislavich sent his messengers to Dorogobuzh to 'Svyatoslav's daughter' (*Svyatoslavovne*) (Tat. 4:277; Tat. 3:93).

[111] For Mstislav, see Baumgarten, Table V, 36.

[112] For Andrey, see Baumgarten, Table VI, 4.

the local boyars and Vladimir's widow to let him reoccupy the town.[113] He
promised to take no punitive action against the citizens, against the deceased
prince's private force (*druzhina*), against his widow, or against her villages.
After Vladimir Mstislavich entered the town, however, he reneged on his
promises. He seized the dead prince's possessions and evicted the widow
from Dorogobuzh.

Taking her husband's body, she travelled to Vyshgorod near Kiev intending
to bury him in Kiev. David Rostislavich of Vyshgorod, however, advised her
not to enter the capital because Mstislav Izyaslavich was marching against it.
Instead, David suggested that the deceased prince's *druzhina* take his body to
Kiev. They, however, feared the Kievans' vengeance because they had pil-
laged the town with Andrey Bogolyubskiy's coalition. *Igumen* Policarp of the
Caves Monastery, who had come to Vyshgorod with *Igumen* Simeon of St.
Andrew's Monastery to collect Vladimir's body, asked David to send his
druzhina as an escort. Policarp pointed out that otherwise there would be no
one to lead the horse carrying the body or to carry the dead prince's standard.
Fearing to endanger his men by sending them to Kiev, David replied that
Vladimir's standard and honour had departed with his soul. Consequently,
Policarp, Simeon, Kievan priests, and clerics from the Church of SS Boris and
Gleb in Vyshgorod took Vladimir's body to Kiev while the widow remained
behind in Vyshgorod. On 21 February 1170 they interred the dead prince with
the customary prayers and hymns in St. Andrew's Monastery.[114]

The graffito's report that "the grief stricken daughter-in-law of Andrey was
here" suggests that she went to St. Sofia soon after her husband's death. Such
a visitation could have been prompted by the commemorative service held in
keeping with Orthodox practice either on the ninth day or on the fortieth day
after the prince's death. The widow, however, was not in Kiev on the ninth
day because at that time she was escorting the body. It is also unlikely that she
visited St. Sofia on the fortieth day. At that time Mstislav Izyaslavich con-
trolled Kiev and he would have prohibited her from entering the town to pray
at her husband's grave. Consequently, she probably remained in Vyshgorod
as David Rostislavich's guest until 13 April when Mstislav fled to Volyn'.[115]
She would have travelled to the cathedral soon after. To commemorate the
event, the priest Vanko scratched his graffito on the wall.

As has been noted, his testimony offers unique information not only about
the existence of a heretofore unknown Ol'govichi princess, but also enables

---

[113] After fleeing from Dorogobuzh, Vladimir had sought sanctuary with Maria in Glukhov
(see p. 171 above).

[114] Ipat., cols. 546–48.

[115] Mstislav died in Vladimir in Volyn' later in the year (Ipat., col. 559).

us to identify her with the unnamed princess for whom the chronicler expressed a special fascination. Significantly, he was not attracted to her because she was important. He does not even tell us her name. He was also not interested in her because her husband was a powerful prince. On the contrary, he was on the lowest rung of the Monomashichi hierarchy of princes and debarred from succession to Kiev. Instead the chronicler reports her story because he was moved by her tribulations. These included her eviction from Dorogobuzh, the loss of all her possessions, the three-week odyssey with her husband's body, her trials in getting the corpse to its final resting place, and her distress at being prevented from attending the burial ceremony. Her plight, her devotion to her husband, and her resolution to fulfill her last duty to him created a deep impression on her contemporaries. The chronicler and the priest Vanko attest to this with their reports.

After "Vladimir's wife" lamented for her husband in St. Sofia, she returned into the oblivion from which she had come. The information that Vladimir Mstislavich negotiated for Dorogobuzh with her husband's *druzhina* suggests that she had no son to inherit her husband's town and to look after her in her old age. She owned villages in Volyn' but Vladimir Mstislavich appropriated them. Most likely, therefore, *Volodimiryaya* returned to her dynastic home in Novgorod Severskiy to live with her eldest brother Oleg. In this she would have followed the examples of Oda, Svyatoslav's wife who returned home to Germany after her husband's death.

The Davidovichi.

Meanwhile, in the same generation of Davidovichi only Svyatoslav the son of Vladimir survived. His uncle Izyaslav arranged for him to marry the daughter of Andrey Bogolyubskiy of Suzdalia. Around 1160 Izyaslav went to Volok west of Moscow where he met Andrey with his daughter, whose name may have been Rostislava.[116] Izyaslav escorted her to Svyatoslav's town of Vshchizh, on the upper reaches of the river Desna, where the couple was married.[117] In this way Izyaslav confirmed his political pact with Andrey who promised to help him win control of Kiev. The Davidovichi could not have arranged a more promising match because Andrey Bogolyubskiy was one of the most powerful princes in the land. Here again we see that a princess was important not because of who she was as an individual but because of her father's military might. Unfortunately for the Davidovichi, their untimely de-

---

[116] Tatishchev calls her Rostislava, but only in his second redaction (Tat. 3:70); see also Baumgarten, Table VI, 21.

[117] Ipat., cols. 508–9; Mosk., 68; Lav., col. 350.

mise sealed their fate. In the following year Izyaslav fell in battle and later, in 1166, Svyatoslav died of an unexplained cause.[118] Rostislava evidently bore him no sons and she is never mentioned again. David's dynasty therewith disappeared from the pages of the chronicles.

THE FIFTH GENERATION

The Ol'govichi: Senior Branch—Svyatoslav's Family.

Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich and his Polotsk wife raised five sons: Vladimir, Oleg, Vsevolod Chermnyy, Gleb, and Mstislav. They also had three daughters, but only Boleslava is known by name. As the senior prince of the dynasty and prince of Kiev, Svyatoslav attempted to strengthen the political ties of his family by finding spouses for his children from diverse dynasties and foreign lands. He turned to Suzdalia, Ryazan', Galicia, Volyn', Smolensk, and the Poles. The marital ties, on the whole, would prove to be successful in that the families of the in-laws would provide him and his sons with military assistance.

The marriages of Svyatoslav's three daughters were on the whole successful from political considerations, but we know nothing more about the girls than the identities of their husbands. Thus, under the year 1166 the chronicler tells us that the powerful Yaroslav Osmomysl of Galich brought Boleslava, a daughter of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich, as wife for his son Vladimir.[119] The union was important for Svyatoslav because it strengthened his bargaining power with the prince of Kiev. The latter now had to keep in mind that Svyatoslav and Yaroslav, his neighbours to the northeast and the southwest, were allies whose united forces posed a serious threat to his power. Although Boleslava is never mentioned again, we may assume that hers was not a happy lot. As we have seen, her husband Vladimir was a drunk and a womanizer.

In 1176, when Svyatoslav marched against Kiev, he marshalled all the Ol'govichi and summoned his heretofore-unreported son-in-law from the House of Monomakh. We are told that he instructed Mstislav Vladimirovich of Dorogobuzh in Volyn' to terminate his pact with the princes of Smolensk and to drive out the sons of Roman Rostislavich of Kiev from Trepol'.[120] This

---

[118] Concerning Izyaslav's death, see Ipat., cols. 517–18; concerning Svyatoslav's death, see Ipat., col. 525.

[119] Ipat., col. 527; Gust., 308. Concerning Yaroslav Osmomysl and Vladimir, see p. 181 above and p. 194 below.

[120] Ipat., col. 604. Concerning Mstislav, see Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh,* 274; and Baumgarten, Table V, 41.

is the only chronicle allusion to Svyatoslav's daughter who married Mstislav. From this news we learn, however, that Svyatoslav used the family bond for a political end. He required his son-in-law to sever ties with his own dynasty and to join the alliance of his in-laws, the Ol'govichi.

Svyatoslav's third daughter, also unidentified, married Roman Glebovich of Ryazan'.[121] Although we know absolutely nothing about her, Svyatoslav's personal link with Roman prompted him to become actively involved in the politics of Ryazan'. At first, in 1177, he sent his sons Vladimir and Oleg to help Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo attack Ryazan'. Its prince Gleb Rostislavich was harbouring Vsevolod's nephews, Rostislav's sons Mstislav and Yaropolk, who wished to evict Vsevolod from Suzdalia.[122] As the senior prince in the land, Svyatoslav resolved to defend Vsevolod's rightful claim. Meanwhile, however, Gleb invaded Suzdalia. Vsevolod therefore routed the pillagers and took Gleb, his son Roman, and the two Rostislavichi captive.

Soon after, Mstislav Rostislavich and his sister, Gleb's wife and the mother of Svyatoslav's son-in-law Roman, asked Svyatoslav to mediate on behalf of the captives. Svyatoslav therefore conscientiously assumed his moral responsibility as Roman's father-in-law and prince of Kiev. He requested Vsevolod to send Gleb to Rus', where he would grant the captive a domain. But the prince of Ryazan' rejected the gesture of friendship and preferred to die in the pit where he was being held captive. His son Roman, however, obtained his freedom by pledging loyalty to Vsevolod.[123] We may assume that the latter acted leniently towards Roman owing, in part, to Svyatoslav's intervention on behalf of his son-in-law. At a later date, Svyatoslav abandoned his altruistic attitude when he conspired unsuccessfully with Roman against the latter's brothers. The two attempted to secure Roman's hegemony over his dynasty and to challenge the overlordship that Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo wielded over the princes of Ryazan'. Svyatoslav sent military aid to his son-in-law not only because Roman was his relative but also because, by strengthening Roman's power, he hoped to increase his own influence over Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo.[124]

The matches that Svyatoslav arranged for his sons Vladimir, Oleg, and Mstislav were the least rewarding. Under 1166 the chronicler reports that the daughter of Andrey Bogolyubskiy, the wife of Oleg († 1204), died.[125] Thus,

---

[121] Baumgarten 2, Table XIV, 11.

[122] For Gleb, see Baumgarten 2, Table XIV, 9; for Mstislav and Yaropolk, see Baumgarten, Table VI, 15, 16.

[123] Ipat., cols. 605–6.

[124] *Dynasty II*, 138, 144–45.

[125] See s.a. 1167: Ipat., col. 527. Compare s.a. 1166: Mosk., 74, which mistakenly identi-

while Oleg Svyatoslavich of the cadet branch was ingratiating himself with the dynasty of Smolensk, Svyatoslav had established marital ties with the dynasty of Suzdalia. Unfortunately for him, the untimely demise of the princess, perhaps in childbirth, undermined his plans for establishing a long-term family association with Andrey Bogolyubskiy.[126]

In 1174, after Andrey was murdered, Oleg accompanied the wives of Andrey's brothers Mikhalko and Vsevolod, who had been refugees in Chernigov, to Moscow. Next, he went to his patrimony of Lopasna in the northeast corner of the Vyatichi lands. From there he sent troops northeast to capture nearby Sviril'sk because it belonged to the Ol'govichi. Gleb Rostislavich of Ryazan' dispatched his nephew, Yury's son, to repossess the town but, we are told, Oleg defeated his brother-in-law.[127] The reference to Oleg's brother-in-law is noteworthy because nine years earlier, in 1166, Oleg's wife, the daughter of Andrey Bogolyubskiy, had died. Oleg had therefore remarried an unidentified Ryazan' princess.[128] In this instance, his personal tie with the House of Ryazan' did not prevent him from waging war against his in-laws. Since, as we shall see, Oleg had at least two sons, they were probably born of his second wife who, unlike Andrey's daughter, successfully fulfilled her dynastic duty.

Some four years later, in 1178, Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo invited Svyatoslav's eldest son Vladimir to Suzdalia to marry the daughter of his deceased brother Mikhalko. According to one source her name was Evdokia, but others claim it was Elena, and still others Prebrana.[129] Vladimir returned to Chernigov, where he presented the bride to his father.[130] Although he was Svyatoslav's eldest son, he would have a relatively uneventful career and never become the senior prince of the dynasty because of his premature death.[131] Accordingly, his wife remained in obscurity.

fies Oleg the son of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich (who married Andrey's daughter) as Oleg the son of Svyatoslav Ol'govich (who married Andrey's sister). Concerning Oleg's identity, see Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 272.

[126] It has been suggested that Oleg's wife was the daughter of Andrey Vladimirovich (Baumgarten, Table V, 17), prince of Vladimir in Volyn'; see A. Ekzemplyarsky, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya," *Russkiy biograficheskiy slovar'* [St. Petersburg, 1905; rpt. 1962], 22:252–53). Since Oleg was born after Andrey Vladimirovich died in 1142, it is unlikely that Oleg married the daughter of this Andrey.

[127] See s.a. 1176: Ipat., cols. 602–3.

[128] Concerning the family of Oleg's wife, see Baumgarten 2, Table XIV, 10, 18, 19.

[129] Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 70, 272.

[130] Ipat., col. 612; Gust., 317.

[131] Vladimir is a good example of an eldest eligible brother in the family who failed to attain supreme power in the dynasty, that is, he failed to become senior prince and to rule Chernigov. He died in 1200 while Igor', a prince from the cadet branch but from a more senior generation and thus Vladimir's genealogical elder, was ruling Chernigov. (Concerning Vladimir's death, see Lav., col. 416.) Consequently, after Igor' died in 1201, Vladimir's younger

Five years later, Svyatoslav's youngest son Mstislav († 1223) married Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo's sister-in-law Yasynya.[132] Up until then Vsevolod and Svyatoslav had been on a war footing because the former was holding Svyatoslav's son Gleb captive. After the wedding, however, Vsevolod quickly took advantage of his renewed friendship. Having declared war on the Volga Bulgars he asked Svyatoslav for military assistance. The prince of Kiev complied by dispatching forces commanded by his son Vladimir, whose wife was Vsevolod's niece.[133]

The matches that Svyatoslav arranged for his sons Gleb and Vsevolod were more important. In 1181, after he captured Kiev, Svyatoslav concluded a pact with Ryurik Rostislavich of Vruchiy according to which the two agreed to act as co-rulers of Rus'.[134] Two years later they sealed their political arrangement with a personal tie by having Svyatoslav's son Gleb marry Ryurik's daughter, whom one source calls Anastasia.[135] The match cemented the ties of friendship between the duumvirs. It is noteworthy that from then on, when speaking of the two princes, the chronicler systematically emphasized their friendship by referring to them in terms of their marriage association. He spoke of Ryurik as Svyatoslav's *svat* (daughter-in-law's father).[136] In this way he reflected the importance that the princes themselves attached to the marriage bond uniting their families.[137]

Gleb, for his part, also derived material benefit from the marriage because Ryurik gave him the town of Kanev. Ryurik obviously favoured Gleb in this manner, the only Ol'govich to whom he granted a town, because Gleb was his son-in-law. At a later date, when Vsevolod Chermnyy ruled Chernigov, he appointed his younger brother Gleb to Belgorod.[138] Vsevolod hoped, no doubt, that Anastasia's presence in the town, which was located near Kiev where Ryurik was prince, would allow her father to have frequent contact

brother Oleg succeeded him to Chernigov. (Concerning Igor's death, see Lav., col. 417; see also *Dynasty II*, 237–40.)

[132] Ipat., cols. 624–25. The *Lyubetskiy sinodik* gives her the Christian name Marfa (Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 274).

[133] Ipat., cols. 625–26; compare s.a. 1183: Mosk., 90; and s.a. 1184: Lav., cols. 389–90.

[134] See s.a. 1180: Ipat., cols. 623–24; Gust., 318; and *Dynasty II*, 150–51.

[135] See s.a. 1182: Ipat., cols. 624–25; and Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 273.

[136] See, for example, Ipat., cols. 628, 651, 652, and 659.

[137] The chroniclers single out other notable instances of Ol'govichi marriage alliances when speaking of two princes. As we shall see, some of them were Igor' Svyatoslavich of Novgorod Severskiy and his *svat* Khan Konchak (Ipat., col. 644), *Kir* Mikhail of Pronsk and his father-in-law (*test'*) Vsevolod Chermnyy of Chernigov (Lav., col. 431), and Yury Vsevolodovich of Suzdalia and his wife's brother (*shurin*) Mikhail Vsevolodovich of Chernigov (NPL, 64, 268).

[138] Mosk., 104.

with her and thus make him more favourably disposed to Gleb and to the Ol'govichi.

As a rule, fathers sought to negotiate marriages with dynasties and foreign powers that would be of most political benefit to them and to their sons when they reached maturity, especially those sons who were high on the ladder of seniority. Thus, on 14 November 1179 Svyatoslav brought a daughter of Casimir II to Kiev as wife for Vsevolod Chermnyy († 1212).[139] Her name was evidently Anastasia.[140] By selecting a Polish bride Svyatoslav imitated his father who had arranged for his sister to marry into the Piast dynasty.[141] Vsevolod's union would prove to be important not only for him but also for his son Mikhail. Vsevolod would summon his wife's relatives to assist him in his battles for Galich. In like manner, Mikhail would turn to his Polish uncles for military assistance when fighting for Galich. He would also seek sanctuary with them when fleeing from the Tatars.[142]

As has been noted, Svyatopolk Vladimirovich († 1019) married a Polish princess who brought her Latin bishop and her Polish entourage to her husband's court.[143] We are not told that Anastasia's priest accompanied her or that she retained the Latin rite. If we are to judge, as we shall see, from the case of Konchak's pagan daughter whom Igor' had baptized into the Orthodox faith,[144] it is possible that a bride of the Latin creed, even though a Christian, was also expected to adopt Orthodoxy. This would have been in keeping with the Orthodox Church's directives prohibiting its faithful from concluding marriages with pagans, people of different creeds (e.g., Latins), and heretics.[145] Although we are not told if Svyatoslav required Anastasia to accept the Greek rite, there can be no doubt that her children were brought up as Orthodox Christians.

The Ol'govichi: Senior Branch—Yaroslav's Family.

Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich's younger brother Yaroslav had two sons and a daughter. He arranged an advantageous match for the girl, whose name is not revealed. On 8 November 1179 she married Vladimir Glebovich of Pere-

---

[139] See s.a. 1178: Ipat., col. 612; Gust., 317.

[140] Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 44, 273. Concerning the confusion surrounding the name of Vsevolod's wife, see n. 41 above.

[141] Around 1141, Svyatoslav's sister Zvenislava had married Boleslav "the Tall" of Silesia; see p. 176 above.

[142] See *Mikhail*, 101–2, 108, 112 and elsewhere.

[143] See n. 8 above.

[144] See p. 194 below.

[145] See p. 168 above.

yaslavl'.[146] The alliance was important for Yaroslav, who was prince of Chernigov. First, it gave him a family link with the powerful dynasty of Suzdalia because Vladimir was the nephew of Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo. Second, it enabled him to establish a closer tie with Vladimir his southern neighbour, whose Pereyaslavl' lands were contiguous with those of Chernigov. Their personal bond would help them to collaborate more closely in defending their lands against the attacks of the Polovtsy.

Yaroslav's younger son Yaropolk married an unidentified princess. That is all we know. His elder son Rostislav, however, married Vseslava, a daughter of the powerful Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo of Suzdalia. For once, we have relatively copious data about a princess not because she and her husband were important personages in the mainstream politics of Rus', but because she was the favourite child of her parents. The chronicler evidently found their love for their daughter the reason for devoting special attention to her. He describes how they escorted her out of Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma as she set out for Chernigov. They accompanied her as far as the third staging post and, we are told, wept when they parted. On 11 July 1186 the couple was married.[147] On becoming the father-in-law of Vsevolod's daughter, Yaroslav forged an even closer family tie with the prince of Suzdalia than his celebrated brother Svyatoslav had done. That bond would serve Yaroslav well after he himself became senior prince of the dynasty.

Two years later we learn that Vseslava's husband visited his in-laws. On 14 August 1188 Bishop Luka consecrated the Cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir in the presence of Vsevolod, his son Konstantin, and his son-in-law Rostislav Yaroslavich.[148] Despite the numerous prominent personages who must have attended the consecration, the chronicler singles out only three: Vsevolod, who paid for renovating the cathedral, his eldest son Konstantin, and his son-in-law Rostislav from Chernigov. The scribe evidently singled out the Ol'govich because he was the only representative of his dynasty and added luster to the event because he had come from such a great distance. Rostislav would also have been one of Vsevolod's most welcome guests because his wife Vseslava undoubtedly accompanied him. By sending his daughter-in-law with Rostislav, Yaroslav took advantage of the ceremony to strengthen his personal ties with his Suzdalian in-laws.

Eight years later Yaroslav, now the senior prince of the dynasty, waged war against Ryurik of Kiev and his kinsmen, the Rostislavichi of Smolensk.

---

[146] See s.a. 1178: Ipat., col. 613; Gust., 317. For Vladimir, see Baumgarten, Table VI, 23.
[147] See s.a. 1187: Lav., col. 405.
[148] See s.a. 1189: Lav., col. 407.

Vseslava's father came to the assistance of his Monomashichi relatives by invading the Chernigov lands. Nevertheless, content with Yaroslav's willingness to submit to his main demands, he sent his men to negotiate peace. The proceedings began on a personal note. Among other things, Vsevolod's envoys inquired about his children. The chronicler does not explain whom the delegates had in mind, but Vsevolod was undoubtedly interested in receiving news of his daughter and her family before dictating political terms to her father-in-law. To be sure, Vseslava's presence among the Ol'govichi may have been part of the reason why he had delayed for over half a year before he attacked their lands. What is more, after invading them, he negotiated peace with Yaroslav rather than wage an all out war.[149] Thus it appears that Vsevolod's love for his daughter influenced, at least in part, his political relations with the Ol'govichi.

Vseslava is mentioned one final time. On 2 March 1205 Maria, the wife of Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo, entered the Monastery of the Mother of God in Vladimir where she died two weeks later. Vseslava, who was visiting her parents at that time, joined the company of relatives who escorted the dying princess to the monastery.[150] Tatishchev has a unique snippet of information that demonstrates Maria's special affection for her daughter. He writes that the matriarch, wishing to spend the last days of her life alone, requested everyone except her daughter to leave the monastery. Vseslava therefore remained at her side until she died.[151] On this occasion Vseslava's presence in Suzdalia is reported only because of her mother's passing. Consequently, it is more than likely that she visited her parents on other occasions as well, but those were not reported because nothing extraordinary happened. Although the sources do not mention Rostislav, he probably accompanied his wife to Suzdalia.

Mstislav Romanovich of Smolensk sent a delegation to Maria's funeral. According to some sources he also asked Vsevolod's forgiveness for having formed a treaty with the Ol'govichi.[152] The inference is that, in concluding their pact, Mstislav and Vsevolod Chermnyy of Chernigov conspired against the prince of Suzdalia. Undoubtedly, the latter had offended Mstislav by giving Kiev to Ryurik's son Rostislav after Ryurik had been evicted. According to seniority among the Rostislavichi, Mstislav should have succeeded his

---

[149] *Dynasty II*, 225–26.

[150] See s.a. 1205: "L'vovskaya letopis' " [L'vov], in PSRL 20 (St. Petersburg, 1910), 144; compare "Tverskaya letopis' " [Tver.], in PSRL 15 (St. Petersburg, 1863), cols. 301–2; and s.a. 1206: Lav., col. 424.

[151] Tat. 4:331; Tat. 3:174.

[152] See s.a. 1206: Lav., cols. 424–25; and s.a. 1205: Mosk., 104; L'vov, 144; Tver., col. 302. As we have seen (p. 181 above), Mstislav was the son of a princess from the cadet branch.

uncle Ryurik so that he would have looked upon the violation of precedence as a slight. Consequently, he and Vsevolod Chermnyy probably plotted to evict Rostislav from Kiev. On receiving word of their scheme, Vsevolod forced Mstislav to recant. Since the delegation from Smolensk arrived in Vladimir while Vseslava and Rostislav were visiting her parents, it is not unreasonable to assume that Vsevolod's love of his daughter and son-in-law persuaded him to adopt a more lenient attitude towards the prince of Chernigov and his plot with Mstislav. This is suggested by the news that he took no punitive action against them.

In Vseslava's case, we see that the wife of an insignificant princeling influenced the politics of Rus' because she was the daughter of the most powerful prince in the land. The affection between the parents and the daughter was reciprocal and distance did not deter her from visiting her family on various occasions, perhaps even regularly. On the one hand, the fact that the sources speak of the close family tie that bound the three, but mention no similar relationships in other families, suggests that this may have been an exceptional case. On the other hand, it could mean that other cases did exist but, because the personages were not as important as Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo, chroniclers did not consider those relationships noteworthy enough to report.

The Ol'govichi: Cadet Branch.

The cadet branch, as we have seen, was sired by Svyatoslav Ol'govich whose eldest son was Oleg. We lose track of the latter's descendants with his heir Svyatoslav of Ryl'sk. Although circumstantial evidence suggests that Svyatoslav had sons, we are not told the identity of his wife.[153] We also have no data for the consort of Svyatoslav Ol'govich's youngest son Vsevolod of Trubetsk. Once again, however, indirect testimony suggests that his progeny survived at least up to the Tatar invasion.[154] The families of Oleg and Vsevolod were eclipsed by that of their brother Igor', who attained fame through the epic poem *Slovo o polku Igoreve,* which relates his defeat at the river Kayala.[155] He had one unidentified daughter and four sons: Vladimir, Oleg, Roman, and Svyatoslav. Of the five, Oleg evidently died as a youth and Roman's spouse is not identified. For the remaining three, Igor' arranged potentially advantageous matches.

[153] Baumgarten, Table IV, 43.

[154] *Dynasty II,* 315.

[155] "The Lay of Igor's Campaign," *A Historical Russian Reader: A Selection of Texts from the XIth to the XVth Centuries,* ed. J. Fennell and D. Obolensky (Oxford, 1969), 63–72. For the chronicle accounts of Igor's campaign, see M. Dimnik, "Igor's Defeat at the Kayala (1185): The Chronicle Evidence," *Mediaeval Studies* 63 (2001): 245–82.

In 1188, when Igor's eldest son Vladimir returned home from captivity with Konchak's daughter,[156] Igor' arranged for their wedding to take place in the Orthodox Church. According to Tatishchev, in preparation for the ceremony he had the princess baptized.[157] This, understandably, was a prerequisite for any pagan bride whose duty it would be to educate her children in the Orthodox faith. Vladimir was eighteen years of age,[158] but we are not told the age of the girl. Since Igor' was already referred to as Konchak's *svat* (his son-in-law's father) in 1185, the khan's daughter had been born before that year. If, as has been suggested elsewhere, Igor' and Konchak agreed to the betrothal in 1181 during their festivities at Dolobsk,[159] she would have been at least seven years of age when she became a bride. This evidence suggests that fathers negotiated matches for their offspring before they were of marriageable age and sometimes, as in this case, as many as seven years in advance.

The family tie virtually assured the princes of the cadet branch that Konchak and his tribesmen would continue their policy of non-aggression towards them. The khan confirmed this after Igor's defeat at the Kayala. Unlike Khan Koza, he refrained from attacking their towns in the Posem'e.[160] Igor's ultimate hope, undoubtedly, was that the presence of Konchak's daughter in Vladimir's patrimony of Putivl' would deter all tribesmen of the Donets basin from attacking the Posem'e region. Like Vseslava, therefore, the Polovtsian princess saved her husband's family from attacks by her people. On later occasions Vladimir and his son Izyaslav would also summon their in-laws from the steppe to serve as auxiliaries.

In 1188 Igor' also arranged a marriage for his son Svyatoslav with Yaroslava the daughter of Ryurik Rostislavich, the co-ruler of Rus'.[161] Svyatoslav was twelve years of age.[162] As we have seen, in the early eighties Igor' had reconciled his brother-in-law Vladimir with his father Yaroslav Osmomysl of Galich, and he dispatched his son Svyatoslav, whom the chronicler called Ryurik's son-in-law, to accompany Vladimir home.[163] Since Svyatoslav did not marry until 1188, it appears that he had already been betrothed some five

---

[156] See s.a. 1187: Ipat., col. 659; compare Gust., 321. One view has it, wrongly, that Vladimir married Konchak's daughter named Svoboda, who by then had given birth to their child Izyaslav (see *Litopys rus'kyi* [*za Ipats'kym spyskom*], trans. L. Ie. Makhnovets' and ed. S. A. Zakharova [Kiev, 1989], 346).

[157] Tat. 3:145; compare Tat. 4:309.

[158] As we have seen (p. 180 above), he was born in 1170.

[159] *Dynasty II*, 173.

[160] Ibid., 177.

[161] See s.a. 1187: Ipat., col. 659.

[162] Svyatoslav was born in 1176 (Ipat., col. 604).

[163] See p. 181 above.

years earlier, in the early 1180s. Such arrangements obviously did not take
into consideration the personalities of the bride and groom who had not yet
reached maturity. The main objective of these matches was consistently politi-
cal. In this case, the marital union would stand Igor' in good stead when he
and Ryurik succeeded to positions of greater authority: Igor' was slated to re-
place Yaroslav Vsevolodovich in Chernigov, and Ryurik was the designated
successor to Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich in Kiev.

The year 1190 witnessed the first intra-dynastic union among the Ol'go-
vichi. Igor' of the cadet branch arranged for his unidentified daughter to marry
David, the grandson of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of the senior branch.[164]
David, the son of Svyatoslav's second son Oleg, was evidently the most sen-
ior princeling in the youngest generation of Ol'govichi.[165] Svyatoslav would
have looked upon the match as especially important since the youth had a
good chance of rising to the position of senior prince. It is surprising, there-
fore, that he chose a bride from among his own relatives rather than one from
a powerful neighbouring dynasty. He and Igor' clearly believed that a per-
sonal tie between their families was more desirable. Indeed, it appears that
they used the match to confirm a political pact between the two branches. As
has been shown elsewhere, Svyatoslav and Igor' advocated different policies
towards the Polovtsy: Svyatoslav's objective was to stop the incursions of the
nomads living in the Dnepr region, while Igor' fought to stem the attacks of
the tribesmen living in the Donets basin. At the time of the wedding, it seems,
Svyatoslav finally agreed to support Igor's policy. Soon after, he ordered his
troops and David to campaign with Igor' against the Polovtsy in the Donets
basin.[166]

THE SIXTH GENERATION

The Senior Branch.

Yaroslav Vsevolodovich's sons Rostislav and Yaropolk evidently had no
offspring, or if they did, they became politically insignificant. The five sons of
Yaroslav's elder brother Svyatoslav also produced a relatively small number
of children. The eldest Vladimir it seems had none. The next, Oleg, had two
sons, David and an unidentified boy. They, however, died young and disap-

---

[164] Ipat., col. 668; Baumgarten, Table IV, 49, 50.

[165] Svyatoslav's eldest son Vladimir evidently had no sons, and the only other princeling in
David's generation mentioned to date has been Mikhail, Vsevolod Chermnyy's son. The
sources have not reported the births of any princesses in David's generation.

[166] Ipat., col. 673; Dynasty II, 200–202.

peared from the pages of the chronicles.[167] Svyatoslav's fifth son Mstislav had
a son who was killed in 1223 at the Kalka battle.[168] His baptismal name was
probably Dmitry and his wife's name was Mamelfa.[169] We do not know if
they had any progeny. Only Svyatoslav's third and fourth sons, Vsevolod
Chermnyy and Gleb, had children who merit our attention.

Gleb's son Mstislav probably married but we are not told if the couple had
any children. Gleb also had two girls. In 1215 he gave away an unnamed
daughter to Vladimir Vsevolodovich of Suzdalia.[170] This was a useful match
because Vladimir ruled Pereyaslavl'.[171] In this way Gleb, like his uncle Yaro-
slav Vsevolodovich,[172] established a personal tie not only with the dynasty of
Suzdalia but also with the prince who controlled the domain immediately
south of Chernigov. Since Gleb's wife was a daughter of Ryurik Rostislavich,
he already had a family bond with the Rostislavichi who controlled the adja-
cent territories of Kiev and Smolensk.[173]

On a Monday morning late in July 1194, when Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich
was on his deathbed, a delegation from Constantinople came to collect his
granddaughter, Gleb's daughter Evfimia, as bride for the emperor's son.[174] It
has been suggested elsewhere that Svyatoslav arranged the match through
King Béla III of Hungary.[175] This is the first instance since the early 1080s,
when Svyatoslav's grandfather Oleg had married Feofania Muzalon, that the
chronicler reports a marriage alliance between the dynasty of Chernigov and
the Greeks.[176] We are not told, however, if they honoured their commitment
following Svyatoslav's death. If they did, the personal tie with the imperial
family was a great boon to the Ol'govichi. It was just such a union that

---

[167] *Dynasty II*, 249. According to Tatishchev, Oleg may have had a third son named Ingor
(Dimnik, "A Bride's Journey," 142–45).

[168] Mstislav may have had a second son who is not mentioned by the chronicles, but who
fathered Vasil'ko of Kozel'sk (*Dynasty II*, 346–47).

[169] Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 89–90, 281. Tatishchev claims that his princely
name was Vasil'ko (Tat. 4:364; Tat. 3:218).

[170] Lav., col. 438; Mosk., 110. For Vladimir, see Baumgarten, Table X, 10.

[171] Lav., col. 438.

[172] Yaroslav gave his daughter for Vladimir Glebovich; see pp. 190–91 above.

[173] Concerning Gleb's marriage to Ryurik's daughter, see p. 189 above.

[174] Only one chronicle identifies the emperor's son as a Greek (Gust., 324). A number of
investigators suggest the imperial family in question belonged to the Angelus dynasty. If this
was so, the emperor was Isaac II and the son betrothed to Evfimia was the future Alexius IV
(Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 280; *Litopys rus'kyi*, 354, 524). This claim is not con-
firmed by the sources. Indeed, it has been argued that there is no documentary confirmation of
the marriage taking place (A. Kazhdan, "Rus'—Byzantine Princely Marriages in the Eleventh
and Twelfth Centuries," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 [1990]: 424).

[175] *Dynasty II*, 208–9.

[176] Concerning Feofania, see *Dynasty*, 160–61.

Vladimir the Christianizer of Rus' had insisted upon as part of the price for accepting Christianity. In the case of Evfimia, as in that of Vladimir, in addition to the glory associated with the marital link to the emperor, the Ol'govichi undoubtedly also reaped commercial and cultural benefits. Nevertheless, despite Evfimia's prestigious match, we never hear of her again. This was also the last reported instance of an Ol'govichi princess marrying a Greek.

Vsevolod Chermnyy had two daughters, Vera and Agafia, and one son, Mikhail. Vera was evidently the first to marry. In 1207, after Vsevolod occupied Kiev and evicted Yaroslav the son of Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo from Pereyaslavl', the latter marched against Chernigov. At the river Oka the princes of Ryazan' joined him but two of their princelings accused their uncles of plotting against him with the Ol'govichi. He therefore took the conspirators captive and had them incarcerated. After that he attacked *Kir* Mikhail in Pronsk, who, we are told, fled to his father-in-law (*test'*) Vsevolod Chermnyy for safety.[177] From this we learn that *Kir* Mikhail had married Vera.[178] Vsevolod Chermnyy had probably arranged the match when he concluded his pact with the princes of Ryazan'. As we have seen, Vsevolod's elder brother Oleg had also taken a princess from Ryazan' as wife.[179] More importantly, one of Vsevolod's sisters was the spouse of Roman who, in 1207, was the senior prince of the Ryazan' dynasty.[180] These marital associations undoubtedly prompted the princes of the two dynasties to maintain family ties with each other as is testified to by *Kir* Mikhail's flight to Chernigov. Consequently, their personal friendships must have predisposed them to form a political pact against the prince of Suzdalia.

Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo had no doubts about *Kir* Mikhail's collusion with his father-in-law. He therefore captured Pronsk and took Vera captive. In doing so he added a personal dimension to the conflict. He could use the princess as a bargaining chip for imposing his demands on her father in Kiev.[181] Nevertheless, it was not until 1210, when Vsevolod Chermnyy believed his enemy's fury had sufficiently abated, that he finally proposed peace. He had a personal reason for not delaying longer. In inter-dynastic relations the capture of a family member was looked upon as the ultimate insult.[182] Vsevolod

---

[177] Ipat., col. 431. For *Kir* Mikhail, see Baumgarten 2, Table XIV, 28.

[178] Tatishchev alone claims—and only in his second redaction—that the name of Vsevolod's daughter was Vera (Tat. 3:180).

[179] See p. 188 above.

[180] Baumgarten 2, Table XIV, 11; Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh,* 274.

[181] Concerning Vsevolod's campaign, see Lav., cols. 429–32; and L'vov, 145–46.

[182] In 1196 Ryurik of Kiev appealed to Vsevolod of Suzdalia to avenge a similar insult to their dynasty (Ipat., cols. 694–95). In like manner, in 1181 Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich sought to free his captive son Gleb Svyatoslavich from Suzdalia (Ipat., col. 618).

Bol'shoe Gnezdo's stubborn refusal to release Vera therefore must have com-
pelled her father to capitulate to all of his terms. After that, the prince of Suz-
dalia released her and her female compatriots.

When Vsevolod Chermnyy's deputation negotiated the reconciliation and
Vera's release, Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo attempted to counterbalance the
marriage ties that the Ol'govichi had with the princes of Ryazan'. He be-
trothed his son Yury to Agafia,[183] the second daughter of Vsevolod Cherm-
nyy. The wedding ceremony took place on 10 April 1211 in the Cathedral of
the Mother of God in Vladimir.[184]

Although Tatishchev gives wrong data for Agafia's marriage, he also gives
us seemingly unique news. He reports that around Christmas of 1210, after
Vsevolod agreed to a *rapprochement,* he betrothed his son Yury to the
daughter of Vsevolod Chermnyy. He dispatched his son Konstantin with his
wife and entourage to Kiev to fetch the bride. After entertaining his guests,
Vsevolod Chermnyy sent Agafia to Suzdalia accompanied by his nephew In-
gor Ol'govich (Ingor Yaroslavich according to Tatishchev), his son Mikhail
(*Kir* Mikhail according to Tatishchev), their wives, the bishop of Chernigov,
and boyars with their wives. Vsevolod showered Agafia with gold, silver,
pearls, and fine garments. He also sent gifts for the groom: horses, precious
objects, weapons, and rich apparel. After leaving Kiev on 8 April 1211, the
bride's company visited Chernigov, where Gleb Svyatoslavich (Ryurik Ol'go-
vich according to Tatishchev) welcomed Agafia and honoured her with a
feast. On the third day, he and his wife escorted her out of the town and or-
dered his son to accompany her as far as Kolomna. She arrived in Vladimir on
Saturday 28 April. On Sunday, Bishop Ioann officiated at her marriage to
Yury in the Monastery of the Mother of God. The ceremony was followed by
eight days of festivities. Vsevolod gave his daughter-in-law gold, silver,
pearls, fine garments, and the town of Yur'ev. Finally, after bestowing gifts
on her escorts from Kiev, he saw them off.[185]

After the two Vsevolods had buttressed their political pact with the family
tie, they remained at peace. As a result of the match, Yury and his wife's
brother (*shurin*) Mikhail also became close friends.[186] This was important be-
cause both would one day become senior princes of their dynasties. Agafia
spent most of her life as the consort of the senior prince of Suzdalia, but she

---

[183] The chronicles do not give the bride's name. Historians however generally agree that
she was called Agafia (Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh,* 280; *Imennoy i geograficheskiy
ukazateli k Ipat'evskoy letopis,* compiled by L. L. Murav'eva and L. F. Kuz'mina [Moscow,
1975], 5; Index to Lav., 541; Index to NPL, 567).

[184] Lav., col. 435; Mosk., 108; Tat. 4:341; Tat. 3:185.

[185] Tat. 4:341–42; Tat. 3:185; see also Dimnik, "A Bride's Journey," 139–52.

[186] See n. 137 above.

and her family suffered a sad fate. On 7 February 1238 the Tatars broke down the gates of Vladimir forcing the princess and her court to seek sanctuary in Assumption Cathedral. Baty's troops set fire to the building and all within it perished.[187] Agafia's death with her daughters-in-law and their families bespeaks her position of influence as the matriarch of the Suzdalian dynasty. Her fate was similar to that of her sister Vera who fell victim to the Tatar lance a few weeks earlier when the invaders devastated the lands of Ryazan'.

Vsevolod Chermnyy arranged for his only son Mikhail to marry a daughter of Roman Mstislavich († 1205) of Vladimir in Volyn'.[188] One source identifies her as Elena.[189] As we have seen, Tatishchev reported that in April of 1211 Mikhail's wife accompanied him to Suzdalia for Agafia's wedding. Consequently, the couple had probably married a year or two earlier while Mikhail's father ruled Kiev and during which time he also arranged the marriages of Vera and Agafia. Even though Elena was Mikhail's wife, this did not prevent him from being a bitter enemy of her brother Daniil for most of his political career.[190] In this case, therefore, the marriage failed to unite two brothers-in-law. Nevertheless, Elena played an important part in the princely game of checks and balances. After Mikhail fled with his family and courtiers to Kamenets west of Kiev before the invading Tatars, Yaroslav Vsevolodovich of Suzdalia attacked the town and took Elena captive. Soon after he handed her over to Daniil who used her as bartering chip to negotiate reconciliation with Mikhail.[191] Like his father who had concluded peace to obtain the release of his daughter Vera, Mikhail was pacified with his brother-in-law to secure his wife's release.

Like other couples of the dynasty before them, Mikhail and Elena demonstrated familial solidarity. After their flight to Kamenets proved to be a failure, they and their family continued their search for safety among the Poles and the Germans. As an aside, it is of interest to note that while they were refugees in Silesia, they came to a town called Środa, where the inhabitants attacked their caravan. The robbers plundered their goods and killed a number of their people including their granddaughter.[192] The child's death became the subject of a local legend describing the death of a Tatar princess.[193]

In 1246, after Khan Baty had Mikhail killed, it would have been Elena's last duty to her husband, as it had been for *Volodimiryaya,* to oversee his burial.

---

[187] Lav., col. 463.
[188] Concerning Roman, see p. 166 above.
[189] Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh,* 25; *Mikhail,* 11–12.
[190] Concerning their rivalry, see, for example, *Mikhail,* 59–129.
[191] Ibid., 83–84. For Yaroslav, see Baumgarten, Table X, 8.
[192] Ipat., col. 784; *Mikhail,* 113.
[193] A. V. Florovsky, *Chekhi i vostochnye slavyane,* vol. 1 (Prague, 1935), 207–8.

According to local tradition, the bodies of the Miracle-Workers of Chernigov (i.e., Mikhail and his boyar Fedor who was martyred with him) were brought to Chernigov from the Tatar capital of Saray. Presumably it was on the initiative of Elena and the bishop of Chernigov that their remains were placed in a side-chapel dedicated to their honour in the Cathedral of the Transfiguration. After the entombment, Elena undoubtedly became one of the main champions of her husband's cult.[194] The sources do not report her death.

The Cadet Branch.

The only princess of the sixth generation from the cadet branch for whom we have any news is another Agafia, the daughter of Svyatoslav Igorevich. Around 1210, when Vladimir Igorevich was prince of Galich, he commanded his brother Svyatoslav to seize Vladimir in Volyn' from the Romanovichi. Although Svyatoslav drove out Roman's Greek widow Anna with her two sons, Daniil and Vasil'ko, he himself was evicted soon after and taken captive by Leszek of the Poles.[195] Nevertheless, his fate was not as adverse as might be expected. According to Polish sources, he and Leszek became friends, formed a pact, and sealed it with a personal bond. Svyatoslav's daughter Agafia married Leszek's brother Conrad of Mazovia.[196] The marriage alliance was, in effect, the Poles' formal approbation of Igorevichi rule in Galicia after which they allowed Svyatoslav to return to his domain there. Significantly, Leszek and Conrad were the brothers of Vsevolod Chermnyy's wife. Their family tie with the senior branch undoubtedly influenced them to form a similar association with the Igorevichi of the cadet branch.[197] As for Agafia, the chronicles never mention her.

THE SEVENTH GENERATION

The Cadet Branch.

For this, the last generation of Ol'govichi living at the time of the Tatar invasion, let us reverse our order of investigation by looking first at the cadet

---

[194] *Mikhail,* 141–43.

[195] Concerning the attack on Vladimir in Volyn', see Gust., 330; compare s.a. 1204: Ipat., col. 720.

[196] A. Szymczakowa, "Księżniczki Ruskie w Polsce XIII wieku," *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis,* Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Nauki Humanistyczno-społeczne, Folia Historica, Seria 1, zeszyt 29 (1978): 32–36; B. Włodarski, *Polska i Rus' 1194–1340* (Warszawa, 1966), 44.

[197] Dworzaczek, *Genealogia,* Table 3.

branch for which there is almost no information. We are told that sometime in 1228 Oleg Svyatoslavich of Novgorod Severskiy, evidently the senior prince of the cadet branch, gave away his daughter to Vsevolod Konstantinovich of Pereyaslavl'.[198] The marriage was advantageous to Oleg because Vsevolod belonged to the senior family of the Suzdalian dynasty. Moreover, since the princes of the cadet branch owned the Posem'e district, the match allowed Oleg to establish a personal link with the prince of the adjacent Pereyaslavl'. As we have seen, two previous princes of that principality had taken Chernigov wives.[199] Even though the threat of Polovtsian attacks had now disappeared owing to the Tatar victory over the nomads, the Ol'govichi were still eager to establish family ties with their southern neighbour to facilitate closer cooperation against potential enemies from the steppe.

The Senior Branch.

Mikhail Vsevolodovich had five sons. The chronicles, however, speak of only the eldest Rostislav for the period before the Tatar invasion. Around 1242, after marrying Anna, the daughter of King Béla IV, he deserted his father and defected to Hungary. The dynasty therefore ostracized him and he disappeared from the history books of Rus'.[200] Four other sons survived Mikhail but we do not know much more than their names: Roman, Mstislav, Simeon, and Yury.[201] The little that the sources tell us about them concerns their activities after the Tatar invasion. Consequently, they fall beyond the purview of our investigation. We also have no information concerning their wives. One of them, however, must have been the mother of the hapless girl whom the local people killed at Środa.[202] We have more information about Mikhail's two daughters. Indeed, they are worthy of special attention because they became eminent in their own right.

In the winter of 1228, the chronicler reports, Mikhail gave away his daughter Maria to Vasil'ko Konstantinovich of Rostov, the nephew of Yury Vsevolodovich of Suzdalia. The wedding took place in the Church of the

---

[198] Mosk., 122; Tver., col. 347. Only Tatishchev calls Oleg Svyatoslavich prince of Novgorod Severskiy (see s.a. 1227: Tat. 4:366; Tat. 3:221), but circumstantial evidence supports this identification. For Vsevolod, see Baumgarten, Table X, 14.

[199] In 1179, Yaroslav of Chernigov arranged for his daughter to marry Vladimir Glebovich (see pp. 190–91 above). In 1215, the daughter of Gleb of Chernigov married Vladimir Vsevolodovich (see p. 196 above).

[200] Ipat., col. 794. Rostislav had two sons and four daughters (Baumgarten, Table XII, 6–11; compare Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, 289–90), but not one came to live in Rus'.

[201] Erm., 81; see Dynasty II, 375–79.

[202] See p. 199 above.

Annunciation and, on 12 February, the couple arrived in Rostov.[203] Contrary to custom, the ceremony took place in the bride's town.[204] According to Tatishchev, Mikhail insisted that the wedding take place in Chernigov thus demonstrating his fondness for Maria. From political considerations, his daughter's marriage was important because with it he formed a personal link with the senior family of the Suzdalian dynasty. Vasil'ko was the eldest son of Konstantin, Yury's elder brother, who had been the senior prince of the dynasty and prince of Vladimir. Vasil'ko was therefore eligible to occupy both offices.

Tatishchev also claims that the couple married for romantic reasons. According to him, Yury sent Vasil'ko to Smolensk, Chernigov, and to other dynasties to find a bride, and when visiting Chernigov, the would-be groom fell in love with Maria. Happy with his nephew's choice, Yury sent him back to Chernigov where the couple was married.[205] Perhaps Vasil'ko did fall in love with Maria. At the same time, however, we should keep in mind that the brothers-in-law, Mikhail and Yury, were close friends and allies so that the latter would have wished his nephew to marry into Mikhail's family for personal and political reasons.[206] Accordingly, Yury probably consented to the wedding taking place in Chernigov in order to give Vasil'ko an opportunity to form a deeper friendship with his father-in-law. If that was Yury's plan, it succeeded. Even from distant Rostov, Maria, Vasil'ko, and their two sons would remain in close contact with Mikhail.

In 1246, after the Tatars had devastated Suzdalia and Chernigov and killed Vasil'ko, Maria sent their son Boris, who replaced Vasil'ko as prince of Rostov, to accompany Mikhail to Khan Baty's court in Saray. This news confirms the close friendship that existed between her family and her father. Indeed, it may have been Boris, at his mother's prompting, who convinced his grandfather to visit Baty by pointing out that all the princes of Suzdalia who had gone had returned safely. The active involvement of Boris in Mikhail's visit is confirmed by the role that he played in attempting to save his grandfather's life. After Baty's courtier Eldega failed to cajole Mikhail into worshiping an idol, Boris also attempted unsuccessfully to persuade him.[207] Although the sources do not tell us, it may have been Boris who brought his grandfather's remains to Chernigov and presented them to his grandmother Elena.

---

[203] Lav., col. 450. Maria's name is not given under the year 1227, but it is given under 1238 and 1271 (Lav., cols 520, 525); see also Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, 286–87.

[204] Mikhail's sister Agafia, as we have seen (pp. 198–99), travelled to Suzdalia, as did Mikhail's daughter Feodula (see p. 204 below).

[205] Tat. 4:366; compare Tat. 3:221.

[206] See, for example, *Dynasty II*, 302–3, 304.

[207] See, for example, NPL, 300–301; and Mosk., 137–38.

Maria was one of the few princesses who kept a chronicle. It has been pointed out that her close ties to her family in Chernigov are reflected in the entries that she had recorded concerning that town's fate at the hands of the invaders.[208] Moreover, since she employed a chronicler it is not surprising that he mentions her relatively frequently, namely, seven times before her death. The references are, in the main, to the notable events of her life and of her principality. Thus, in 1227, as we have seen, she married Vasil'ko. Four years later Vasil'ko, Maria, the boyars, and the whole town welcomed Kirill, the new bishop of Rostov; in the same year the bishop decorated the Church of the Mother of God in Rostov to the honour of Vasil'ko, his princess, and their son Boris.[209] In 1237, before the Tatars executed Vasil'ko, he prayed that God would spare his sons Boris and Gleb, Bishop Kirill, and his wife Maria. When the bishop and Maria learned that the Tatars had killed her husband and left his body to its fate in the woods, they had it brought to Rostov and buried in the Cathedral of the Mother of God.[210] Thus we see that once again a princess assumed responsibility for her husband's burial.

In 1249, after Vasily Vsevolodovich of Vladimir died, Boris and Gleb, their mother Maria, and Bishop Kirill escorted his body for burial.[211] Nine years later Boris and Gleb came to Rostov where they worshiped in the Cathedral of Mother of God and paid their respects to Bishop Kirill and to their mother, the "grand princess" (*knyagine velikoy*).[212] This is one of the earliest instances when this title is used for a princess. In addition to designating her as the matriarch of the dynasty, the title may also imply that she wielded political authority, especially during the intervals when her sons were visiting the Tatar khan in Saray. The sources do not tell us. In 1259, after Alexander Nevsky fled from Novgorod, he stopped in Rostov where, we are told, Bishop Kirill, Maria, and her sons Boris and Gleb welcomed him with due honour.[213]

From the above information we learn that in her role as matriarch, Maria participated in the formal events that required the presence of the princely family. These included the marriages of princes, their deaths, the visits of neighbouring rulers, the installation of bishops, and the consecration of churches. She patronized the Church by building a monastery. No doubt she was also a benefactress to the nuns, the monks, and the poor of Rostov. Maria demonstrated her piety and loyalty to her family by propagating the cults of

---

[208] Concerning Maria's chronicle, see D. S. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kul'turno-istoricheskoe znachenie* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), 282–86.

[209] Lav., cols. 457–58.

[210] Lav., cols. 466–67, 520–21.

[211] Lav., col. 472.

[212] Lav., col. 475.

[213] Lav., cols. 475, 524.

her husband and father. Accordingly, her chronicler recorded Mikhail's mar-
tyrdom and Vasil'ko's death.[214] She also commissioned her father's "Life"
(Zhitie). Moreover, Maria and her sons inaugurated the Feast of the Miracle-
Workers of Chernigov and built a church dedicated to them.[215]

On 9 December 1271 Maria died. Her son Boris and his family attended the
funeral and laid her to rest in her Monastery of St. Saviour.[216] It is noteworthy
that she was not buried alongside her husband in the cathedral of Rostov but
in the monastery that she herself had built. In this she resembled her ancestor
Maria who had built a church in St. Cyril's Monastery outside of Kiev and
chose to be buried in it rather than next to her husband in Vyshgorod. Indeed,
to judge from the available information, there was no tradition of a princess
being buried next to her husband. As was the case with every other princess,
the chronicler wrote no eulogy for Maria. In her case, however, this is sur-
prising. She would have been a prime candidate for an encomium because of
her prominent status in Rostov and because she had her own chronicler.

Finally, Mikhail and Elena had a second daughter who was not only excep-
tional but also unique. The chronicles never mention her, probably because of
her failed marriage. One source, however, the Zhitie of St. Evfrosinia written
in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, tells us that the couple's first
daughter was named Feodula. In 1227, at fifteen years of age, she was be-
trothed to a certain Prince Mina Ivanovich. Before she arrived in Suzdal' for
the wedding, however, he died. Instead of returning to Chernigov, she entered
the convent dedicated to the Deposition of the Precious Robe of the Mother of
God at Blachernae (Rizpolozhenskiy monastyr') where she adopted the reli-
gious name of Evfrosinia. She died on 25 September 1250 and was buried in
the monastery in Suzdal'.[217]

According to the Zhitie Feodula was favoured by God from birth. Her par-
ents, unable to have children, made a pilgrimage from Chernigov to the Caves
Monastery in Kiev where they prayed to Mary the Mother of God and to the
holy founders, SS. Antony and Feodosy, that they be blessed with a child.
Later, Mary appeared to Mikhail and Elena and foretold the birth of a daugh-

[214] Likhachev, Russkie letopisi, 283–84; John Fennell, "The Tale of the Death of Vasil'ko
Konstantinovič: A Study of the Sources," in Osteuropa in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Fest-
schrift für Günther Stökl zum 60. Geburtstag (Vienna, 1977), 34–46.

[215] N. Serebryansky, Drevne-russkie knyazheskie zhitiya (Obzor redaktsiy i teksty), (Mos-
cow, 1915), Texts, 51 and 110–11; Mikhail, 141–42.

[216] Lav., col. 525.

[217] V. T. Georgievsky, "Zhitie pr. Evfrosinii Suzdal'skoy, s miniatyurami, po spisku XVII
v.," Trudy Vladimirskoy uchenoy arkhivnoy komissii, bk. 1 (Vladimir, 1899), 73–172; V. O.
Klyuchevsky, Drevnerusskiya zhitiya svyatykh kak istoricheskiy istochnik (Moscow, 1871),
283–86. Concerning Mina, see Yanin, Aktovye pechati, 144–45.

1. Feodula is born in Chernigov
(Miniature III from V. T. Georgievsky, "Zhitie pr. Evfrosinii Suzdal'skoy, s miniatyurami, po spisku XVII v.," *Trudy Vladimirskoy uchenoy arkhivnoy komissii,* bk. 1 [Vladimir, 1899], Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, shelfmark 2441 d.53, facing p. 86).
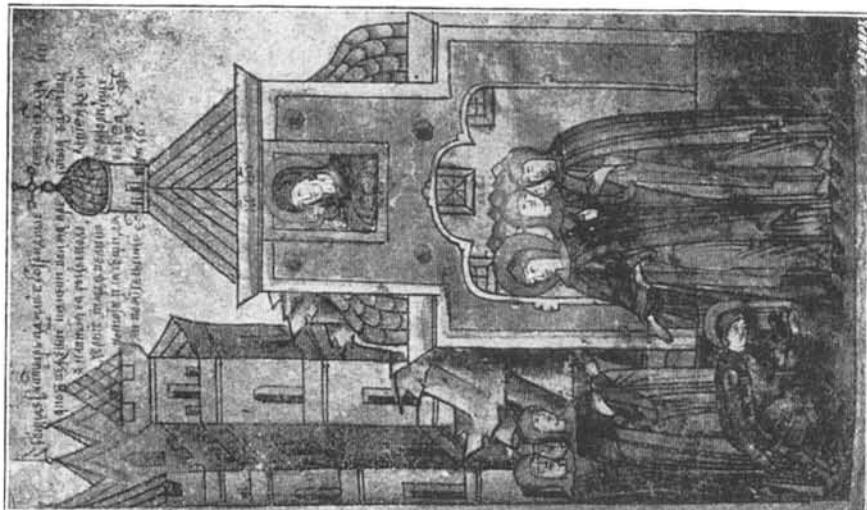
2b. Feodula enters the monastery
(Miniature V from Georgievsky, "Zhitie," Bodleian Library,
University of Oxford, shelfmark 2441 d.53, facing p. 92).
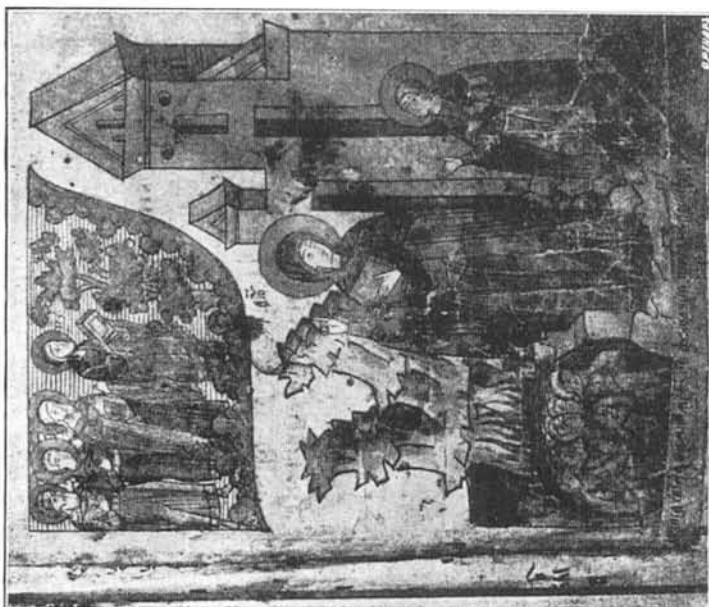
2a. Mary shows Feodula heaven and hell
(Miniature IV from Georgievsky, "Zhitie," Bodleian Library,
University of Oxford, shelfmark 2441 d.53, facing p. 90).

ter whom they were to name Feodula (**plate 1**).[218] As a young girl, the princess herself had a vision of Mary, who showed her heaven and hell (**plate 2a**). In another vision an angel counseled her to seek salvation in a monastery.[219] As a nun, she became renowned for her piety, healing powers, and apparitions (**plate 2b**). She had visions of Mary, the infant Jesus, and the Holy Cross; and through her intervention fire from heaven prevented the Tatars from attacking her monastery, and Suzdal' was saved from an earthquake.[220] Her visions also included visitations from the devil who tempted her in various guises; and as her reputation for sanctity grew, many women came to her to be instructed in the life of holiness.[221]

According to the *Zhitie,* when Mikhail was in Saray being cajoled by the Tatars and by his grandson Boris into apostatizing, Evfrosinia sent him "books" (*knigi*), which she herself had written, to help him defend the Orthodox precepts.[222] The account therefore implies that she was versed in Christian doctrine. Indeed, to judge from the *Zhitie,* she demonstrated a love of learning from her childhood. When she was nine years of age her father taught her to read and instructed her in other "wisdom" (*premudrosti*).[223] Although these may be pious topoi, Feodula, like her sister Maria, probably developed a love for the written word as a young girl. Nevertheless, contrary to the claim of Evfrosinia's hagiographer that she wrote "books," no manuscript evidence has survived to confirm that she, her sister, or any other princess of Chernigov wrote any treatises.

The *Zhitie* gives additional evidence of Evfrosinia's close association with her father. It describes how, after their deaths, Mikhail and his boyar Fedor appeared to her in visions on numerous occasions, but most significantly, twice: once to report their own martyrdom and once to foretell her death.[224] Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that, after her father's saintly defence of his faith, she, like Maria, promoted his cult. This is supported by a seventeenth-century account which reports the existence of a wooden chapel in Suzdal' dedicated to the Miracle-Workers of Chernigov.[225] We have no way of determining if Evfrosinia founded the chapel, but she evidently had

---

[218] Georgievsky, "Zhitie," 83–85. Many of these scenes are illustrated by miniatures.
[219] Ibid., 89–90.
[220] Ibid., 95, 111–13, 126–27.
[221] Ibid., 95–105.
[222] Ibid., 116–18; *Mikhail,* 151.
[223] Georgievsky, "Zhitie," 88.
[224] Ibid., 119–20, 121, 127.
[225] "Arkhivnye materialy (opisi, gramoty, ukazy, i pr.), – prilozhenie k opisaniyu Rizpolo-zhenskago monastyrya," *Trudy Vladimirskoy uchenoy arkhivnoy komissii,* bk. 2 (Vladimir, 1900), 7. Concerning the chapel, see also *Mikhail,* 149.

the means to do so. She probably entered the monastery with the wedding gifts that her father had given her.[226]

Feodula was unique: she was the first princess of Chernigov to renounce her worldly privileges and to dedicate herself to a life of holiness.[227] Even though motherhood was looked upon as the normal vocation for a princess, she chose to forsake that calling and to devote herself to religious chastity. She was the only princess of Chernigov to be canonized. Accordingly, the Orthodox Church honoured her with a *Zhitie,* a canon (*kanon*), and canticles (*stikhiry*).[228] Her feast day on 25 September is celebrated to this day.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that the information for our investigation is very limited. What the chroniclers report concerning princesses of Chernigov was determined, in the main, by the political and dynastic interests of their princely patrons. Accordingly they record, above all, the importance of the princesses as wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters. Occasionally, they describe a princess's patronage of the Church, culture, and her active involvement in political rivalries. In writing their entries the scribes, especially if they were monks, were undoubtedly constrained not only by the princes' dictates but also by their own moral principles. These probably prevented them from reporting any conduct of the princesses that the Orthodox Church held to be immoral. Despite the paucity of data and the selective reporting of the authors, however, we can draw useful conclusions.

One of a princess's most important obligations was to produce a male heir or, preferably, several. Although the chroniclers report no deaths of princesses at childbirth, this was probably the reason why a number of them died soon after marriage. A widowed prince usually remarried. He was evidently expected to replace his first wife, especially if she had produced no male progeny. Examples of such princes may have been Svyatoslav Ol'govich († 1164), his son Oleg Svyatoslavich, and Oleg the son of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich.

---

[226] David's son Svyatosha (Svyatoslav), as we have seen, became a monk in the Caves Monastery of Kiev. He retained his wealth and, according to tradition, used part of it to built the so-called "Holy Gates" of the monastery and the Trinity Chapel above them (Dimnik, "Svyatosha," [forthcoming]).

[227] As we have seen (p. 167 above), the only other princess who may have become a nun was Svyatoslav's daughter Predslavna.

[228] Georgievsky, "Zhitie," 132–42; N. P. Barsukov, *Istochniki russkoy agiografii* (St. Petersburg, 1882), cols. 179–81; E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya kanonizatsii svyatykh v russkoy tserkvi,* 2d ed. (Moscow, 1903), 115, 549. Concerning Evfrosinia's cult, see P. Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1992), 98.

The responsibility of motherhood followed upon childbirth. Unfortunately, we are told little about the behaviour of princesses as mothers. To judge from the few known instances, they established close ties with their children. Catherine's relationship with her stepson Oleg was a noteworthy example. He allegedly excused himself from his visit to Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev on the pretext that he wished to attend to his ailing mother. Later Catherine demonstrated her maternal solicitude for his career by attempting to help him seize control of Chernigov. Maria of Rostov was also closely attached to her sons Boris and Gleb, especially after the death of her husband Vasil'ko.

A wife, mother, sister, or daughter frequently served as a binding force for her family. Thus we have seen how Svyatoslav escaped with his wife and children from Novgorod Severskiy and defended them at Karachev. Mikhail and Elena fled with their family to Kamenets and later sought safety with Mikhail's Polish relatives and in Silesia. The matriarch Agafia died with her daughters-in-law and their families in the Assumption Cathedral in Vladimir. Yaroslavna was a forgiving sister who welcomed her profligate brother Vladimir and later helped to reconcile him with their father. A number of daughters were the favourites of their parents. Vseslava of Suzdalia was a notable example. As we have seen, Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev went out of his way to visit his daughter and her husband Oleg at Chichersk. Maria of Rostov expressed her love for her father Mikhail during his lifetime and after his death. Finally, sons were evidently expected to provide for their mothers in their widowhood. Thus, Svyatoslav illustrated his solicitude for Maria by bringing her to Kiev after he assumed control of the capital.

In a number of instances we have seen how wives demonstrated a special devotion to their husbands. The Polotsk consort of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich and Svyatoslav Ol'govich's wife Catherine ministered to their husbands as they lived out their last days, arranged for them to be tonsured, and supervised their interment. It was evidently the wife's duty to bury her husband. The most dramatic example was the odyssey that Vladimir's widow undertook with her husband's body from Dorogobuzh to Kiev. Maria of Rostov, for her part, retrieved Vasil'ko's corpse from the woods, where the Tatars had abandoned it, and brought it to Rostov for burial.

Marriage alliances were part and parcel of the political process in Rus'. On the one hand, princes sought to cement political alliances with marital ties. On the other hand, princes of different dynasties were more inclined to become allies if they already shared a family bond. This was the case, for example, with Vsevolod Ol'govich and the Mstislavichi, and with Vsevolod Chermnyy and the princes of Ryazan'.

In the eleventh century, the princes of Chernigov sought out foreign spouses

for their children because they could not marry their first cousins in Rus'. During the period under investigation the dynasty formed marital ties with a number of foreign peoples: the Germans, the Greeks, the Poles, the Polovtsy, and the Hungarians. By the beginning of the twelfth century the number of matches with foreign rulers decreased because consanguinity between the families of Rus' no longer presented as great an obstacle. Consequently, the princes of Chernigov turned to the dynasties of Polotsk, Smolensk, Galicia, Suzdalia, Ryazan', Gorodno, and Turov. Of these, the preferred families were those of Suzdalia and Smolensk. By the second half of the twelfth century the bloodlines of even the Ol'govichi families had become sufficiently diffused to allow Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of the senior branch and Igor' Svyatoslavich of the cadet branch to arrange an intra-dynastic marriage.

Understandably, a father as a rule attempted to arrange the best possible matches for his sons. Accordingly, he sought to find brides from powerful dynasties, from neighbouring ones, or from foreign neighbours. A son's in-laws, it was expected, would become the father's allies and the son's allies after he attained seniority. We have no record of a princess in Rus' refusing to marry the groom chosen by her father. One reason for her acquiescence, no doubt, was her youth. She was a child when she was betrothed and usually entering her teens when she married.

After her marriage, a princess could assume a pivotal political role as the representative of her home dynasty. Thus, Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo's love for Vseslava persuaded him to adopt a conciliatory policy towards her father-in-law Yaroslav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov. Igor's love for his wife Yaroslavna probably persuaded him to offer hospitality to her profligate brother Vladimir. Relations between Vsevolod Chermnyy and Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo remained strained for as long as the latter held the former's daughter Vera captive. A mother's lineage could also influence the career of her son. The Kievans welcomed Svyatoslav to Kiev, in part, because he was the son of Maria who was descended from Vladimir Monomakh. In like manner, the Igorevichi were probably invited to rule Galicia because their mother was the daughter of the deceased prince of Galich, Yaroslav Osmomysl.

On the whole, the dynasty of Chernigov enjoyed the happy marital ties that were vital for successful political alliances. We have no record of a dysfunctional princely marriage like that of Yaroslav Osmomysl and Olga in Galich. Nor did any of the princes go to war with their fathers-in-law for repudiating their wives, as Roman Mstislavich of Volyn' did with Ryurik Rostislavich of Kiev. Nonetheless, successful matches occasionally failed to generate the desired political collaboration, as was the case with Mikhail, whose marriage to Daniil's sister did not prevent the two men from becoming bitter enemies.

No princess of Chernigov attained supreme authority in Rus' as Olga did in the tenth century, when she acted as regent for her son Svyatoslav. The system of lateral succession precluded women from rising to the pinnacle of power. There were always eligible princes waiting in the wings to replace a deceased senior prince of a dynasty or the prince of Kiev. Maria was the princess who came closest, on two occasions, to the so-called golden throne. On one she was the consort of Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev and, on another, she lived in Kiev with her son Svyatoslav as the *grand dame* of Rus'.

Princesses had personal wealth and a number of them are reported to have owned towns. Some of these they received as wedding gifts. Wives of senior princes assumed the roles of matriarchs. This was the case with Agafia the daughter of Vsevolod Chermnyy, and with Maria the daughter of Mikhail. It is noteworthy that the chronicles never report a case of a wife in the dynasty having to compete for her husband's favour with a concubine, as was the case with Olga the wife of Yaroslav Osmomysl in Galich. Before her death it was customary for a princess to enter a monastery that she had patronized.

The princesses of Chernigov were not, on the whole, prominent personalities. Nevertheless, a number of them had the ambition, talent, and position of privilege, which enabled them to rise above the norm. They participated in political activities and patronized religious projects. Again, the outstanding example was Maria, the wife of Vsevolod Ol'govich. She used her genealogical seniority and affiliations with senior princes to give sanctuary to fugitives; she was also a benefactress of the Church. Catherine the wife of Svyatoslav Ol'govich schemed in vain to hand over Chernigov to her stepson Oleg. The wife of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich plotted with him, also unsuccessfully, against David Rostislavich and his brothers. Mikhail's daughter Maria became a powerful matriarch, kept a chronicle, built a church dedicated to her father, and commissioned accounts recording the deaths of her father and husband. Mikhail's daughter Feodula expressed her singularity by entering a monastery and pursuing a life of chastity.

The available information suggests that the princesses of Chernigov were, on the whole, dutiful women. They were also righteous in that they were not conniving or ruthless. We have no record of a princess resorting to murder either to promote her own ends or the career of her husband or son. The princesses were not promiscuous or, at least, the chroniclers never accuse them of adultery. And yet, they were not encouraged to adopt the life of virginity in a monastery. Motherhood was the preferred vocation because it provided offspring for the propagation of the dynasty, and it enabled their fathers to advance their family's political ends by forming favourable marriage alliances.

MARRIAGES IN THE DYNASTY OF CHERNIGOV: TABLE 1

I	II	III	IV

Vsevolod
†1146
Maria
(*Senior Branch*
Table 2)

Gleb
†1078
?

Igor'
†1147
?

I–VII = generation
† = died (a date with no
   † is the last reference)
∞ = married
1. = first marriage
2. = second marriage
d. = daughter of
? = uncertain or un-
   known information

Oleg
†1115
Feofania
(*Ol'govichi*)

Gleb
†1138
?

Svyatoslav
Yaroslavich
†1076

Svyatoslav
†1164
   1. d. Khan Aepa
   2. Catherine
   of Novgorod
(*Cadet Branch*
Table 3)

1.Killikiya

David
†1123
Feodosia
(*Davidovichi*)

Svyatoslav
†1143
Anna

Daughter
∞ Vsevolod

Rostislav
†1120
?

Roman
†1079
?

Vsevolod
†1124
d. Boleslav III

Vysheslava
Boleslav II

Vladimir
†1151
1. ?
2. Princess
of Gorodno

Svyatoslav
†1166
d. Andrey
Bogolyubskiy

Predslavna
†1116
Nun?

2. Oda

Yaroslav
†1129
?
(**House of**
Ryazan')

Izyaslav
†1161
Polovtsian
princess?

MARRIAGES IN THE DYNASTY OF CHERNIGOV: TABLE 2 (SENIOR BRANCH)

III	IV	V	VI	VII
	Svyatoslav † 1194 ∞ Princess of Polotsk	Vladimir † 1200 ∞ d. Mikhalko	David † 1196 ∞ d. Igor'	Rostislav † 1264 ∞ Anne
		Oleg † 1204 ∞ 1. d. Andrey of Suzdal' ∞ 2. d. Yury of Ryazan'	Son † 1204 ∞ ? ? Ingor 1211	Feodula Nun Maria ∞ Vasil'ko of Rostov
		Vsevolod † 1212 ∞ d. Casimir II	Mikhail † 1246 ∞ d. Roman Vera ∞ Kir Mikhail	Roman † 1288 ∞ ? Mstislav ∞ ?
Vsevolod † 1146 ∞ Maria	Anne ∞ Igor' of Galich	Boleslava ∞ Vladimir of Galich	Agafia ∞ Yury	Simeon ∞ ?
	Zvenislava ∞ Boleslav the Tall	Gleb † 1215? ∞ Anastasia	Mstislav † 1239? ∞ ?	Yury ∞ ?
		Daughter ∞ Mstislav of Volyn'	Evfimia ∞ Emperor's son	
		Daughter ∞ Roman of Ryazan'	Daughter ∞ Vladimir of Suzdal'	
		Mstislav † 1223 ∞ Yasynya	Dmitry † 1223 ∞ Mamelfa ? Son ∞ ?	Vasil'ko † 1238
	Yaroslav † 1198 ∞ Irene	Rostislav 1212 ∞ Vseslava		
		Yaropolk 1212 ∞ ?		
		Daughter ∞ Vladimir of Pereyaslavl'		

MARRIAGES IN THE DYNASTY OF CHERNIGOV: TABLE 3 (CADET BRANCH)

III	IV	V	VI	VII

Svyatoslav
†1164

∞ 1. d. Khan
   Aepa

- Daughter
   ∞ Roman of
      Smolensk

- Oleg †1180
   ∞ 1. d. Yury
      Dolgorukiy
   ∞ 2. Agafia —| Svyatoslav
                  1185 _____
                  ∞ ?

- Oleg 1228
   ∞ ? ——| Daughter
            ∞ Vsevolod of
               Pereyaslavl'

Mstislav
† 1241
∞ ?

∞ 2. Catherine
   of Novgorod

- Igor' †1201
   ∞ Yaro-
      slavna ——

- Vladimir 1211
   ∞ d. Khan ——| Izyaslav
      Konchak   1255?
                     ∞ ?

- Maria
   ∞ Yaropolk
      of Buzhsk

- Oleg 1175

- Roman †1211
   ∞ ?

- Daughter
   ∞ Vladimir
      of Doro-
      gobuzh

- Svyatoslav
   †1211
   ∞ Yaroslava —| Agafia
                   ∞ Conrad
                      of Mazovia

- Daughter
   ∞ David of
      Senior Branch

- Vsevolod
   †1196
   ∞ d. Gleb of —| Son
      Pereyaslavl'   ∞ ?

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S HERBAL*

A. G. Rigg

IN his *De contemptu mundi,* the historian Henry of Huntingdon states that he had once written a herbal:[1]

> Henricus tibi serta gerens, epigramata primum,
> Prelia mox Veneris, gramina deinde tuli.

Leland had seen this work, which he calls "de herbarum virtute, carmine," at St. Benet Hulme, Norfolk, and he quotes four lines from it.[2] Until recently it was generally reported as lost.[3] An attempt by the cataloguers of the Sloane collection to identify it with the text embedded in London, British Library Sloane 3468, fols. 31r–105v (s. XIV) was dismissed by John Harvey,[4] followed by Diana Greenway. In 1997, however, Bernd Ruppel presented very

---

[1] Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum. The History of the English People,* ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford, 1996), esp. cxiv–cxv. Professor Greenway has been very generous with advice about Henry's career and with allusions to his other works.

[2] Johannes Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis,* ed. A. Hall (Oxford, 1709), 197–98. The *Commentarii* was completed in 1545. The lines cited are from the prologue to book I (Appendix, no. 2 below), lines 11–14.

[3] It was reported as lost, for example, by H. R. Luard in the old *Dictionary of National Biography,* by Greenway in the introduction to *Historia Anglorum,* cxiv, by Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540,* Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 1 (Turnhout, 1997), 171, and by myself, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), by negative implication.

[4] John H. Harvey, "The Square Garden of Henry the Poet," *Garden History* 15 (Spring, 1987), 1–11. It is not clear why he was so firm in his rejection of Henry of Huntingdon as author. He could not, of course, know of the Prague manuscript described below, which preserves the proper order of the herbs; he used only the prose lists in the Sloane manuscript (see pp. 223 and 288–92 below) and did not check these against the texts of the poems themselves; and he did not know of the importance of the additions to the English Macer (see p. 223 below). Consequently, many of his identifications are doubtful and at best suspect, and his reconstruction of the garden, with tall flowers at the back, is fanciful. He does, however, give an interesting account of the layout of medieval formal gardens.

cogent reasons for accepting the identification.[5] He noticed that the lines quoted by Leland are in a poem in the Sloane manuscript (see item no. 2 in the Appendix below, lines 11–14), and he prints the poem; he points out that Leland was correct in identifying Henry's principal source as "Macer"; and he notes that the opening couplet of the prose prologue (Appendix, no. 1) is almost exactly identical to lines 3–4 of the prologue to Henry's *Historia Anglorum*. He also rightly observes that the text in the Sloane manuscript does not present the poems in their original order, and he makes some very perceptive suggestions about what the original herbal might have looked like (all of which turn out to be correct).

I can now confirm Ruppel's identification. A complete text of Henry's herbal, in the correct order, is preserved in Prague, Knihovna metropolitní kapituly M. VI (1359), fols. 1r–47r (this part written in 1443), although there is no ascription to Henry in the text.[6] I had, in fact, been pursuing the same lines of investigation as Ruppel (before my attention was drawn to his article) and had noticed other indications of Henry's authorship—the metres of the prologue poems and the internal allusion to Queen Matilda's epitaph (see p. 216 below). The poem on Artemisia (I.1 in the list below, the eleventh of Henry's herbs in the Sloane order) says that it is placed "primo limite," and when I checked the incipit of this poem in Walther's *Initia* I found the reference to the Prague manuscript.[7] The contents of the verse herbal, mainly as in the Prague manuscript (*P*), are described in detail below. There is a prose prologue (not in *P*), four books of twenty-five herbs each (I–IV), and two more books (V–VI); each book has a prologue (the prologue to book I is lacking in *P*), and sometimes an epilogue; and there is an epilogue to the whole work. The book divisions are clear in the text but are not in *P;* they have been (correctly) supplied by a later hand at the top of the page. Names of the plants are in the margins, but there are no authorial attributions. On the verso of the flyleaf at the front is a list of contents of the manuscript, beginning "Macer orti anglici" to which a slightly later hand has added "lib. vj."[8]

---

[5] Bernd Ruppel, "Ein verschollenes Gedicht des 12. Jahrhunderts: Heinrichs von Huntingdon 'De herbis,' " *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 31 (1997): 197–213. He includes an edition of the poem on rue (*Ruta,* I.10 below). I owe this reference to Winston Black of Toronto, who has offered many helpful suggestions about the herbal.

[6] A. Podlaha, *Soupis Rukopisů: Knihovní Metropolitní Kapitoly Pražské* (Prague, 1922), 262–3, no. 1359. For the colophon indicating the date, see p. 246 below

[7] Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum,* 2d ed. (Göttingen, 1969), no. 7710. This was lucky, since the text in *P* lacks the proper beginning to the herbal, as the prose prologue and book I prologue (Appendix, nos. 1–2) are lacking.

[8] Winston Black has pointed out to me that many catalogues record an item "Macer herbarum." Since *c* and *t* are indistinguishable in many scripts (including that of *P*), we could read

The Sloane witness (*S*) presents an entirely different picture. It begins, after a couplet, with a prose prologue on fols. 31r–32r. This is followed by five poems, four of which in *P* are the prologues to books II-IV and the poem I have labelled IV.1-2. Interspersed among these poems are four prose lists of herbs (printed on pp. 288–92 below) in an order that for the most part reflects that of *P* rather than *S*, but only up to IV.23, which is the last poem included in *S*. The body of the Sloane text of the poems begins on fol. 34r and consists of an alphabetically organized herbal from Abrotanum (fol. 34r) to Yreos (fol. 105v). Each herb is given one, two, or three entries—by Macer Floridus,[9] Henricus, or Grosthede.[10] The Grosseteste entries are in prose, those by Macer and Henricus in verse, entirely hexameters. The name of the herb and the attribution to an author are given above and at the side of each entry.[11]

From the two witnesses it is possible to reconstruct the original form of the herbal, which was certainly like *P*. Where there are internal allusions to the position of the herb in its book or bed (e.g., eleventh, thirteenth, etc.) these always reflect the placing in each book of *P*. We can also be sure that the first of the five poems in the *S* preliminary matter, "Qui teneris ludens" (Appendix, no. 2), which is not in *P*, was the original prologue to book I. *P* includes all the poems ascribed to Henry and none of those ascribed to Macer in *S* (except one ascribed to Macer in error). The material that is in *P* and not *S*—that is, IV.24-25, IV Epilogues 1-2 (Appendix, nos. 17-18), and all of books V–VI—is also clearly genuine, as there are references back to the material of books I–IV (at IV Epilogue 1 and at VI.1.12). The full-length version was also the source for the English Macer additions and for Henry Daniel (see pp. 223-24 below). The status of the prose prologue (Appendix, no. 1) is less clear. It is often obscure and it is probably textually deficient—something seems to be missing in the middle. On the other hand, its opening couplet "Principium rerum" echoes a line in V Prologue (Appendix, no. 19) and the *Historia Anglorum,* and the allusion to a *theatrum* in the middle of the garden is found in IV Epilogue 1 (Appendix, no. 17). It is likely that the *S* prose prologue is genuine Henry, even if textually deficient. The final remark in the *S* prologue ("Sciatis autem utique hic apposita ex auctoritatibus sumpta") can

---

this as "Mater herbarum"; and as Artemisia (I.1) is the mother of herbs, it is quite possible that some of these texts are in fact of Henry's herbal rather than Macer's.

[9] Macer Floridus, *De viribus herbarum,* ed. L. Choulant (Leipzig, 1832).

[10] The "Grosseteste" recipes are in fact from the Pseudo-Apuleius, as noted by Ruppel: *Pseudo-Apuleii Herbarius,* ed. E. Howald and H. E. Sigerist, Corpus Medicorum Latinorum 4 (Leipzig, 1927). Winston Black made the same identification independently.

[11] The scribe begins this practice with his fifth herb (Acidula) on fol. 36r, and gives the author starting on fol. 36v (De aleo. Macer).

be taken in two ways, referring to the multiple sources for the *S* text (Macer, Henry, and Grosseteste) or the various sources used by Henry himself.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S AUTHORSHIP

First, we must note that all the poems in *P* that are also in *S* are, in *S*, ascribed to "Henricus" or "Henricus poeta."[12] Many of these are also ascribed to Henry by Henry Daniel (see p. 224 below). We know from Henry of Huntingdon's own statement (above) that he had written a herbal, and this was seen in the sixteenth century by John Leland.[13] Leland quotes four lines which are identical to lines 11–14 of I Prologue (Appendix, no. 2). Thus, the poem that Leland saw was that witnessed by *P* and *S*.

Several poems are self-referential. The final epilogue to the whole work (Appendix, no. 27) directs the reader who wishes to know "qui, cuias, cui" to the poems on Baldmoney (I.5 [Appendix, no. 4]) and Rose and Oil-of-Rose (II.10 [Appendix, no. 12]). In the former the author says that England had made baldmoney a spice and himself a poet. In II.10 there is a dialogue between the Muse Erato, Macer, Stabus, and Henry, and Henry speaks in the first person ("Sic ego"). These poems, however, simply indicate that the author was English and named Henry. For testimony that this was Henry of Huntingdon we must turn to the poem on Basil (I.2 [Appendix, no. 3]). In this the poet recalls that Matilda used to put earth in a pot and then sow seeds in the soil, putting the pot out by day and indoors at night. He praises Matilda,

> Anglorum Matillis honor, decus et dolor orbis,
> Cuius funereum mea dant epigramata carmen,

clearly alluding to Henry of Huntingdon's epitaph on Matilda, wife of Henry I.[14]

These autobiographical allusions can be strengthened by others. He refers to his early poems on love (see above) in II.10 (Appendix, no. 12), where the Muse says that in his poem on love he had digressed onto the topic of herbs. In IV Epilogue 2 he addresses Henry I (to whom he had addressed a historical

---

[12] The exceptions are the poems placed before ascriptions begin on fol. 36v of *S* and I.17 [Appendix, no. 6]), ascribed to Macer as the result of a scribal slip.

[13] See n. 2 above. Leland mentions eight books ("libri octo"), "De Herbis, De Aromatibus, De Gemmis." There may be some connection (though I am not sure what) with Apollo's promise in V Prologue (Appendix, no. 19) to insert "gemmas," to interrupt the gems with precious stones, and to add "orientis aromata." Somehow these may have formed two more books, in addition to the I–VI that we have.

[14] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* 7.30, ed. Greenway, 462. It is also in Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud lat. 86, which contains a group of Henry's poems.

poem *De serie regum*), who "is not detained in war by Normandy," perhaps showing that the king was available to receive Henry's herbal (Appendix, no. 18). Not too much reliance can be placed on the next example, but in II Prologue (Appendix, no. 10) the poet says that Clio has already given him bright garlands, and Clio, of course, is the Muse of history.

Finally there is the metrical evidence. The prologues to books II–IV (Appendix, nos. 10, 13, 15) are in, respectively, the metre of Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae* I m. 2, Sapphics, and Adonics. These are not unique in the twelfth century (Goscelin, for example, used them), but the only Henry I know that used them was Henry of Huntingdon. The sum of evidence is overwhelming: Henry's own statement that he had written on herbs, Leland's testimony and citation from this poem, the name of the author and his country, the allusion to Matilda and his epitaph for her, and the metre.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE HERBAL

The attention paid by Henry to the organization of the herbal is remarkable. It is symmetrical but varied. Books I–IV contain the hundred herbs (so-called in list A, p. 289 below), IV Epilogue 1 (Appendix, no. 17), and VI.1.12 (p. 243 below). Each book consists of a prologue and twenty-five poems.[15] Books I–IV, minus IV.24–25, seem to have been the source of the lists. That the herbal was originally supposed to contain only the hundred herbs is suggested by the reference in IV Epilogue 1 (Appendix, no. 17) to the evening drawing in, and the dedicatory tone of IV Epilogue 2 (Appendix, no. 18), addressed to Henry I and containing a list of previous writers on herbs.

This decimal symmetry turns to duodecimal in the continuation. In V Prologue (Appendix, no. 19) he promises twelve more herbs, and Apollo says that he himself will supply "aromas of the east." After these twelve (V.1.1–12) we see the first "continuation device": in V Interlude (Appendix, no. 20), he is interrupted by a cook (see below), who reports on six vegetables (V.2.1–6). The second "device" is in book VI: Henry begins with twelve eastern spices (VI.1.1–12)—incidentally referring back to the hundred herbs and III.18, as though he was now at the end—but when he thinks he has finished he is interrupted (VI Interlude [Appendix, no. 26]) by a venerable bearded man, probably Apollo, who gives accounts of twenty-eight exotic spices (VI.2.1–28). Book VI concludes (VI.2.28) with the evening drawing in, as did IV Epilogue 1, making a second conclusion to the herbal.

---

[15] This works in book IV if we treat Hyacinth and Narcissus (which I have numbered IV.1–2) as two of the herbs.

Thus, the symmetry, decimal in I–IV and duodecimal in V–VI, is broken by the two interruptions by other speakers, the cook and Apollo. In the final epilogue to the whole work (Appendix, no. 27) it is stated that the garden encloses 160 eastern earth-loving spices; this is clearly a slip by the poet, as only book VI has eastern spices. The whole work consists of (4×25)+12+6+12+28; to bring it to 160 we are perhaps supposed to add the vine and wild cucumber of IV Epilogue 1 (Appendix, no. 17). The colophon to IV in *P* reads "sequitur quintus liber anglicani orti," and the flyleaf calls the work "Macer orti anglici," but it is not clear whether the "English garden" is supposed to mean the whole herbal or just I–V (or I–IV); in any case, it is probably a title that the book bore in England.

THE COOK EPISODE

This entertaining and ingenious "continuation device" needs more attention. In V Interlude (Appendix, no. 20), Henry begins by bragging about his hundred herbs and his recent addition of twelve more. He is interrupted by a cook, who asks why he has not mentioned vegetables such as leek, onions, and cabbages; he replies that he is writing about herbs, not food. The cook rejoins that because Henry has worked just from books, he may not have seen vegetables. Henry admits that he cannot know everything, and the cook should say what he knows. Thus, the cook recites V.2.1–6. The first three (Onion, Leek, and Cabbage) are straightforward, but V.2.4 (Appendix, no. 21) begins with Henry complaining about the cook's continued nonsense; the cook says he knows a plant that Henry doesn't and goes on to describe Orach and its qualities. In V.2.5 (Appendix, no. 22) the cook addresses Henry as "livor" and asks why he is critical of Parsley (Petroselinum), which he had described in I.21 (Appendix, no. 7); the cook names several antidotes and says that parsley is important in all of them. In V.2.6 (Appendix, no. 23) the cook begins by saying that he has not yet finished "barking" (Henry's insult in V.2.4), and goes on with an enthusiastic account of Garlic.

The character of the cook goes back to I.21 (Appendix, no. 7), in which Henry, describing the medical properties of parsley, is interrupted by Apollo, who calls on Thalia (Muse of comedy) to dispel the doctors and summon the cooks, for they were not despised by the cook who wrote epigrams ("epigramata scribens"). Henry says that he will follow this cook and so can perhaps earn the name of poet. He goes on to describe the value of parsley in cooking mutton and pork. The cook "who wrote epigrams" is undoubtedly

Martial, who was nicknamed "cook" by many medieval writers.[16] Martial was the source for Henry's poem *De amore virtutis*,[17] which blends phrases from Martial Epp. 3.65 and 11.8 (two pederastic poems) to form a poem in praise of virtue.[18] The herbs mentioned in Henry's epigram all appear in the herbal.

Thus, Henry has neatly picked up his own allusion to Martial at I.21 (having already made use of him in his epigrams) and brought him back into the picture to introduce the topic of six vegetables.

THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE

Not surprisingly, Henry is as careful about the arrangement of the poems separately as he is about the overall structure.[19] As many as possible are linked together to form a continuous thread. Artemisia (I.1) comes first as "mother of herbs," and is followed by Basil (I.2 [Appendix, no. 3]) "post matrem." Bugloss and Sanicle (I.14–15) are said to go together rightly, as both cure wounds. Smallage and Petroselinum (I.20–21) are both kinds of parsley. White and Black Hellebore and Azimum (II.2–4) are all good for mental health. The Lily, Rose, and Violet (II. 9–11 [see Appendix, no. 12]) are all emblems of the Virgin Mary. Iris and Yreos (III.8–9) are similar plants, followed by Mint (III.10) because all are hot and dry in the second degree. III.13–14 present two kinds of radish. Mustard, Colewort, and Lettuce (IV.3–5) are linked because the first two are hot and lettuce is to be used with colewort. Lupin and Fenugreek (IV.11–12) both go to battle against wine, and Men and Cipparus (IV.19–20) are both diuretics.

Most striking is Henry's obsession with the numerical placing of each herb in its book (or bed). I.1 Artemisia ("primo limite"), I.11 Hyssop ("undenam"), I.25 (Appendix, no. 9) Myrtle ("ultima"), II.6 Caraway ("sexto lecto"), II.12 Celidonia ("spacio duodeno"), II.25 Ligustica ("finis ad adventum"), III.5 Nymphea ("Quinta libro detur"), IV.3 Sinapis ("tercia stat"), IV.7 Nasturcium ("septima stant"), IV.13 Papauer ("Miconius stat terdecimus"), IV.25 Savina

---

[16] Wolfgang Maaz, *Lateinische Epigrammatik im hohen Mittelalter* (Hildesheim, 1992), 262–67.

[17] "Balsama quod spirant" (*Historia Anglorum* 12.7 [=*Epigrams* 2.7], ed. Greenway, 814–16, with notes by Michael Winterbottom). Many of the herbs in this poem are also in the herbal.

[18] Maaz, *Lateinische Epigrammatik*, 137–43, discusses the poem at length and has extensive discussions on the influence of Martial on medieval Latin poetry.

[19] Pipera (II.18) and Piper (VI.1.1) are different plants, as are Balsama (III.12) and Balsamus (VI.2.1). The repetition of Petroselinum (I.21 and V.2.5) is a deliberate joke between Henry and the "cook."

("Ultima procedit"). For some reason he was particularly concerned to mark the point at which twenty herbs had been described. Each twenty-first herb begins with the phrase "viginti visis" (I.21 [Appendix, no. 7], II.21, III.21, and IV.21).

HENRY'S TREATMENT OF HIS MATERIAL

About half the poems are based directly on Macer.[20] A great number of the Macer-based poems are simple reworkings—reorganization of lines and words—and are there for the sake of completeness. Many, however, have been transformed by imaginative literary reshapings. We have mentioned above how three vegetables, Orach, Petroselinum, and Garlic (V.2.4–6 [Appendix, nos. 21–23]) are made to form part of Henry's argument with the cook. Rose (II.10 [Appendix, no. 12]), part of the series of Virgin emblems, Violet-Rose-Lily, has been made into a dialogue between the Muse Erato, Macer, Stabus, and Henry himself. The poem on Elecampane (III.15 [Appendix, no. 14]) is a comic dialogue between the herb and Henry. He sometimes adds material—medical antidotes in Marrubium (III.20), Catmint (III.23), and Jusquiamum (V.1.3)—and he inserts allusions to Horace and Ovid in Cumin (VI.1.19).

Among the non-Macer poems there is more variety. Some appear to be taken from other herbals, as they are purely medical, but I have not attempted to find their sources. In others, Henry's hand is clearly evident. In Basil (I.2 [Appendix, no. 3]), as we have seen, he recounts the story of Matilda's fondness for the plant and her treatment of it. Baldmoney (I.5 [Appendix, no. 4]) gives him the occasion to mention his own origins, and in Germander (I.12 [Appendix, no. 5]) he tells us how he used to listen to Anselm of Laon's lectures. He mentions that Lavender (I.8) is good for storing clothes and books. Periwinkle (I.23 [Appendix, no. 8]) is one of his most elaborate treatments: he describes it in terms of classical myths, and he addresses girls who are reluctant to make love. On Mandragora (II.1 [Appendix, no. 11]) he gives an account of its similarity to the human figure and the story of how to uproot it without suffering death. Others of interest include Comfrey (II.20), prompting Henry to explain why so many plants have similar properties; Winter Violet (II.21), which blooms at Christmas; Dittany (III.1), which appears in the *Aeneid;* Feverfew (III.4), on whose nature, in Horace's phrase, "sub judice lis

---

[20] Macer Floridus, *De viribus herbarum,* ed. Choulant. In book V all but three (V.1.9; V.1.12; V.2.5 [Appendix, no. 22]) are from Macer, whereas in book VI.2.1–28, only one is from Macer (VI.2.15). The rest are spread fairly evenly.

est"; Millemorbia (III.5), whose name will not fit into verse; Lupin and Fenu-
greek (IV.11–12), which go into battle against alcohol; and Palma Christi
(IV.24), with its Christian significance; Burr, which Henry asks the Muse not
to neglect (V.1.12); and Liquorice (VI.1.11), which, like Elecampane, speaks
in the first person.

Although it is still a herbal (and is quoted as such by the English Macer and
Henry Daniel, as noted below), Henry's composition is more a vehicle for his
poetic imagination and skills. These are most evident in the prologues and
epilogues and the pseudo-prologue IV.1–2 (Appendix, no. 16). He uses the
props of classical poetry—invocations to gods and Muses, the garlands granted
by them to poets—to refer back to his past successes and to ask for aid in his
future plans. The plan here is to promote knowledge and healing. Phoebus
Apollo was god of both poetry and medicine. His son Aesculapius (III Pro-
logue [Appendix, no. 13]) was the founder of medicine. It is Apollo who
promises to supply eastern herbs (V Prologue [Appendix, no. 19]) and who
intervenes as an old man (VI Interlude [Appendix, no. 26]) to deliver VI.2.1–
28. The need to associate ethics and medicine is stressed in IV Prologue
(Appendix, no. 15): just as the cosmos is ruled by Phoebus and Phoebe, sun
and moon, so human physical life and mental health are guided by Medicine
and Ethics. Vergil is echoed in VI Prologue (Appendix, no. 24) on the need to
know the causes of things, especially health. The Muse of history, Clio, is
invoked in II Prologue, as she has already garlanded him. The Muse of lyric
poetry, Erato, leads the poets in praise of the Rose (II.10 [Appendix, no. 12]).
In the poem that first introduces the cook on the subject of parsley (I.21
[Appendix, no. 7]), Apollo calls on Thalia, Muse of comedy, to drive away the
doctors and bring on the cooks. Yet the presence of a supreme being is evi-
dent throughout: if you despise what is perishable, put your trust in the lord of
eternal splendour (III Prologue [Appendix, no. 13]). In V Prologue God is in-
voked as beginner, invigorator, and end of things (Appendix, no. 19); Myrtle
will heal, unless the one who granted life has determined death (I.25 [Ap-
pendix, no. 9]). Christ, naturally, is a topic in Palma Christi (IV.24), and the
Virgin Mary lies behind II.9–11. This blend of classicism and Christianity
suggests that Henry felt no tension between them: classical mythology was
simply an expression for, or agent of, divine power. His acceptance of classi-
cal myth is perfectly illustrated in IV.1–2 (Appendix, no. 16);[21] this retells the

---

[21] I have called this poem a "pseudo-prologue": although it is included in the count of the
twenty-five herbs, it is not given a title in *P* or *S*, and it is not in the lists printed on pp. 288–92
in the Appendix below. *S* puts it with the other prologues, at the front of the text, not in alpha-
betical sequence under H- or N-.

stories of Hyacinth and Narcissus, young boys transformed into flowers that now heal the bruised, the feverish, and those deformed by blemishes.

DATE OF THE HERBAL

The outer dates for the completion of the herbal are 1118, the death of Queen Matilda (I.2 [Appendix, no. 3], lines 4–5]) and 1135, the death of Henry I (IV Epilogue 2 [Appendix, no. 18]). Any attempts to refine it further rest on unsure ground. It was certainly after his poem *De amore* (II.10 [Appendix, no. 12], lines 5–6), but the date of this is unknown. He tells us that he is *senex* (I Prologue [Appendix, no. 2], line 6), but this could mean anything over forty (putting it about 1120–25) or be a joke. That Henry I was not now detained by wars in Normandy (IV Epilogue 2, lines 2–3) might suggest the king's return to England after successful campaigns in Normany in 1120 or 1124—probably the latter, in view of the disaster of the White Ship in 1120—but other dates are possible. There is also the tantalizing possibility that the honour shown to the poet by Clio, Muse of history ("que iam serta michi clara dedisti, Antiquisque parum supposuisti," II Prologue [Appendix, no. 10], lines 5–6), was for the completion of the first version of the *Historia Anglorum* in 1129. But these are slender straws.[22]

THE SLOANE REVISION AND THE SLOANE LISTS.

Naturally, Henry's careful organization of the herbal disappears in the alphabetical arrangement in *S*, though none of the internal markers (the numbers indicating position in the book or the "viginti visis" phrases) are omitted. The first line of Lactuca (IV.5), "Hanc cum lactucis calidam gelidis sociabis," refers to the preceding herb in *P*, Eruca (IV.4). Here *S*, perhaps with a sense that its old position would not make sense, has shifted the line so that it becomes the final line of Eruca. *S* omits Crocus (I.3), Basilisca (II.22), Tansy (II.24), and all material after IV.23. Of these, Crocus and Tansy are in the lists (be-

---

[22] The epitaph for Matilda († 1118) may have some bearing on Henry's lost six books of epigrams (see *Historia Anglorum,* ed. Greenway, cx, cxii–cxiii). In his preface to book 12 of the *Historia Anglorum* (ed. Greenway, 804), Henry says that these two books of epigrams (i.e., 11–12, the only extant books of epigrams) are in addition to the six preceding ones ("sex precedentibus"): "Fuit ergo sex librorum titulus 'epigramata iocunda.' " In his poem on Basil (I.2 [Appendix, no. 3]), he says that his epitaph on Matilda is in his epigrams ("cuius funereum mea dant epigramata carmen"). Are we to infer that the epitaph was among the "epigramata iocunda"?

low, A5, B23), but none of the others. It is possible that the exemplar from which *S* made its new alphabetized version stopped at IV.23 and lacked Basilisca, but it is impossible to be certain.

S groups the prose prologue and the prologues to I–IV at the beginning of its text. Interspersed among these are four prose lists of herbs (printed below at pp. 288–92). These are derived not from *S* but from the original herbal, since (with a few errors) they are in the order of *P*. They may be based on a contents list of the original version of the herbal (perhaps lacking Basilisca and material after IV.23) that was used in the Sloane reorganization.

THE ENGLISH MACER ADDITIONS

The Middle English translation of Macer Floridus is for the most part just that:[23] a prose translation of all the poems in the main text of Choulant's edition, seventy-eight in all. The first eight and the last twelve are in the same position as in Choulant, but the rest are in a quite different order. At the end of the translation of Macer proper, the English translator writes, "Now folowiþ a fewe herbes of whiche Macer tretyþ nat of, atte lest þey ben nat founden in the cours of Macer book." He gives prose accounts of twenty-seven herbs whose descriptions correspond to those of Henry's herbal (though Henry is never named). In order they are Sanycle (I.15), Pympernolle (II.18, where it is called Pipera), Baldemoyne (I.5), Beta þe lesse (I.19), Rodewort (i.e., Solsequium, I.22), Tansey (II.24), Laureole (I.4), Liquorice (VI.1, 11), Notemuge (VI.2.24), Mirtus (I.25), Safran (I.3), Carui (II.6), Saxifrage (II.8), Benet (i.e., Hare's ear, II.19), Ditayne (III.1), Feverfoy (III.4), Bawme (III.12, not the one at VI.2.1), Millemorbia (nymphe, fiala, III.5), Nepe (Raphanus, III.13), Radissh (III.14), Sclareye (III.21), Femygrek (IV.12), Git (IV.14), Azara (i.e., Gazara, IV.15), Valerian (IV.21), Lupinus (IV.11), and Ambrosiana (I.6). Thus, the translator of Macer had texts of both Macer and Henry, and he clearly distinguished them. Also he had a full text, including several herbs from book VI. Like *S*, the English Macer used both Macer and Henry; its Macer, however, was more complete than *S* (which has only sixty-eight of Macer's herbs) The English translator of Macer used only a fraction of the poems by Henry, but he carefully distinguished them from Macer's. The translator omits all the literary embellishments of Henry's poems and sticks firmly to the botanical and medical.

---

[23] A *Middle English Translation of Macer Floridus de Viribus Herbarum,* ed Gösta Frisk (Uppsala, 1949). The "Additions" are on pp. 189–200.

HENRY DANIEL

Henry Daniel, a fourteenth-century English Dominican, wrote two major works, one on urine in Latin and English, and another in English, the *Aaron*, an alphabetical index of herbs and other medical matters, written in the years just after 1377.[24] The textual relationship and development of both texts is very complicated, but for the present purpose it is enough to note that the *Aaron* is a major testimony to Henry of Huntingdon's herbal. It cites its sources meticulously, and among them are Macer and "Henricus Englisch," "Henricus Anglicus," "Henri.," "Henricus," and, splendidly, "Henr. Englisch, leche and noble poete." Daniel twice cites Henry's Latin directly: under Gariofilata (clove, VI.1.4), where he gives an inaccurate English couplet as a rendering, and Elifagus (that is, Lilifagus, Salvia, sage, I.9). He frequently gives direct translations of Henry's words. He had clearly read both Macer and Henry closely, and had compared them, along with other sources such as Platearius and the *Alphita*. He must have had texts of both Henry and Macer, but not in the form in which they appear in Sloane (since he knew all six books of Henry's herbal). He was selective in his citations, and often uses just the source that he regards as the fullest and most useful. Frequently he notes that Henry "seith but þe same," "Henricus þe same," "Henricus Anglicus seyþ þe same," "the same forsede þynges þat Macer seyth seyth Henry Anglicus," etc. Nevertheless, his knowledge of Henry was precise.[25]

Daniel, s.v. "Brilbus," also cites a prose list of thorny plants that he found in his text of Henry: "in þe ende of þe boke of Henricus Englisch thus I fond write in Latyn tungge: *cinoboscus, aglenterius, rumex exicantus, rosus silvestris, arbor spinosa, capparis or -ra, emosbaton, cinopaxin, neniospaton.*" This is not in Sloane or Prague. The important thing is that in the late fourteenth-century Daniel, like the translator of the English Macer, had a full text of Henry and one of Macer.

---

[24] Henry Daniel's text is contained in London, British Library Add. 27329 and Arundel 42. I am grateful to Ruth Harvey, who is working on this material and who extracted for me all the "Henry Englisch" citations.

[25] His most extensive citations from Henry are Benedicta (i.e., Cicuta, V.1.11, also under Amaruscus), Beta (I.18, under Bleta), Plantago (V.1.1, under Butalmon), Viola (II.9, under Diana), Gazarus (IV.15), Gariofilata (VI.1.4), Palma dei (IV.24) in British Library Add. 27329; Nepita (III.23, under Balsamynta), Careon, Nux muscata (VI.2.24), Crocus (I.3, under Cartamus), Cassia fistula (VI.1.6), Centaurea (III.19); Solsequium (I.22, under Cicoria), Cinoglossa (V.9), Saxifraga (I.22, under Colopendrya), Lilifagus (I.9, under Elifagus), and Fenugrecus (IV.12) in Arundel 42; and Costus (i.e., Anglica Costus I.17) in both Add. 27329 and Arundel 42.

THE HERBAL

The contents of the herbal are presented in the original order (i.e., of *P*), supplemented at the beginning by *S*. I give first the modern name for the herb; this is not always certain. I have used the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (DMLBS) where available, Latham's *Revised Medieval Latin Word-list* (RMLWL), the English Macer Additions (EMA), Henry Daniel where available, and common sense, but I am not an expert in botany; sometimes (e.g., on Ameos, IV.8) Henry's descriptions help. I then give the titles as in *P* and *S; P*'s titles are in a slightly later hand and are occasionally in error (as at II.24, where the rubricator's incorrect S- for T- has misled him). I then give the folio references to *P* and *S*, and the incipit and explicit (occasionally emended), the number of lines (hexameters, unless stated), and brief notes. Line numbers to Macer are given wherever it is Henry's direct source, and I have tried to indicate the degree of his dependence (e.g., "Macer" alone means that he is the main source, whereas "very close" means that often the same words are used). Twenty-seven items are printed in the Appendix, in full or in part; for those printed in full, the titles in *P* and *S*, the incipits and explicits, the number of lines, and the notes have been excluded from the contents entries.

The numbers for the entries are mine. List numbers (e.g., A1) are given in parentheses after titles and correspond to the numbers used on pp. 288–92.

Prose prologue: see Appendix, no. 1.   *S* 31r–32r (not in *P*).

Book I

Prologue: see Appendix, no. 2.   *S* 32v (not in *P*).

I.1. *Artemisia* (A1). Arthemisia *P* : Artemisia *S*.   *P* 1r–v, *S* 43r–v.

> Herbarum matrem te primo limite ponit . . .
> Quod bibitum pectus reparat precordia curat. (35 lines)

Macer 1–30 (*S* 42v).

I.2. *Basil* (A3): see Appendix, no. 3.   *P* 1v, *S* 45v (*S1*) and 75r–76v (*S2*).

I.3. *Crocus* (A5). Crocus *P*.   *P* 1v–2r (not in *S*).

> Ecce crocus redolens liuoris carpitur igne . . .
> Conseret excepta quis enim nescit basilea. (17 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 194, "Safron"; Daniel, s.v. "Cartamus."

I.4. *Spurge laurel* (A8). Laureola *PS.*   *P* 2r, *S* 65v.

> Lauri laureolas non dedignentur amenas . . .
> Sint vel supreme festinans clausula mortis. (17 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 191–92, "Laureole."

I.5. *Baldmoney* (A9): see Appendix, no. 4.   *P* 2r, *S* 45v–46r.

I.6. *Ambrosia* (A11). Ambrosia *PS.*   *P* 2v, *S* 38r.

> Ambrosiam licet ordinibus discernere pulcris . . .
> Corporibus quantum potus in corpora vergit. (9 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 200, "Ambrosiana." Henry states that the herb is honoured by Homer, Vergil, and Muses.

I.7. *Origanum* (A12). Origanum *PS.*   *P* 2v–3r, *S* 74v–75r.

> Origani vis exigui feruere probatur . . .
> Vt peribent quibus expertum est uel fingere gratum. (42 lines)

Close to Macer 1285–1324 (*S* 74r–v).

I.8. *Lavender* (A14). Lauendula *P* : Lauandula *S.*   *P* 3r, *S* 65r.

> Fulget odorifero laudata lauandula lecto . . .
> Posse videtur. Vix ergo superba medetur. (10 lines)

For storing clothes, etc.

I.9. *Sage* (A15). Lilifagus *P* : Saluia *S.*   *P* 3r–v, *S* 91r–v.

> Si constat mundi precio preciosior omni . . .
> Herbarum solet ista decem medicina vocari. (34 lines)

Macer 870–81 (*S* 91v). Daniel, s.v. "Elifagus," quotes two lines in praise of Sage, noting (rightly) that Henry is incorrect in assigning them to Macer.

I.10. *Rue* (A17). Rutha *P* : Ruta *S.* .   *P* 3v–4v, *S* 89v–90v.

> Ruta decens decimo ramos extendit agello . . . (from *S*)
> Cetera non minime tibi sit res maxima cure. (66 lines)

P has reversed lines 1 and 2. Macer 267–331 (*S* 88v–89v). Daniel cites Henry on Rue in his section on Bisara.

I.11. *Hyssop* (A18). Isopus *P* : Ysopus *S.*   *P* 4v–5r, *S* 105r–v.

> Nunc licet undenum salomonis gloria primum . . .
> Hinc color eximius ni fallat fama paratur. (31 lines)

Close to Macer 1503–31 (*S* 104v–105r). Lines 1–9 are praise based on 3 Reg 4:33.

I.12. *Germander* (A20). Camadreos *P* : Cametreos *S.*   *P* 5r, *S* 48v–49r.

> Grece gamedreos et gamandrea latine . . .
> Hec sciasi mirre nec quidquam proficit eque. (23 lines)

Close to Macer 1903–17 (*S* 48v). *S* omits the last five lines. For the autobiographical lines, see Appendix, no. 5.

I.13. *Camomile* (A2). Camomila *P* : Camomilla *S.*   *P* 5r–v, *S* 48r–v.

> Antemis grece que dicitur hanc camomillam . . .
> Anthemys proprie nomen quod est [et] generale. (37 lines)

Close to Macer 549–91 (*S* 47v–48r).

I.14. *Bugloss* (A4). Buglossa *P* : Lingua bouis, *S.*   *P* 5v–6r, *S* 67v–68r.

> Lingua bouis rome buglossa vocatur athenis . . .
> Letos conuiuas hac si conuiuia spargas. (14 lines)

Macer 1127–38 (*S* 67v). Henry adds a reference to Pliny.

I.15. *Sanicle* (A6). Sanicula *P* : Sanicla *S.*   *P* 6r, *S* 92v–93r.

> Huic merito sanicla subest quod wlnera sanet . . .
> Pelliculam rumpat qua rupta rumpitur eger. (14 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 189, "Sanicle."

I.16. *Costmary* (A7). Costus *PS.*   *P* 6r, *S* 54r.

> Ortensis costi sedes prefulget in ortis . . .
> Ne finxisse putent verbum non amplius addam. (12 lines)

Unlike Macer 2165–81 (*S* 54r).

I.17. *English Cost* (A10): see Appendix, no. 6.   *P* 6r, *S* 38v.

I.18. ? *Burdock, Beet* (A13). Betha *P* : Betha maior *S.*   *P* 6v, *S* 46v.

> Ordine que sequitur hec (herba *P*) personatia rome . . .
> Talia sumere sumpta probare probata tenere. (17 lines)

Daniel (Add. 27329), s.v. "Bleta." The identification "burdock" is in RMLWL, s.v. *personacia*, but DMLBS simply gives "beet" for *beta*. A root vegetable seems less likely in this context, but there is no certainty.

I.19. *Lesser Burdock/Beet* (A16) Betha minor *S.*   *P* 6v, *S* 46v.

> Betham betha minor lecto sequetur equeno (?) . . .
> Nominat antidotum contra capitis nocumentum. (8 lines, 7 in *S*)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 190, "Beta þe lesse." On the identification, cf. I.18.

I.20. *Smallage* (A19). Apium *PS.*   *P* 6v–7r, *S* 40v–41r.

> Sic apium quod apex victoris ferre solebat . . .
> Si comedant viridem ieiuni sepius herbam. (35 lines)

   Close to Macer 332–65 (*S* 40r–v).

I.21. *Parsley* (A21): see Appendix, no. 7.   *P* 7r–v, *S* 78v–79r.

I.22. ? *Marigold* (A22). Solsequium *P.*   *P* 7v, *S* 57v.

> Herbe florentis que cernitur ordine certo . . .
> Destruit ad plenum victor quodcumque venenum. (21 lines)

   EMA, ed. Frisk, 190–91, "Rodewort"; Daniel, s.v. "Cicoria, Rode."

I.23. *Periwinkle* (A23): see Appendix, no. 8.   *P* 7v–8r, *S* 77v–78r.

I.24. ? *Soapwort* (A24). Strucion *P* : Struccion *S.*   *P* 8r–v, *S* 97r.

> Strucion ostricium plebs turbans nomina dixit . . .
> Ut digne dicant herbam cognomine dicunt. (22 lines)

Close to Macer 907–27 (*S* 96v–97r). For the identification, see RMLWL and Frisk's note in *Middle English Translation of Macer,* 221; the English Macer calls it Bysshoppeswort, a name for many plants, and Henry notes that in England it is called *pontificalis.*

I.25. *Myrtle* (A25): see Appendix, no. 9.   *P* 8v, *S* 71r–v.

<div align="center">Book II</div>

Prologue: see Appendix, no. 10   *P* 8v, *S* 32v.

II.1. *Mandragora* (B1): see Appendix, no. 11.   *P* 9r, *S* 68r–68v.

II.2. *White Hellebore* (B2). Eleborus (Ell- *S*) albus *PS.*   *P* 9r, *S* 58v–59r.

> Frondes ellebori reuerendas aspice sacri . . .
> Admixtum pulti datur insuperabile muri. (32 lines)

   Close to Macer 1774–1832 (*S* 57v–58v). *P* has reversed the titles of II.2 and II.3.

II.3. *Black Hellebore* (B3). Eleborus niger *PS.*   *P* 9v–10r, *S* 59v–60r.

> Elleborum subit elleboro niger subit albo . . .
> Pretulit hanc letus caris merito speciebus. (27 lines)

   Based on Macer 1833–58 (*S* 59r–v). See the note on II.2.

II.4. Unknown (B4). Azimum *PS.*   *P* 10r, *S* 43v–44r.

>   Mox azymum surgit quod wlgus dicere sweuit
>   Canor (Cancrum *S*), non dulcis gustu, non splendida visu (uisa *S*) . . .
>   Nec (Ne *S*) iam formosis concedat (-it *S*) gloria solis. (12 lines)

S omits line 10. List B4 has "Ozinum, i. cauernum." However *ozinum (ocinum)* is usually basil, which is at I.2, and *cauernum* is an easy misreading of *cancrum.* None of these words (*azymum, cancrum, cauernum, canor*) is in the dictionaries in any appropriate sense. The herb is used to cure dementia.

II.5. *Parsnip* (B5). Pastinaca *PS.*   *P* 10r–v, *S* 76r.

>   Sunt pastinace species tres altera maior . . .
>   Aut secum tulerit sic cuncta venena fugabit. (17 lines)

Based on Macer 1264–85 (*S* 75v).

II.6. *Caraway* (B6). Carui *PS.*   *P* 10v, *S* 49r.

>   Stat carui sexto paupercula nomine lecto . . .
>   Perdit enim precium carui presente cumino. (10 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 194, "Carui." It is like chervil.

II.7. *Dragonwort* (B7). Sypentaria, Draguntea, Colubrina *P* : Dragancia *S.*

                                                          P 10v–11r, *S* 56r–56v.

>   Te neque transierim licet infameris odore . . .
>   Vel si sit radix tantum tibi subdita matrix. (33 lines, 32 in *P*)

Close to Macer 1728–65 (*S* 55v–56r).

II.8. *Saxifrage* (B9). Saxifraga *P* : Saxifragia *S.*   *P* 11r, *S* 91v.

>   Ut frangens petram dixerunt petrosilinum . . .
>   Quidam viderunt qui scriptis visa dederunt. (9 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 195, "Saxifrage"; Daniel, s.v. "Colopendrya."

II.9. *Violet* (B10). Lilia *P* (*corr. e* Viola!), Viola *S.*   *P* 11r–v, *S* 102r–v.

>   Purpurea ut vyola ut rosa roscida candida sicut . . .
>   De syropo qui pergis iter rideto (-e *P*) calores. (51 lines)

Fairly close to Macer 1342–94 (*S* 101r–102r), but with an introduction on the trio of Violet, Rose, and Lily as emblems of the Virgin Mary. Daniel, s.v. "Diana, viola." Note the Winter Violet, II.21 below. See V Prologue (Appendix, no. 19).

II.10. *Rose* (B11): see Appendix, no. 12.   *P* 12r–v, *S* 87r–88r.

II.11. *Lily* (B12). De rosis (!) *P* : Lilium *S*.   *P* 12v–13r, *S* 66r–v.

> Formosis equanda rosis te lilia tolli . . .
> Lilia tanta queunt nec pauci tanta probarunt. (33 lines)

Based on Macer 808–42 (*S* 65v–66r), after opening in praise of Lily. See II.9 above.

II.12. *Celandine* (B13). Celidonia *PS*.   *P* 13r, *S* 51v.

> Clarificans spacio celidonia stat duodeno . . .
> Hictericis vino sic iunctum proficit albo. (12 lines)

Close to Macer 1690–1708 (*S* 51r).

II.13. Unknown (B14). Pigmentum *PS*.   *P* 13r–v, *S* 80v–81r.

> Hic quam pigmentum wlgus vocat herba subintrat . . .
> Hoc solet examen tenerum retinere iuuamen. (7 lines)

The herb is presumably named for its use in flavouring; Henry says that it is used for attracting bees. Almost any flower is possible.

II.14. *Betony* (B15). Bethonica *P* : Vetonica *S*.   *P* 13v–14r, *S* 99r–v.

> Cestron aue quam betonicam dixere latini . . .
> Namque iuuat stomachum magis herbis omnibus una.
>   (52 lines, 51 in *S*)

Close to Macer 429–91 (*S* 98r–99r), after four lines of praise of Betony. Daniel, s.v. "Betonica." Alphabetized under V- in *S*.

II.15. *Strawberries* (B16). Fraga *PS*.   *P* 14r, *S* 63v.

> Area que sequitur spaciantibus optima gustu . . .
> Ni populo figmenta ferant pigmenta parantes. (9 lines)

II.16. *Pennyroyal* (B17). Pulegium *PS*.   *P* 14r –v, *S* 84v–85r.

> Puleyum tanti constare ferunt apud yndos . . .
> Obstat cum vino serpentum pota venenis. (27 lines)

Abbreviated from Macer 626–77 (*S* 84r–v), after four lines of praise of the herb.

II.17. *Thyme* (not in lists). Serpillum *PS*.   *P* 14v, *S* 94r–v.

> Serpillum quod serpat humi dixere poete . . .
> Potum pestiferos iuuat appositum quoque morsus.
>   (18 lines, 17 in *S*)

Close to Macer 1325–41 (*S* 94r). See also VI.2.26 below.

II.18. Unknown (B18). Pipera *PS.*   *P* 14v–15r, *S* 81r.

> Et piperam memorare libet que plurima dumis . . .
> Wlnera mundat mundaque sanat sana colorat. (8 lines)

This is not "pepper," Macer 2056–88, which is at VI.1.1. It is identical in description (white flower, woody thickets) to EMA, ed. Frisk, 190, "Pympernolle," which is perhaps one of the saxifrages; see OED, s.v. *pimpernel.*

II.19. *Herb Bennet* (B19). Benedicta *PS.*   *P* 15r, *S* 46v–47r.

> Iam licet inuictam tetigisse tibi benedictam . . .
> Saucia diuinam si contigerit leporinam. (9 lines)

Henry compares the plebeian name with the philosophical term "Auricula leporina," i.e., Hare's ear; cf. EMA, ed. Frisk, 195, "Benet: hares ere." Not to be confused with Benedicta, "hemlock," which is at VI.1.11.

II.20. *Comfrey* (B20). Conferba, siue consolida *P* : Conferba *S. P* 15r, *S* 55r–v.

> Qui dedit omne bonum cur graminibus tot eandem . . .
> Splen iuuat os nodat regnique potencia durat. (24 lines)

In lines 1–15 Henry discusses why there are so many plants with similar properties: the answer lies in the theory of humours and the unavailability of some plants in all areas. Comfrey is not in EMA, but its wound-healing properties (as here) are mentioned under Millemorbia (III.5, below).

II.21. *Winter Violet* (B21). Viole *P* : Viola *S.*   *P* 15r–v, *S* 102v.

> Viginti viole visis genus accipe pulchre . . .
> Sed foliis magis illa pati magis illa virescit. (6 lines)

Unlike Violet (II.9), this is a winter variety that flowers at Christmas.

II.22. Unknown (not in lists). Basilisca *P.*   *P* 15v (not in *S*).

> Proximus inmensam locus extollit basiliscam (extollit locus *P*) . . .
> Que si tanta potest cur tantis amplius addam. (10 lines)

The herb is small but counteracts poisons such as that of its namesake. It is not in EMA òr Daniel. DMLBS gives "snakewort (Dracunculus), gentian, or other herb," citing *Sinonima Bartholemei,* "i. serpentaria," and *Alphita,* "herba gentiana."

II.23. *Southernwood* (B22). Abrotanum *P.*   *P* 15v, *S* 34r–v.

> Abrotanus tot habet vires quot (cum sit *P*) fila (filia *S*) comarum . . .
> Abrotano quia perniciem fert perniciei. (25 lines)

Close to Macer 31–51 (*S* 34r), but Henry also cites Stabus (Strabo) and Pliny. Daniel, s.v. "Abrotanus."

II.24. *Tansy* (B23). Senecion *P*.   *P* 16r (not in *S*).

    ⟨T⟩aneticus quid commemorem licet acrius ora . . .
    Cum non pauca queat paucis contentus abibo. (6 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 191, "Tansey." *P* reads "Saneticus" in line 1, accounting for the incorrect title by the scribe.

II.25. *Lovage* (B24). Ligustica *P* : Ligusticum *S*.   *P* 16r, *S* 67r–v.

    Finis in aduentum postrema ligustica surgunt . . .
    Inuenio multos qui tale quid inficientur. (25 lines)

Close to Macer 882–906 (*S* 66v–67r). In *S*, lines 3–4 are placed at the end.

Book III

Prologue: see Appendix, no. 13.   *P* 16r–v, *S* 32v.

III.1. *Dittany* (B25). Diptanus *P* : Diptannum *S*.   *P* 16v, *S* 56v–57r.

    In viridi claustro vexillum tollit ab austro (alto *P*) . . .
    Nam nichil absque modo nec ipsa modestia prodest. (15 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 195–96, "Ditayne," which it heads "in þe souþ" (supporting "austro" in *S*). Henry cites Vergil, *Aen.* 12.412.

III.2. *Fennel* (B26). Feniculum *PS*.   *P* 16v–17r, *S* 62r–v.

    Quid tibi feniculum quid dignum laude feremus . . .
    Nam sanum minus esse seni comedendo videri. (41 lines, 39 in *S*)

Like Macer 678–710 (*S* 61v–62r).

III.3. *Dill, anise* (C1). Anetum *PS*.   *P* 17r–18r, *S* 39r–40r.

    Sede sedens patria letum lasciuit anetum . . .
    Radicis rodit serpencia wlnera tollit. (52 lines)

Mainly like Macer 395–428 (*S* 38v–39r) after twenty-three introductory lines on seeds, elements, and plants that resemble each other.

III.4. *Feverfew* (C2). Febrifuga *PS*.   *P* 18r, *S* 63r.

    Febrifugam delere febrem quis nominis huius . . .
    Quod querat dubitans et adhuc sub iudice lis est. (13 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 196, "Fetherfoy" (on lines 1–5 only). In lines 7, 9, 11, and 13, the phrase "sub iudice lis est" (Horace, *Ars poetica* 78) acts as a refrain on the various disputes among herbalists.

III.5. ? *Figwort* (C3). Nimphea *P* : De febrifugo (!) *S*.   *P* 18r–v, *S* 63r–v.

> Quinta libro detur que morbis mille medetur . . .
> Dum numero careant (creauit *P*) vires tam nobilis herbe. (13 lines)

S omits lines 9–10 and 12; its incorrect heading is by dittography from III.4. EMA, ed. Frisk, 196–97, "Millemorbia." The poem discusses the name of the plant, noting that *millemorbia* will not scan, and it is often called *nymphea* or *fiola/fiala* (it is *fiola* in list C3).

III.6. ? *Hazelwort* (C4). Asarum *PS*.   *P* 18v–19r, *S* 44v–45r.

> En habitans paucis asarum consurgit in ortis . . .
> Comminues ut vis etas et tempora poscunt. (31 lines)

Close to Macer 1532–68 (*S* 44r–v).

III.7. *Alexanders* (C5). Macedonia *S*.   *P* 19r, *S* 69r.

> Inter odoratam velox macedonia siluam . . .
> Ramos puleii frondesque papaueris addas. (12 lines)

The poem lacks a title in *P*. It is not in EMA or Daniel. The identification is from RMLWL.

III.8. *Iris* (C6). Yris *PS*.   *P* 19r–v, *S* 104r–v.

> Flos equetur yris celestis honoribus yris . . .
> Quo careat cultus feda lentigine wltus. (36 lines)

Close to Macer 1456–88 (*S* 103v–104r).

III.9. Unknown (C7). Yreos *PS*.   *P* 19v, *S* 105v.

> Sunt yreos et yris similes ut nomine wltu . . .
> Gratior est et latior est maiorque nitore. (6 lines, rhyming)

The plant is described as similar to Iris but rarer and bigger. Cf. Pliny *NH* 22.158.

III.10. *Mint* (C8). Menta *PS*.   *P* 19v–20r, *S* 70r–v.

> Sic quoque menta gradu feruet siccatque secundo . . .
> Vel mixtus uel si viridis superadditur herba. (17 lines)

Like Macer 1569–84 (*S* 70r).

III.11. *Wormwood* (C9). Absinthium *P*.   *P* 20r–v, *S* 35v–36r.

> Absinthii ingentis vis feruida siccaque fertur . . .
> Non metuet pulices musceque fugantur odore. (56 lines, 53 in *S*)

Very close to Macer 52–114 (*S* 34v–35v).

III.12. *Horsemint* (C10). Balsama, Sisimbria *P* : Balsamum *S.*   *P* 20v, *S* 45v.

> Balsama scribantur multo lustrata decore . . .
> Cum vino succum dabis et morbos releuabis (reuelabis *P*). (8 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 196 "Bawme" (see Frisk's note). The plant at VI.2.1, Balm (*P* 43r–v), seems to be different.

III.13. ? *Horseradish* (C11). Rafanus *P* : Raphanus *S.*   *P* 20v–21r, *S* 85r–86r.

> Perdere vis cancrum, sumas (summas *P*) ranam religesque . . .
> Aut fugat aut mollit ventrisque animalia tollit. (41 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 197, "Nepe," which translates only lines 1–6. (Note that modern Nep is catmint, Nepeta, which is at III.23 below.) Lines 7–41 are difficult and possibly corrupt; they include other recipes (the five-herb and the twenty-herb) and the use of the plant for cough and worms.

III.14. *Radish* (C12). Radix *S.*   *P* 21r–v, *S* 86r.

> Inde subest raphano que radix dicitur herba . . .
> Hiis aminiculis producunt tempora mortis. (7 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 197–98, "Radissh."

III.15. *Elecampane* (C13): see Appendix, no. 14.   *P* 21v, *S* 60r–v.

III.16. *Hollyhock* (C14). Althea *P* : Altea *S.*   *P* 21v–22r, *S* 37v–38r.

> Altea dixere patres quod frondibus alta est . . .
> Leni coniungens maculasque salutifer ungens. (23 lines)

Like Macer 366–94 (*S* 37v).

III.17. *Mallow* (C15). Simila *PS.*   *P* 22r, *S* 94v–95r.

> Huc illucque means remeansque simila salue . . .
> Omnia malua potest et simila forcius ista. (31 lines)

Mainly like Macer 1962–92, "Malva" (*S* 69v–70r). Henry mentions that this is a creeping, spreading plant.

III.18. *Pellitory* (C16). Piretrum *P* : Piretrum terestre *S.*   *P* 22r–v, *S* 79v.

> Simila si nulla superari creditur herba . . .
> Hoc piretrum species hoc et piretrum facit herba. (26 lines)

Like Macer 2086–2108 (*S* 79r–v), but lines 1–9 (which refer to England and contain a "problem") are obscure. The poem on Aloe at VI.1.12 below contains a cross-reference to this poem.

III.19. *Centaury* (C17). Centhaurea *P* : Centaurea *S*.   *P* 22v, *S* 50v.

> Cum centauree species minor agnita multis . . .
> Ut reddat morbos quos diximus ante salubres. (15 lines)

Close to Macer 1709–27 (*S* 50r–50v). Daniel (Arundel 42).

III.20. *Horehound* (C18). Marubium *P* : Maurubium *S*.   *P* 23r, *S* 69r–v.

> Marrubium medici quem dicunt prassion argi . . .
> Si duo ieiuno coclearia uel tria dones. (25 lines)

Like Macer 1437–55 (*S* 69r), but the last ten lines (not in *S*) are an antidote which is not in Macer (cf. III.23 below).

III.21. *Clary* (C19). Sclarega *PS*.   *P* 23r, *S* 93r.

> Viginti visis viridis sclarega videtur . . .
> Vel non nouerunt (mouerunt *P*) nec cuncta sciunt sapientes.   (7
lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 198m "Sclarye."

III.22. *Greater Clary* (C20). Sclarega maior *S*.   *P* 23r, *S* 93r.

> Sclarege sclarega subest latissima late . . .
> Pectora percurat cureque potencia durat. (4 lines)

III.23. *Catmint* (C21). Nepita *P* : Nepta *S*.   *P* 23r–v, *S* 73v.

> Quis reputat neptam nisi cordis egenus ineptam . . .
> Prolongat spacium viuendi pluribus annis. (33 lines)

Much like Macer 592–625 (*S* 73r–73v), but the last eight lines (not in *S*) are an antidote that is not in Macer (cf. III.20 above). Daniel, s.v. "Calamenta." See also the note on III.13 above for EMA's "Nepe."

III.24. *Purslane* (C22). Portulaca *PS*.   *P* 23v–24r, *S* 81v.

> Andraginis danays sed portulaca latinis . . .
> Vesice, dentes dabit hec non esse stupentes. (11 lines, 10 in *P*)

Very close to Macer 748–64 (*S* 81r).

III.25. *Sorrel* (C23). Semperviua *P* : Barba Iouis *S*.   *P* 24r, *S* 45r–v.

> Hec inuicta vires que semperuiua vocatur . . .
> Frigenti sicceque gradus qui constat et illi. (23 lines)

Close to Macer 711–43, "Acidula" (*S* 36r–36v). See *Middle English Translation of Macer*, 146–47, 148, 221.

Book IV

Prologue: see Appendix, no. 15   *P* 24r–v, *S* 33r.

IV.1–2. *Hyacinth* and *Narcissus:* see Appendix, no. 16. *P* 24v–25r, *S* 33v–34r.

IV.3. *Mustard* (D1). Sinapis *P* : Sinapium *S*.   *P* 25r–v, *S* 96r–v.

> Tercia stat synapis preciosior hec numeratur . . .
> Sicque graues cause soluuntur et inueterate. (44 lines)

Like Macer 1139–1200 (*S* 95r–96r).

IV.4. *White Pepper* (D2). Eruca *PS*.   *P* 25v–26r, *S* 61r–v.

> Erucam synapi similem quis nesciat esse . . .
> Ut greci perhibent qui digne singula censent. (17 lines)

Like Macer 1016–36 (*S* 61r). *S* has the first line of IV.5 at the end of IV.4, a shift made inevitable by the alphabetization of the text. Daniel, s.v. "Eruca."

IV.5. *Lettuce* (D3). Lactuca *P* : Lectuca *S*.   *P* 26r, *S* 65v.

> Hanc cum lactucis calidam gelidis sociabis . . .
> Luminibus quidam perhibent hanc esse nociuam. (8 lines)

Very close to Macer 765–75 (*S* 65r). *S* omits line 5; for its alteration, see the note on IV.4 above. IV.3–5 are linked as a sequence.

IV.6. *Savory* (D4). Saturegia *P* : Satureia *S*.   *P* 26r–v, *S* 92v.

> At satureia gradu sicca est et feruida ⟨quarto⟩ (from *S*) . . .
> Hinc est a satiris merito satureia vocata. (19 lines)

Very close to Macer 843–69 (*S* 92r–v). *P* has several lacunae.

IV.7. *Cress* (D5). Nasturcium *P* : Nasturcia *S*.   *P* 26v, *S* 72v.

> Septima stant orto nasturcia frigida quarto . . .
> Solus odor posite carbonibus effugat illos. (23 lines)

Very close to Macer 988–1015 (*S* 72r). *S* omits lines 11 and 21. Daniel, s.v. "Nasturcius."

IV.8. ? *Giant Hogweed* (D6). Ameos *PS*.   *P* 26v–27r, *S* 38r–v.

> Sic ameos lecto stat amabile gramen ameno . . .
> Omnibus ut dictum est quibus algor causa manendi est. (14 lines)

DMLBS, s.v. *ami* cites *Alphita*, "wodewhisgle." MED, s.v. *wode* 4 gives *wodewhistle*, "any of several hollowstemmed plants, especially hemlock." As the poem stresses the plant's enormous size, Giant Hogweed seems a natural choice.

IV.9. *Fleabane* (D7). Psilium *P* : Psillium *S*.   *P* 27r, *S* 83r–v.

> Psillia frigida sunt quam frigida res probat ipsa . . .
> Et que talia sunt quid nunc per singula curris. (13 lines)

The identification (RMLWL) is identical to that of the Greek word.

IV.10. *Coriander* (D8). Coriandrum *PS*.   *P* 27r–v, *S* 54v–55r.

> Ecce saporiferam subit frigidum coriandrum . . .
> Hec tibi consimilem poterunt conferre saporem. (28 lines)

Like Macer 957–87 (*S* 54r–v).

IV.11. *Lupin* (D9). Lupinus *PS*.   *P* 27v, *S* 68r.

> Iamque premens vinum sua concutit arma lupinum . . .
> Et sic lumbrici per amara fugantur amari. (10 lines)

Lupin takes up arms against wine and the effects of alcohol. EMA, ed. Frisk, 199–200, "Lupinus" has additional qualities not in Henry.

IV.12. *Fenugreek* (D10). Fenugrecum *PS*.   *P* 27v–28r, *S* 63r.

> Insilit in cetum mollire studens fenugrecum . . .
> Et poterit seuam saltem lenire podagram. (9 lines, 8 in *S*)

The opening continues the battle image of IV.11. EMA, ed. Frisk, 198, "Femy-grek"; Daniel, s.v. "Fenugrecus."

IV.13. *Poppy* (D11). Papauer *PS*.   *P* 28r–v, *S* 77r.

> Miconius stat tredecimus quod roma papauer . . .
> Aut solum solo sompnum largitur odore. (35 lines)

P omits line 25. Like Macer 1037–86 (*S* 76r–77r).

IV.14. *Git, Nigella sativa* (D12). Gith *P* : Git *S*.   *P* 28v, *S* 64r.

> Gyth cornute tuos depromit musa triumfos . . .
> Effectum ⟨causa⟩ preciosa parat precio⟨sum⟩ (from *S*). (6 lines)

S incorrectly repeats line 1. EMA, ed. Frisk, 199, "Git."

IV.15. Unknown (D13). Gazara *PS*.   *P* 28v, S63v–64r.

> Gazara ⟨uero⟩ quid est namque herba putatur et arbor . . .
> Ni videas non posse alias prodesse medelas. (9 lines)

MED, s.v. *gasar*, "bush or small tree resembling the rowan but smaller." EMA, ed. Frisk, 199, "Azara" (which Frisk had trouble linking with "Asarum"). EMA is very close to Henry. Daniel, s.v. "Gazarus," adds that, like comfrey, it knits broken bones.

IV.16. *Peony* (D14). Pionia *PS.*   *P* 28v–29r, *S* 80v.

> Pyoniam peribent calidam siccamque secundo . . .
> Scripsit si bibitur uel si suspenditur aptam. (30 lines)

S varies slightly. Very close to Macer 1605–40 (*S* 79v–80r).

IV.17. *Columbine* (D15). Aquilegia *P* : Aquileya *S.*   *P* 29r, *S* 41r.

> Quatuor ut constans aquilas aquileia vocatur . . .
> Vel quia mansum oris semen meliorat odores. (8 lines)

This is identified in DMLBS as columbine or celery-leaved crowfoot; according to the poem, it is also called *argentilla* (DMLBS "silverweed") and *puellaris.*

IV.18. *Vervain* (D16). Verbena *PS.*   *P* 29r–v, *S* 100v–101r.

> Verbenam quam roma vocat scatillima grece . . .
> Non nisi temptarim quod celem credere possim. (36 lines, 34 in *P*)

Very close to Macer 1859–1902 (*S* 99v–100r).

IV.19. *Spignel* (D17). Men *PS.*   *P* 29v–30r, *S* 70v.

> Men quoque diureticum dicunt quas res tibi dicam . . .
> Has ab allexandro perquiras et galieno. (7 lines)

See OED, s.v. *meu, mewe.*

IV.20. *Cyperus* (D18). Cipperus *P* : Ciperus *S.*   *P* 30r, *S* 52v–53r.

> Diureticum peribent ciperum siccamque secundo . . .
> Vlcera sordida wlnera putrida purgat inherens. (17 lines)

Like Macer 1585–1604 (*S* 52v): IV.19–20 are both diuretics. Daniel, s.v. "Ciparus."

IV.21. *Valerian* (D19). Valeriana *PS.*   *P* 30r–v, *S* 97v–98r.

> Viginti visis validis tibi valeriana . . .
> Et nichil inpendat medicis quod amara rependis. (13 lines)

EMA, ed. Frisk, 199, "Valerian."

IV.22. *Balm* (D20). Melissa *P* : Boragum *S.*   *P* 30v, *S* 47r.

> Boragum (Pan rogum *P*) nostri ⟨quam⟩ melissofillos achiui . . .
> Sic morsus quos vespa mouet vel aranea curat. (19 lines)

Very close to Macer 1641–63 (*S* 46r–v). For the identification, see *Middle English Translation of Macer,* 223. The *S* title is an adaptation of Macer's *Barrocum* and has nothing to do with Borage. See also OED, s.v. *balm,* sense III.9.

IV.23. *Aristolochia* (D21). Aristologia *PS.*   *P* 30v–31r, *S* 42r–v.

> Aristologie tres sunt hec namque rotunde . . .
> Demonium clare fumus fugat et fugit herbe. (31 lines)

Very close to Macer 1395–1436 (*S* 41r–42r).

IV.24. *Castor-oil plant* or *Gromwell.* Palma Christi *P.*   *P* 31r–v (not in *S*).

> Quod solet herba fera vel palma dei vocitari . . .
> Et superat quosquos reserat ver dapsile flores. (18 lines)

The identifications are in RMLWL and OED. This is a fully Christian interpretation of the herb, with an account of its asexual nature. Daniel, s.v. "Palma Dei."

IV.25. *Savin.* Sauina *P.*   *P* 31v (not in *S*).

> Vltima procedit que multas viribus herbas . . .
> Congnita non notis iubetque orbasius equans. (22 lines)

Like Macer 492–506 (*S* 90v).

Epilogue 1: see Appendix, no. 17.   *P* 31v–32r.

Epilogue 2: see Appendix, no. 18.   *P* 32r.

Book V
(*P* 32r: Sequitur quintus liber Anglicani orti)

Prologue: see Appendix, no. 19.   *P* 32v.

V.1.1. *Plantain.* Plantago.   *P* 32v–33v.

> Omnipotens tibi perpetuos natura vigores . . .
> Pons eciam tremulus probat et lunaticus istum. (64 lines)

Like Macer 196–266 (*S* 82r–83r). Daniel, s.v. "Butalmon."

V.1.2. *Nettle.* Urtica.   *P* 33v–34r.

> Te contingentes digittos urtica perurens . . .
> Pixidibus sapiens thezaurum seruet opimum. (37 lines)

Very close to Macer 115–60 (*S* 102v–103v).

V.1.3. *Henbane.* Jusquiamum.   *P* 34r–v.

> Antidotum nam iusquiamo sic conficietur . . .
> Alba magis rubicunda minus nil efficit atra. (30 lines)

Mainly like Macer 1933–61 (*S* 64v–65r), but lines 1–8 are an antidote that is not in Macer. Daniel, s.v. "Caniculata," has a recipe partly like the antidote.

V.1.4. *Chervil.* Cerifolium.   *P* 34v.

> Ignea vis cerifoliis exundat et acris . . .
> Et multis aliis multum preciosa medetur. (17 lines)

Like Macer 928–46 (*S* 51v). Daniel, s.v. "Cerfolius."

V.1.5. *Dock.* Lapacium.   *P* 34v–35r.

> Herba subest lapaphi quam plebs dicit paradellam . . .
> Quod cicius facit et melius sibi sulfure iuncto. (17 lines)

Like Macer 1993–2014, "Paratella" (*S* 77v).

V.1.6. *Groundsel.* Senecion.   *P* 35r.

> Senecion quod sit quasi cano tincta colore . . .
> Preualet in grauibus facili medicamine causis. (23 lines)

Like Macer 1664–89 (*S* 93v–94r).

V.1.7. *Morel, Black Nightshade.* Maurella.   *P* 35r–v.

> Strignum mirmidone maurellam vero latine . . .
> Iungito predictis mirum cathaplasma stupebis. (13 lines)

Like Macer 1918–32 (*S* 71v–r).

V.1.8. *Woad.* Ysatis.   *P* 35v.

> Ysatis a grecis a plebe gaysno vocatur . . .
> Melleque confectum sordencia wlnera purgat. (9 lines)

Like Macer 1766–73, "Gaisdo" (woad) (*S* 63v).

V.1.9. *Hound's-Tongue.* Cinoglossa.   *P* 35v.

> Salue munificum munus cynoglossa deorum . . .
> Hoc capitis veterem valet adnichilare dolorem. (16 lines)

Not in Macer. Daniel, s.v. "Cinoglossa," includes Henry's antidote.

V.1.10. *Cockle.* Nigella, lolium.   *P* 35v–36r.

> Quam grecus lolium vocitauit roma nigellam . . .
> Ulcera que poscunt carnes cancrosque refungit (*sic*). (10 lines)

Like Macer 2015–28 (*S* 68r).

V.1.11. *Hemlock.* Cicuta.   *P* 36r.

> In regionibus est funesta cycuta quibusdam . . .
> Sic curare potes nocuos quoscumque tumores. (22 lines)

Close to Macer 2029–55 (*S* 53r–v), except that Henry says that the young can take hemlock safely. Daniel, s.v. "Benedicta" (a name also given here, but not to be confused with Benedicta "Hare's ear," II.19) and (Arundel 42), s.v. "Amaruscus, camamille" (not to be confused with camomile).

V.1.12. *Bur.* Lappa.   *P* 36r.

> Sed dum caliope wlgares concinit herbas . . .
> Sic licet ista leuis tamen est medicina salubris. (6 lines)

Not in Macer. Henry says that while the Muse is singing of common herbs she should not omit Bur, which, with other herbs, cures anthraxes.

Interlude: see Appendix, no. 20.   *P* 36r–v.

V.2.1. *Onion.* Cepa.   *P* 36v–37r.

> De cepis medici nec enim per longa morabor . . .
> Ni fallit dyaschorides lesum reparabit. (28 lines)

Like Macer 1087–1126 (*S* 52r–v).

V.2.2. *Leek.* Porrum.   *P* 37r.

> Extollit ypocras medicorum gloria porrum . . .
> Sic auget venerem mollit perutile ventrem. (29 lines)

Like Macer 507–48 (*S* 81v–82r).

V.2.3. *Cabbage.* Caulis.   *P* 37r–38r.

> Caulis romane vocitatur brassica grece . . .
> Glutitus fertur crudus fugat ebrietatem. (54 lines)

Like Macer 1201–63 (*S* 49r–50r).

V.2.4. *Orach:* see Appendix, no. 21.   *P* 38r.

V.2.5. *Parsley:* see Appendix, no. 22.   *P* 38r–v.

V.2.6. *Garlic.* Allium.   *P* 38v–39r.

> Nondum latraui quicquid scio. Corrue liuor . . .
> Dii tibi pro meritis dent crebra genimi⟨n⟩a vitis. (41 lines)

The poem is based on Macer 161–95 (*S* 36v–37r) but continues the cook-dialogue of V.2.4–5. For lines 1–8, see Appendix, no. 23.

Book VI

Prologue: see Appendix, no. 24.   *P* 39r.

VI.1.1. *Pepper.* Piper.   *P* 39r–v.

> Protinus eoas species celestia dona . . .
> Res antiqua nimis confectio regis herodis. (35 lines)

Close to Macer 2056–88 (not in *S*). This is true pepper, not the plant in II.18 above.
The concluding lines contain a recipe of Herod. For lines 1–4, see Appendix, no. 25.

VI.1.2. *Myrrh.* Mirra.   *P* 39v–40r.

> Mirra datum puero munus mirabile christo . . .
> Menstrua producit putridis humoribus obstat. (23 lines)

Henry notes that the spice was presented to the Christ-child.

VI.1.3. *Nard.* Spicanardus.   *P* 40r–v.

> Spica gradu primo feruens et sicca probatur . . .
> Concitat ipsa tuos venus inficiabilis ignes. (20 lines)

Like Macer 2182–2204 (*S* 97r–v). The poem is fully represented by Daniel, s.v.
"Spicaceltica (Alcia)."

VI.1.4. *Clove.* Garrrofilum.   *P* 40v.

> Garrofilum gaudet reges inponere frenis . . .
> Cuncta venus fragiles hac arte reuentilat ignes. (14 lines)

The opening couplet is quoted in Latin by Daniel, s.v. "Gariofilata," with "prelis"
(wine-presses) in line 1 for "frenis," and with an English verse rendering.

VI.1.5. *Cinnamon.* Timiama.   *P* 40v–41r.

> Cynnama (Tymiama *P*) nec possunt virtutibus exsuperari . . .
> Hec querit geminas lautissima pocio dragmas. (19 lines)

Close to Macer 2147–64 (*S* 53v–54r). Clearly the scribe did not know what herb he
was dealing with.

VI.1.6. *Cassia.* Cassia.   *P* 41r.

> Cassia non eadem que cassia fistula confert . . .
> Elige quem pocius nam fumus vterque (*or* vtrique) sequaris.
>   (27 lines)

Daniel, s.v. "Cassia fistula." See MED and OED for the identification.

VI.1.7. *Galingale.* Galanga.   *P* 41r–v.

> Gratificat gratos galanga salubris odores . . .
> Concitat indecorem veneris stillando calorem. (10 lines)

Like Macer 2125–30 (not in *S*).

VI.1.8. *Zedoary*. Zeduar.   *P* 41v.

> At zeduar stomachum confortat debilitatum . . .
> Et vini nimis assumpti depellit odorem. (11 lines)

Very close to Macer 2131–40 (not in *S*).

VI.1.9. *Cumin*. Ciminum .   *P* 41v.

> Pauci diuini vires nouere cimini . . .
> Verba vel ouidii "pallentis grana cimini." (23 lines)

Based on Macer 2111–24 (not in *S*). Henry also cites Ovid and Horace, *Ep.* 1.19.18.

VI.1.10. Unknown. Ceroton.   *P* 41v–42r.

> Est ceroton genus in species diuersificatum . . .
> Dat quod amarus amor venansque venus remouentur. (20 lines)

Henry says that there are both Indian and Arabian species.

VI.1.11. *Liquorice*. Liqui⟨ri⟩cia.   *P* 42r.

> Vis liquiricie non parua potest reputari . . .
> Nec torquendo fero sed demulcendo salutem. (20 lines)

Much is spoken by the herb in the first person. EMA, ed. Frisk, 192–93, "Liquorice."

VI.1.12. *Aloe*. Aloe.   *P* 42r–v.

> Ast aloe species sanctissima corpore toto . . .
> Continet ille liber qui centum continet herbas. (38 lines)

Like Macer 2233–69 (not in *S*). The last line refers to the poem on Pellitory, III.18.

Interlude: see Appendix, no. 26.   *P* 42v–43r.

VI.2.1. *Balsam*. Balsamus.   *P* 43r–v.

> Sunt summi precii prestancia balsama mire . . .
> Et carpum fructus silo lignum balsama gutta. (31 lines)

This herb is different from horsemint, III.12.

VI.2.2. *Agaric*. Agaricus.   *P* 43v.

> Agaricum quod diureticum perhibet galienus . . .
> Inque gradu primo feruet siccatque secundo. (17 lines)

This is the tree-fungus. Daniel (Arundel 42), s.v. "Agaric."

VI.2.3. *Amomum*. Amomum.   *P* 43v–44r.

> Dulce dei donum iocunde fraglat amomum . . .
> Tercius huic gradus est in vi sicca calidaque. (11 lines)

VI.2.4. *Gum-tree.* Storax.   *P* 44r.

> Primum storace (strorace *P*) que sit diuisio dicam . . .
> Pustula quod queuis cedat scabiesque repente. (9 lines)

VI.2.5. *Mastic.* Mastix.   *P* 44r–v.

> Est mastix species quam quidam mastica dicunt . . .
> Lenticii premee (?) valet eque aut gumma cipressi. (19 lines)

VI.2.6. *Anise, ? dill.* Anisium.   *P* 44v.

> Fit medicamentis anisi gratissima multis . . .
> Te puer ales amat tibi spicula rite ministrat. (11 lines)

VI.2.7. *? Gentian.* Genciana.   *P* 44v.

> Da veniam lector quod genciana locatur . . .
> Tercius hic gradus est dum siccat siue calescit. (11 lines)

VI.2.8. *Euphorbea.* Euforbium.   *P* 44v–45r.

> Feruida sicca gradu prestant euforbia quarto . . .
> Ac ventrem curat medicis tot tantaque patrat. (14 lines)

VI.2.9. *? Malabathrum.* Folium.   *P* 45r.

> Et folium feruetque gradu siccatque secundo . . .
> Si desit folium ponetur celtica nardus. (6 lines)

The tentative identification is from RMLWL and OED.

VI.2.10. *? Cardamom.* Cardamomum.   *P* 45r.

> Nec cardamomi laudes tacentur odori . . .
> Vim digestiuam iuuat ista leuat magis illa. (12 lines)

In OED Cardamom is defined as a mixed spice, but here a plant seems to be indicated. Daniel places "Cardamum, cardamomum" under Nasturcius (cress), but this is at IV.7; see, however, Lewis and Short, s.v., *cardamum, cardamina,* "cress."

VI.2.11. *Rhubarb.* Reu.   *P* 45r.

> Reu aliud pontus aliud parit india primum . . .
> Acri cum vino faciem lentigine mundant. (9 lines)

VI.2.12. *Dodder.* Epithimum.   *P* 45r–v.

> Epitimum feruere gradu siccareque quarto . . .
> Ponitur antidotis vires adhibendo verendis. (8 lines)

Partly in Daniel, s.v. "Epithimus." This is a parasitic growth on thyme and other plants (see OED and RMLWL).

VI.2.13. Unknown. Sagapinum.   *P* 45v.

> Carmine condignum non transierim sapiganam (*sic*) . . .
> Galbana tantundem uel opopanace valebunt. (11 lines)

In Lewis and Short, *sacopenium, sagapenon* is described as the juice of an umbelliferous plant; it is not in RMLWL.

VI.2.14. *Lemon-grass*. Squinantum.   *P* 45v.

> Grata salutiferi recitemus dona squinanti . . .
> Sanguinis et fluxum mulieris curat acerbum. (8 lines)

See RMLWL, s.v. *schenanthus, squinantus*. See OED, s.v. *schoenanth*.

VI.2.15. *Frankincense*. Thus.   *P* 45v–46r.

> Thus calet et siccat gradus est in vtroque secundus . . .
> Si melli socies vnguis panaria sanat. (16 lines)

Very close to Macer 2204–32 (not in *S*).

VI.2.16. *Sea-onion*. Squilla.   *P* 46r.

> Squilla gradu quo thus manat humida spargit et arcet . . .
> Et pedibus fissis oleo cannaque iugato. (6 lines)

VI.2.17. *Willow*. Siler.   *P* 46r.

> Si sileri re nos ce⟨le⟩bremus carmine vires . . .
> Cum pipere et valido dat opem sociata lieo. (6 lines)

It is surprising that this should be placed with Eastern herbs.

VI.2.18. ? *Gum-tragacanth*. Dragagantum.   *P* 46r.

> Ponitur antidotis dragagantus sepe probatis . . .
> Lenificat lingue lenissimus asperitatem. (6 lines)

VI.2.19. *Scammony*. Dyagridium.   *P* 46r.

> Ecce diagridium quos eminet antidotorum . . .
> Ista iuuant cunctos iuuat ista iuuancia cunctos. (5 lines)

See OED, s.v. *scammony*.

VI.2.20. *Ammoniac*. Amoniacum.   *P* 46v.

> Tercius in calido gradus in siccando (*sic*) . . .
> Siccat apostema molli nitroque iugatum. (6 lines)

VI.2.21. *Vine-palm*. Bdelium.   *P* 46v.

> Sunt humecta gradu primo feruentque secundo . . .
> Lenificat testes galieno teste tumentes. (7 lines)

VI.2.22. ? *Sweet-flag.* Accorus.   *P* 46v.

> Est acorum feruens gradu siccansque secundo . . .
> Pro quo reu semis ponunt equeue cimini. (6 lines)

VI.2.23. *Camphor.* Camphora.   *P* 46v.

> Arboris est gummi quam profert india diues . . .
> Et iam grata prius fit res ingrata puellis. (9 lines)

VI.2.24. *Nutmeg.* Nux muscata.   *P* 46v–47r.

> Nux muscata gradu calet exsiccatque secundo . . .
> Condecorare cutem splen curat eparque tumescens. (5 lines)

EMA, ed Frisk, 193, "Notemuge"; Daniel, s.v. "Careon." It is unlikely that this is the missing entry, Terion, in list B8; see p. 290 below.

VI.2.25. *Nitre.* Nitrum.   *P* 47r.

> Dicit aristotiles quod mundet flecmata nitrum . . .
> Fungos expungnat wlue nimis humida siccat. (7 lines)

This is not a herb.

VI.2.26. *Thyme.* Thimus.   *P* 47r.

> Et thimus feruetque gradu siccatque secundo . . .
> Et morbi veteres necnon angustia feruens. (6 lines)

Presumably Thymus vulgaris, a native of Spain and Italy, distinct from the species Thymus serpyllum, which is at II.17.

VI.2.27. *Cashew-nut.* Anacardus.   *P* 47r.

> Quarto vero gradu siccans feruens anacardus . . .
> Hec dat coniunctum sed mortis acumina soluit. (7 lines)

See RMLWL.

VI.2.28. *Sweet calamus.* Calamus aromaticus.   *P* 47r–v.

> Cum calamus fit aromaticus virtute coruscus . . .
> Vesperus aduenit simul auditorque recessit. (15 lines)

Daniel, s.v. "Calamus" (Arundel 42) is close to this, but Add. 27329 is not.

(*P* 47v: "Explicit hoc opus finitum per manus Martini de Tissnow scriptum in Humpolecz anno domini 1443° feria quinta ante festum Nicolai et cetera.")

Concluding poem: see Appendix, no. 27.   *P* 47v.

APPENDIX
SELECTED TEXTS

The Appendix includes all prologues, epilogues, and transitional passages, and also poems illustrating Henry's poetic style and methods (e.g., I.23, I.25, II.1, II.10, III.15, and the cook episode) as well as poems with biographical information (I.2, I.12, I.17):

1. Prose prologue (*S* only)
2. I Prologue (*S* only): Henry's literary autobiography
3. I.2, Basil (*PS*): Queen Matilda
4. I.5, Baldmoney (*PS*): autobiographical
5. I.12, Camadreos, extract (*PS*): autobiographical
6. I.17, Anglica Costus (*PS*) : autobiographical
7. I.21, Parsley (*PS*) : the start of the cook episode (below)
8. I.23, Periwinkle (*PS*): a ground-loving aphrodisiac
9. I.25, Myrtle (*PS*): of structural interest
10. II Prologue (*PS*): invocation to Clio
11. II.1, Mandragora (*PS*): its human shape and the myth
12. II.10, Rose (*PS*): dialogue of Muse and three poets
13. III Prologue (*PS*): medicine and poetry, Aesculapius
14. III.15, Elecampane (*PS*): dialogue between poet and plant
15. IV Prologue (*PS*): medicine and ethics
16. IV.1–2, Hyacinth and Narcissus (*PS*): myth and medicine
17. IV Epilogue 1 (*P*): theatre, vine, Wild Cucumber
18. IV Epilogue 2 (*P*): autobiographical, list of authorities
19. V Prologue (*P*): plan for V.1.1–12
20. V.2 Interlude (*P*): cook interrupts to demand vegetables
21. V.2.4, Orach (*P*): cook and Henry argue
22. V.2.5, Parsley (*P*): cook picks up theme of I.21 (Appendix, no. 7)
23. V.2.6, Garlic, 1–8 (*P*): cook still insulting Henry
24. VI, Prologue (*P*): need to learn about health
25. VI.1.1, lines 1–4 (*P*): transition to spices
26. VI.2 Interlude (*P*): bearded man intervenes on spices
27. Epilogue (*P*): key to author and his origin

Each text is presented with textual apparatus, commentary, and translation. Texts are edited from *S, PS,* or *P,* as available; both manuscripts are very corrupt, and the editing is especially difficult where there is only one witness. Emendations in the text are noted in the apparatus but not marked in the text. Where both manuscripts are present and the readings differ, I have been guided by sense, metre, and (where available) the evidence of Macer: *P* and *S* are about equally unreliable. I generally follow the orthography of *S,* which is English; the spellings of *P* are often East European. I have silently corrected the *sc* of *P* to *st,* as this is clearly a matter of script rather than phonology. I do not record illegible or damaged readings, or corrections if the other witness is clear and obvious. The metre is hexameters, unless specified otherwise.

1. Prose prologue

> Principium rerum, generacio, finis earum
> Hoc opus aspiret, deducat terminum, oro.

Quod et religiosis et secularibus, licet diuersissimis, aptum, tamen proposui unum, †et
est multis in quibus differunt,† nec inutile est. Ad rem pertinet apponere religiosis,
5 namque tria sunt effectiua: oracio, operacio, datum. Utuntur hiis peruersi, sed aliter:
religiosi ut thesaurizent, peruersi ut fallant. Quod ut elucescat, vespera diurnos actus
cuiusque discuciat hoc modo. Discussio iusti secum: "Sepcies hodie laudem dixi Do-
mino. Post hoc opus optimum in Domino feci; ex hinc de datis a Deo partem suis
reddidi; modo suus utilis cum laudibus tamen eiusdem nocturna silencia peto." Item
10 discussio alterius: "Oraui mane summo ut prosperarer, et factum est. Aurum et argen-
tum coaceruaui michi, et, quod carius est, possessionem nemoribus riuisque corus-
cam, quam in eternam hereditatem posteris meis ad laudem et honorem nominis mei
dedi. Huius ergo diei gaudia in splendoribus vini et epularum recolamus."
    Loquar igitur prius ad primum: "Hodie, frater, astutissime negociatus es. Singula
15 namque verba que in laudem Domini dixisti, in sempiterno reposita sunt thesauro.
Minima illarum non deficiet in eternum. Operacio quoque diurna quam ad bonos usus
direxisti, celesti reposita est armario. Minima pars subsistet in secula; quod autem de

---

S 31r–32r (*no title*).

    Although the prose prologue shows a knowledge of the whole verse herbal, quoting V Pro-
logue, line 7, at the beginning, and IV Epilogue 1 at the end, it is incoherent and probably
textually deficient (see 3–4 and 29). It jumps abruptly from the contrast between virtuous and
wicked lives to the topic of the garden (introduced at 28). Moreover, despite the contrast be-
tween religious and secular at 3 and 34, the contrast between righteous and wicked seems to
include all men. There is nothing in the verse herbal corresponding to the lake of 39–40. It
seems to be a pastiche from a longer prologue (perhaps by Henry himself), omitting important
transitions.

    1–2 Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum,* prologue, lines 3–4 (ed. Greenway, 6):
"Principium rerum, uegetatio, finis earum, / Hoc opus aspira, deduc finique precamur." The
first line is echoed in V Prologue, line 7: "Principium rerum, vegetacio, finis earum." The
failure of elision of the final syllable of "terminum" makes the line suspect. In his *Epigrams*
Henry usually avoids the collocation of -*m* and vowel, but Epigram 2, line 2 (ed. Greenway,
812), "uacuatum humore stupebit," shows that he knew the principle. The scribe or reviser of
the present prologue may have garbled the line from the *Historia,* which was probably com-
pleted before the herbal (see p. 222 above).
    3–4 The general sense is clear, that religious and seculars differ in many respects, but this
work is a unit and useful to both. It is not easy to see exactly what has gone wrong with the
Latin.
    7–8 Ps 118:164.
    9 "suus": probably emend to "seruus."
    16 Perhaps another sign of rewriting: the original may have had a plural *laudes* in line 15.

iuste adquisitis Domino errogasti, multiplici fenore accumulatum reseruatur. Minimus quadrans aureum tibi confert talentum numquam defecturum. Hec omnia reperies in
20 die necessitatis, que huic mundo est insensibilis."

Ad alium quoque loquar: "Dum aurum et argentum possessionemque tibi hodie lucratus es, circa nichilum et inane occupatus es: mallem te dormisse. Transiit actus, transiet gaudium, transiet memoria. Ubi est quod egisti? Nichil agis, nichil inuenies in die necessitatis, in die miserie et calamitatis. O fatue, iuueni tibi thesaurizasti que can-
25 didissima tibi videbantur, etatis autem tempore tesaurum accepturus, quid inuenies? Beatus igitur sapiens in viis suis, maledictus fatuus in cecitate sua!" Licet tamen horum tam diuersa sunt opera, idem tamen aliquando boni bene, mali male, faciunt. Sicut in eius orti cultu quem iustus ad hoc componit, ut frigida cibis emendorum loco prosint, †inepta ut frigidum morbis asserit,† presto medicamina. Multis enim hec vul-
30 garia magis profuerunt quam antidota sumptuosa. Si autem et in hiis delectetur, nonne consuetudinis naturalis est ut bonum bona delectent? Malus autem, cui omnia co-operantur in malum dum malos ad usus uel ingluuiei uel voluptatis ortum componit, circa nil occupatur, ut assolet.

Iam vero, quia et religiosis et secularibus scribimus, cum hucusque religiose dixeri-
35 mus, secularibus suo modo dicamus. Quem non delectet tam varius color herbarum, tam varius odor florum, tam varius medendi usus, tam varius saporum lusus? Quem non delectet varietas earum dum pullulant, dum excrescunt, dum concipiunt, dum germinant, dum parturiunt? Exemplum ergo delicati proponimus orti. Qui cum quadratus sit, in medio eius lacus sit, in quo pisces natare videas. In medio vero laci sedes est
40 quasi theatrum, palmitibus conductis Phebo resistens. Ortum tamen si sani tam pulcrum neglexeritis, infirmi utile non negligetis. Sciatis autem utique hic apposita ex auctoritatibus sumpta.

---

19 reperies] reperiens *S*   24 que] quia *S*   25 videbantur] videbatur *S*   inuenies] inueniens *S*   28 orti *corr. e* ortu *S*   29 prosint] prosunt *S*   asserit *corr. e* asseris 38 dilecati *S*   41 negligetis] negligis *S*

---

23 Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, *De contemptu mundi* 18 (ed. Greenway, 616): "Ubi est quod heri fecit? . . . Ad nichilum deuenerunt."

29 The corrupt phrase seems to be about the use of "cold" herbs for the cure of diseases. For the contrast between free herbs and expensive purchases, cf. the poem on Baldmoney, I.5 (Appendix, no. 4), lines 14–15.

39–41 The casual shift from singular "videas" to plural "neglexeritis" (and emended "negligetis") may reflect no more than vernacular practice.

40 For the theatre with its sunshade of interwoven vine and cucumber, see IV Epilogue 1 (Appendix, no. 17).

May the beginning of things, their generation, and their end
Inspire this work. May he bring the end, I pray.

I have set forth one work, fitted for both religious and secular, although they are very different, and for many in which they differ, and it is not without use. It is fitting to place it before the religious, for there are three effective things: prayer, operation, gift. The wicked use these things, but in a different way: the religious in order to gather treasure, the wicked in order to deceive. In order to clarify this, let the evening demonstrate the acts of each sort in this way. The analysis of the just man to himself: "Seven times today I have said praise to the Lord. After this I did a great work in the Lord. After this from the things given by God, I gave part to his people. Now being his useful servant, but with praises to him, I seek the silence of the night." Likewise, the analysis of the other: "In the early morning I prayed that I might prosper, and it has been done. I have heaped up gold and silver for myself, and, what is dearer, a possession gleaming with groves and streams, which I have given in eternal inheritance to my posterity to the praise and honour of my name. Therefore let us recall the joys of this day in the splendours of wine and feasting."

I shall speak first to the first one: "Today, brother, you have conducted business very shrewdly. For each word that you have spoken in praise of the Lord has been laid up in an eternal treasury. The least of the praises will not fail into eternity. The daily operation which you have directed to good uses has been placed in a heavenly storehouse. The least part will survive through the ages; that which you have paid out to the Lord from your just acquisitions is kept and heaped up with multiple interest. The least gold quarter bestows on you a talent that will never fail. All these things you will find on the day of need, which cannot be perceived by this world."

To the other also I will say: "While you gained gold, silver, and possessions for yourself today, you have been busy about nothing and in vain; I would rather you had slept. The act is done, the joy will pass, the memory will pass. Where now is what you have done? You are doing nothing; you will find nothing on the day of need, on the day of misery and disaster. O fool, you have treasured up for yourself as a young man those things which seemed most shining to you, but in the time of age what will you find when you are about to receive your treasure?" Blessed therefore is the wise man in his ways, cursed the fool in his blindness! Although the works of these two are different, nevertheless sometimes the good do the same thing well and the bad do it badly. Just as in the cultivation of his garden, the just man arrranges for this purpose, so that cold things may be of advantage as foods in place of things that must be bought . . . I provide medicines. For these common medications were more useful to many than expensive antidotes. But if the good man delights in these also, is it not the natural custom that the good man should be delighted by good things? The wicked man, however, for whom all things work together for evil, when he arranges his garden for the wicked purposes of greed or pleasure, is occupied in vain, as usual.

But now, since I am writing to both religious and secular, since I have spoken up to now in a religious manner, let me now speak to seculars in their manner. Who is not delighted by such a varied colour of herbs, such a varied smell

of flowers, such a varied application of healing, such a varied play of savours? Who is not delighted by their varieties when they sprout, grow, conceive, produce buds, and fruit? Therefore I set forth the example of a fine garden. Since it is square, let there be a lake in the middle, in which you can see fish swim. In the middle of the lake there is a seat, a kind of theatre, keeping off the sun with interwoven branches. If you neglect so fair a garden when you are well, you will not neglect a useful one when you are sick. I want you to know that what is set out here is taken from authorities.

2. I Prologue

Qui teneris ludens pueris epigramata scripsi,
    Quique canens iuueni serta scripta dedi,
Primo docens, postremo iuuans, nunc maius utrisque
    Construo quod satis subsidietur opus.
5   Iure puer pueris, iuuenis iuueni, documenta
    Cum dederim, senibus dem documenta senex—
Nec senibus solum, ⟨tamen⟩ hoc specialius illis,
    Est etenim morbus ipsa senecta fere.
Rite senes, casu iuuenes puerique teruntur;
10   Ergo puer, iuuenis me seniorque legant!
Vatum magne parens, herbarum, Phebe, repertor,
    Vosque quibus resonant Tempe iocosa dee,
Si michi serta prius edera florente parastis,
    Ecce meos flores—serta parate—fero.

S 32r (*no title*).
  2 Quique] Qui S   4 satis] seminibus S   7 tamen *om.* S   8 fere] fero S
9 teruntur] triuntur S   10 Ergo] Hoc S (cf. I.25 [App. 9], 8)   12 Tempe] tempora S
13 parastis] paractis S   14 parate] parare S

  1–2 Compare the lines from *De contemptu mundi,* cited above, p. 213.
  2 "serta" places a spondee in the fourth foot, most unusually; I have seen no example in Henry's two books of *Epigrams;* "serica" ("silken") would be possible, but it would also be a bold image.
  5–6 Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, *De contemptu mundi,* preface (ed. Greenway, 584).
  11–14 cited by Leland; see above, pp. 213–14.

I who, in play, wrote epigrams for tender boys
    And who in song gave garlands of writing to the young man,
First teaching, finally pleasing, now construct a work
    Greater than either, which may be of aid to seeds.

Since I rightly gave teaching as a boy to boys, and as a
    Young man to a young man, so may I, old, give teachings to the old—
Not only to the old, but more especially for them,
    Since old age itself is almost a disease.
Old men are duly worn away, young men and boys by chance;
    Therefore let the boy, the young man and the old read me.
Phoebus, mighty father of bards and finder of herbs
    And you, goddesses, with whom merry Tempe resounds,
If you once prepared garlands for me with flowering ivy,
    Behold, I bear my flowers—make ready the garlands!

3. *Basil, Ocimum* (I.2)

Ozima post matrem preelecta sequi meruerunt;
Hec rutam foliis, hec thus imitantur odore,
Saluia, te flore sed te, celidonia, lacte.
Anglorum Matillis honor, decus et dolor orbis,
5   Cuius funereum mea dant epigramata carmen,
Solam deliciis interponebat habendas,
Olle tellurem, telluri semina mandans.
Sic cum uere nouo mire frondesceret, illa
Nocte frequens thalamo, de luce locabat in orto.
10   Nocte gelu vitans et crescere luce ministrans,
Nocte suam redolens et luce videns basileam,
Nam basilea solet uel basilicon uocitari.
Eius si vires queras nec sint tibi tanti

P 1v, S 45v (*S1*), 75r–76v (*S2*). *Title:* De basilica. Henricus *S1* : De Ozoma. Henricus *S2* :
om. P
    2 Hec ... hec] Hoc ... hoc *S1S2*   imitantur] imitatur *P*   3 Saluia] Sic alma *S1S2*
lacte] ? tarde *S2*   4 Matillis *S2* : Matill*us S1* : Matilon *P*   decus] et decus *P*   5 car-
men] carnem *S1*   6 habendas *P* : habundans *S1* : habundas *S2*   9 locabat] locabit *S2*
13 Eius] Cuius *S1S2*   sint] sunt *S1S2*

This is the only poem that is copied twice in *S*, under both B- and O-, clearly from the same
corrupt source (cf. 3).

    1 "matrem": i.e., Artemisia, I.1, "mother of herbs."
    4 Matilda, wife of Henry I (1080–1118). Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* 7.44
(ed. Greenway, 492, lines 1–2): "Rex Henricus obit, decus olim, nunc dolor orbis."
    5 Henry's epitaph for Matilda is in *Historia Anglorum* 7.30 (ed. Greenway, 462); it is not in
the two extant books of epigrams, and it is clear that Henry wrote more than one collection, as
in I Prologue above. It is among the epigrams in Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud lat. 86, fols.
109r, 133r–v.

Tantus splendor, odor, uires dissoluere uiri
15   Letiferi pote uires possunt basilee.

---

15 Letiferi] Letili *S1*   pote] potes *S1*

Well-chosen basils have earned the right to follow the mother (Artemisia);
they imitate rue in their leaves, incense in their smell, and you, sage, in flower,
but you, celidony, in their milk. Matilda, glory and grace of the English and sor-
row of the world, whose funeral poem is in my Epigrams, used to put basil
among the desirable delights. She put soil in a pot and seeds in the soil; thus,
when it wonderfully came into leaf in the new spring, she would regularly place
it by night in a room and by day in the garden: she avoided frost by night, and
encouraged it to grow in the daylight. By night she smelled her basil and by day
she saw it. It is generally called basilea or basilicon.

If you inquire about its powers, and such splendour and scent do not impress
you, basil, if drunk, can dissolve the powers of deadly poison.

4. *Baldmoney* (I.5)

Compatriota tibi dat, baldemonia, laudes:
Anglia te speciem, me reddidit Anglia uatem,
Tam renitens herbis quam non obscura poetis.
Te quamuis ude soleant nutrire paludes,
5   Vis quibus humectans et frigida noscitur esse,
Vis tibi desiccans et feruida dicitur esse.
Hanc multi speciem gaudent gestare salubrem,
Ut si forte dolor turbauerit intima cordis
Aut subito pectus moueat stomachumque lacescat,
10   Cor sanet, pectus releuet, stomachum refocillet,
Quod solo conferre solet non irrita morsu.
Gingiber hiis parue sunt et gariofila cure,
Nec piretrum precii constat nec cinama magni,

P 2r, *S* 45v–46r. *Title:* Baldemonia *P* : De Baldemonia. Henricus *S*
    4 ude *P* : rei'ere *S*   9 moueat ... lacescat] relue stom̄ refocillet *S*   10 releuet ...
refocillet] moueat stomachum ne lacescat *S*   12 Gingiber hiis] Gingiberis *S*   et *om. S*
13 cinama] cinnama *P*

Lines 7–10 and 13–14 are in *EMA*, ed. Frisk, 190.

13 "precii ... magni": i.e., a good bargain.

Nam quod agunt empte, facit hec inuenta palude,
15   Quodque datur preciis, dat baldemonia gratis.

---

14 Nam quod] Namque *S*   hec *om. S*

Baldmoney, your fellow-countryman gives you praise. England made you a spice and England made me a poet—England, which is as illustrious in herbs as it is not undistinguished in poets. Although you are nourished by wet marshes, in which, as is well known, there is a cold and moistening power, your power is said to be hot and drying.

Many are delighted to carry this healthy spice, so that if pain happens to disturb the inner heart or suddenly jolt the breast and challenge the stomach, it heals the heart, relieves the breast, and restores the stomach; it confers this efficiently by its bite alone. In comparison with these, ginger and clove are of little curative value, and pyrethrum and cinnamon are not of great value, for what they do by being purchased, baldmoney does though it is found in a marsh. Baldmoney gives freely what is given (by the others) at a price.

5. *Germander, Camadreos* (I.12), lines 1–7

Grece camedreos et germandreia latine
Diceris, herba uirens semper, breuis, acris, odora,
Sicca calensque: gradus tibi tercius est in utroque.
Bis genito sociare deo te Gallia sueuit,
5   Nam te laudaui, dum mellea flumina poto
Fontibus Anselmi manancia. Sepe solebam,
Sepe solebatis Bacho superaddere ciues. . . .

P 5r, *S* 48v–49r. *Title:* Camedreos *P* : Cametreos. Henricus *S*
   1 camadreos] cametreos *S*   germandreia] gamandrea *P*   2 semper *om. S*   4 genito] genite *P*   5 te *om. P*   laudaui] laudum *S* : laudium *P*   poto] pote *P*   6 Anselmi] ancelmi *S*   7 solebatis] soledabis *S*   Bacho] bacco *P*

In *P* the poem consists of 23 lines. Of these, all except 2 and 4–7 and a concluding "antidote" 19–23 (not in *S*) are based directly on Macer 1903–17.

   4 "bis genito": i.e., Bacchus, Ovid, *Met.* 3.253–315 (at 317).
   5 "laudaui": I assume an unclosed *a* in the exemplar of *PS*.
   5–6 These lines refer to Anselm of Laon († 1117); apparently Henry attended his lectures.
   7 This seems to mean that France and the herb germander used to encourage the drinking of wine.

In Greek you are called "camedreos," in Latin "germandreia," an herb always green, small, sharp, scented, dry, and hot: you have the third degree in both. France used to couple you with the twice-born god (i.e., Bacchus), for I praised you when I drank the honeyed rivers flowing from the fountains of Anselm. I often used to, and you (both) often used to add citizens to Bacchus.

6. *English Cost* (I.17)

Herba subit costo que dicitur "Anglica costus,"
Anglica nam costus a Gallis fertur; ab Anglis
Hanc quasi despiciant, Scotorum dicitur herba.
Non despecta tamen, non vilis, debet haberi,
5   Que condimentis et odoribus est aliena,
Cum medicinali tociens sit munere plena.
Namque solet, si purpureo sit iuncta Lieo,
Pectoris ardores, cordis sedare dolores.
Preterea, munitus ea medicamine grato
10   Empicos et pleureticos cum melle iuuato.

P 6r, *S* 38v. *Title:* Costus anglica *P* : De anglica costus. Macer *S*
   1 que] qui *S*   3 Scotorum] schotorum *P*   5 Que] Super *S*   condimentis]
condumentis *S*   6 tociens] tocies *P*   sit *om. S*   7 iuncta] mixta *S*   9 Pectoris]
Pretereas *P*   munitus] inimicus *S*   10 pleureticos] plureticos *S*   iuuato] iuuaret *P*

S is in error in ascribing it to Macer. The herb is given by Daniel, but he seriously misunderstands lines 1–5.

1 "costo": just described in I.16.
7 "Lieo": i.e., Bacchus, wine.
10 "iuuato": "iuuaret" (*P*) may be easier syntactically ("someone armed with it would aid . . ."), but this would upset the rhyme (also seen in 5–6 and 8).

After Cost comes the plant called "English cost," for it is known by the French as "English cost" and by the English, as though they despise it, as "the herb of the Scots." Yet it should not be despised or regarded as worthless; it is alien to flavourings and scents, although it is frequently full of medicinal properties. If it is mixed with red wine, it soothes chest burns and heart pains. Furthermore, armed with it, with a pleasing medicine, aid with honey those suffering from abscesses and pleurisy.

7. *Parsley, Petroselinum* (I.21)

          Viginti uisis patet (aspice!) petroselinum;
          Hoc Danai dicunt, fama testante, triannem.
          Est apio similis foliis, virtute, colore;
          Distat et inde parum foliis, virtute, colore.
5   Conuenit huic foliis, quoniam sunt equa figuris;
          Dissidet et foliis, quia non sunt equa staturis.
          Conuenit huic virtute valens ea qua valet illa;
          Dissidet et virtute quod hac sit forcior illa.
          Est color hiis similis, quod et ista virescit et illa;
10   Dissimilis color est, quod paulo magis uiret illa.
          At proprium natura suo dat petrosilino,
          Unde et nomen habet, quod petram pota repulset.
          Hec solet antidotis, nec sepius ulla, reponi.
          Transierim de more cocos, nisi clamet Apollo:
15   "Accersi, Talia, cocos, medicique recedant!"
          Nec spernit cocus ille cocos epigramata scribens,
          Quem si forte sequor, nomen uatis adipiscor.
          Hec arietinis est optima carnibus herba,
          Optima porcinis. Si queras quomodo, dicam.
20   Primo tibi primas signabo, secundo secundas.

P 7r–v, *S* 78v–79r. *Title:* Petroselinum *P* : De Petrosillino. Henricus *S* (this spelling at 1, 11, 21, 28)

  2 Danai] Danay *P*   4 colore *corr. e* calore *S*   5 huic] hoc *P*   quoniam] quia non *P*   6–7 *inv. et corr. P*   6 non] hec *P* : nec *S*   equa] *add.* figuris *et canc. S*   7 qua] que *PS*   8 quod] qui *S*   9–10 *inv. S*   9 hiis *om. S*   virescit] virescat *S*   10 quod] quia *S*   13 *om. S*   14 cocos] coquo *S*   15 cocos] coquo *S*   16 cocus ille] ille cocus *P* : coquis ille *S*   cocos] coquos *S*   17 si] dum *S*   uatis] uates *S*   18 Hec arietinis] Hoc anetum *S*

It is clear from the apparatus that neither scribe had much clue what this poem was about. The poem is important as line 8 (saying that rock-parsley's powers are weaker than those of smallage) is the point d'appui for the cook episode at V.2.1–6, particularly V.2.5, but the most significant literary motif is Apollo's interruption in line 15, introducing Martial.

   1 "Viginti uisis": the twenty-first poem in each of the first four books begins with the remark that twenty have now been seen; see p. 220 above
   2 "triannem" (cf. list A21, "Triamnos"): I do not know what this is. At V.2.5 line 12 the cook complains that Henry attacks the book in Greek: "Sepius in uanum corrodas grece libellum?"
   7 The emendation to "qua" seems essential.
  15 Thalia, Muse of comedy.
  16 The cook writing epigrams is Martial; see p. 219 above on Henry's debt to Martial.
  20 The first recipe is for mutton (21–28), the second for pork (28–32).

Accipe puleium, nasturcia, petrosilinum;
Que tamen herba solet vulgo "ius danna" vocari
Si presens fuerit, hanc, non nasturcia, sumes.
Hiis addes costum modicumque piper sociabis.
25   Hec arietino misceri iure licebit;
Non arietinis sapor hoc erit apcior ullus
Carnibus, ut perhibent super artibus hiis studiosi.
Accipe lilifagum, satureiam, petrosilinum
Et nasturcia, vos, nisi sit "ius dampna" propinqua.
30   Hiis succis perfunde simul piper atque cuminum.
Sic porcina tibi caro frigida si comedatur,
Non sapor hoc alius iocundior associatur.

---

21 puleium] puleum *S*   nasturcia] nasturcium *P*   22 Que (Quod *S*) ... solet] Que
solet herbarum *P*   ius (cf . 29)] sic *P*   danna/dauna (cf 29)] c'anna *S*   23 non] et *P*
sumes] summas *P*   24 costum *om. S*   25 arietino] arrienno *S*   26 arietinis] *lacuna S*
28 satureia *P* : satyreiam *S*   29 *om. P*   30 piper atque] piperat que *S*   cuminum]
ciminum *P*   32 hoc] huius *S*   efficiatur *P*

---

22 "sic danna/dauna" (*P*), "ius/uis c'anna" (*S*): the form with a *d* is confirmed at 29 "ius (*or*
uis) dampna" *S* (not in *P*), but I have no idea what it is; "uulgo" could refer to English, but it
depends what source Henry was using. The herb is clearly better than nasturtium as a
flavouring ingredient. The poems on nasturtium by Macer and Henry offer no help.

Now that twenty plants have been seen, look, parsley is visible. The Greeks,
as rumour testifies, call it "triannis." It resembles smallage (*apium*, ME "smal-
ache") in leaves, power, and colour; it also differs from it a little in leaves,
power, and colour. It matches it in leaves, since they are alike in shape; it differs
in leaves, as they are not equal in size. It matches it by being powerful in the
same power as the other; it differs in power, because the latter (*apium*) is more
powerful than this. Their colour is similar, because both are green; it differs be-
cause parsley is a little greener than smallage. But nature gives parsley the prop-
erty that gives it its name, that when drunk it repels the stone. It is often placed
in antidotes, none more often.

I would, as usual, pass over cooks, except that Apollo calls out: "Thalia,
summon the cooks and let the doctors depart!" That cook who wrote epigrams
did not reject cooks; perhaps if I follow him, I will earn the name of poet. This is
the best herb for mutton and the best for pork. If you ask how, I will tell you.
First I will indicate the first (mutton, 21–27), secondly, the second (pork, 28–
32). Take pennyroyal (*pulegium*), nasturtiums, and parsley; but if the herb which
is called in the vernacular *ius danna* is present, take this, not nasturtiums. Add
cost to these and put in a little pepper; you can mix these into the mutton juice.

No flavour will be better than this for mutton flesh, as is asserted by those skilled in these arts. Take sage, savoury, parsley and nasturtiums, unless "ius dampna" is close by. To these juices pour in pepper and cumin. Thus, if you eat cold pork flesh, no other more pleasant flavour is associated with it than this.

8. *Periwinkle, Parvenca* (I.23)

Hoc nemus umbrosum viridis paruenca decorat,
Corpore parua quidem, sed viribus insuperata,
Et quoniam matrem scelus est odisse, perornat,
Vestit, amat terram semperque incumbit amare.
5   Sunt que lasciuo transcendant aera motu,
Matreque despecta longe longeque recedant.
Hec petit hanc, fugit hec. Non sic Peneia Daphne
Febeos tactus fugiebat aquasque petebat
. Currendo patrias; non sic Proserpina Ditis
10   Amplexus fugiens matrem peritura petebat,
Ut paruenca pudens terram petit, aera linquit.
Unde et mater ei tantos congessit honores,
Ut quocunque velit florescat tempore. Cernas
In niuibus mediis paruence sidera parue,
15   Purpureis miniis vix supponenda colore.
Unde et mira potest. Quod possit mira, probarunt
Multi qui teneras hanc incantando puellas
Et tangendo sibi subdunt certamine leni.
Inuite cupiunt quod amant odisse puelle,
20   Nolentesque volunt venerem, noluntque volentes.

P 7v–8r, *S* 77v–78r. *Title:* Pervinca *P* : De Paruenca. Henricus *S*
    4 amare] amanti *P*   5 lasciuo] lasciua *P*   6 recedant] recedunt *P*   7 petit] perit *S*
hec] hanc *P*   Peneia (*Ovid*)] *p*remeses *P* : pouera *S*   8 tactus] currus *P*   9–10 *om. S*
11 pudens *om. S*   linquit] liquit *S*   12 mater] instet *S*   14 paruence] *add.* maij et
canc.P   15 miniis *coni.* : niueis *P* : mollis *S*   16 mira (*bis*)] mirra *P*   potest] potis *S*
20 volentes] nolentes *S*

    7–9 Ovid, *Met.* 1.452–567. Peneus was a river god, so Daphne sought his help ("Fer, pater, inquit, opem") and was changed by Apollo into a laurel.
    9–10 Ovid, *Met.* 5.341–571; her flight from Pluto is at 379–424.
    13–14 Periwinkle flowers in all seasons, even in snow in Canada.
    15 "miniis" (for "niueis" *P*, "mollis" *S*) is my hesitant conjecture: the paints made from cinnabar, used in *miniatures.*
    16–27 Periwinkle's aphrodisiac qualities are mentioned (from another source) by Henry Daniel in Add. 27329: "it causeth love betwix wyf and husbonde." When he quotes Henry's

Quid vobis opus est nolentes nolle, puelle?
Quid vobis opus est odisse, precor, quod amatis?
Dum venerem paruenca mouet, parete mouenti!
Quod si ultro wltis, †dabit utroque velitis†.
25   Ergo quibus dabitis? Hilares date linthea ventis!
Et bene quod wltis perfecte laudo—velitis,
Ne sit et ipsa grauis frustra restando voluptas.
Hactenus hec. Victoriola est, victoria namque
Hoc dedit "inuicte" nomen, tam vincere guttam
30   Quam vincire, ferunt, cesas in vulnere carnes.
Et ne longa tibi generem fastidia longis,
Hoc quicunque legis, nil amplius hinc tibi sumes.

---

21 *om. P*   nolentes nolle] uolentes nob*is S*   22 opus . . . precor] odisse precor opus *P*
23 paruenca] paruum *P*   23 parete] parere *S*   24 ultro wltis] multum multis *S*
utroque] vltro *S*   25–26 *om. S*   28 victoriola est] victoriolam *P* : victaoulam *S* (? a *vel* o
exp.)   29 inuicte] in mente *S*   guttam] guctam *S*   30 vincire] vincere *S*   ferunt]
fere *S*   32 Hoc] ? Hec *P*   legis] leges *S*   nil] nichil *P*   sumes] su*mm*es *P*

---

herbal directly, he omits the aphrodisiac quality and just mentions its use for gout and wounds (below 29–30).

24 The second half of the line is a puzzle (and even the first half, using *P*, is uncertain). Something like "dabitis utcunque velitis" would give the correct sense ("you will give, however you may wish"), but the lengthened final syllable of "dabitis" would be unprecedented. In the next line, the final -*is* of "dabitis" is long, and in *Epigrams* 1.2 (ed. Greenway, 782) he has "superbitīs" (37) and "seruitīs" (55), but all three are at the caesura, where lengthening is common in medieval Latin.

28 "Victoriola": I assume that both *P* and *S* misread an abbreviation for "est" as a bar over the final -*a*.

28–30 Here he derives *pervinca* (the more usual spelling) from both *vincere* (hence *victoria*) and *vincire*.

32 The meaning of this line is not entirely clear to me.

This shady grove is decorated with the green periwinkle, small in body but unsurpassed in powers. And since it is a crime to hate one's mother, she adorns, clothes, and loves the earth, and always persists in her love. There are plants which fly above the air in wanton motion, and, despising their mother, depart farther and farther. Periwinkle seeks this (the earth) and flees these (airs). Not so did Peneus's daughter Daphne flee the touches of Apollo and run in search of her father's waters; not so did Proserpina, fleeing Pluto's embraces, seek her mother, when she was doomed to die, as the shamefast periwinkle seeks the earth and flees from the air. Hence her mother heaped such honours on her that

she flowers in whatever season she wishes. You can see the stars of tiny peri-
winkle in the midst of the snow, hardly to be set below purple paints in her colour.

Thus she has marvellous powers. As to the marvels she can do, it is testified
by the many who, by invoking and touching her, have subdued tender maidens
to themselves in a gentle contest. Unwilling girls desire what they love to hate.
Unwilling, they wish for love, and, wishing, they are unwilling. What good does
it do you, girls, to be unwilling and say no? What use is it, girls, I ask, to hate
what you love? When the periwinkle urges love, obey her urging! But if you
wish of your own accord . . . So, to whom will you grant your favours? Gladly
give your sails to the winds. And I praise fully what you properly desire—may
you be willing, lest the very pleasure be burdensome by your vain resistance.

Enough of this. It is a small victory, for victory granted you (periwinkle) this
name of "unconquered," both to overcome gout and, they say, to bind flesh that
has been cut in a wound. And, lest I produce long boredom by long (words),
you, whoever read this, take no more for yourselves from here!

9. *Myrtle* (I.25)

	Ultima iam partis mirtus retinet borealis,
	Mirtus tam pulcre Veneri quam laurea Phebo
	Grata, sedens lecto terre (quod aquas amat) equo.
	Nam lectos genibus reliquos videas licet equos
5	(Ne, si discernas uel odores cominus herbas,
	Sit tociens curuasse labor) quantumque decoris
	Hinc habeant dictis non credas, aspice, credes!
	Ergo mouet mirtus venerem, dat namque calorem
	Mulcentem, quamuis algenti nata palude.
10	Dulcis amatori, quamuis gustus sit amari,
	Multa facit mirtus. Faciat cum multa, libello

P 8v, *S* 71r–v. *Title:* Mirtus *P* : De Mirto. Henricus *S*

1 retinet] peciit *S*   borealis] borialis *S*   3 terre . . . equo] tene quas aut quas amas
equo *P* : quod aquas amet equos (terre *in marg.*) *S*   4 *om. S*   videas] videat *P*   5 uel]
uel/nil *PS*   6 Sit] Sic *S*   quantumque] quacumque *S*   7 credas] credens *P*
8 Ergo] Hoc *S* (cf. I Prol. [App. 2], 10; III Prol. [App. 13], 7)   calorem] colorem *P*
9 algenti] agenti *S*   10 gustus sit] sit gustus *P*   11 faciat] sanat *S*

---

2 Cf. Pliny *NH* 12.3 (on trees dedicated to gods): "Apollini laurus . . . Veneri myrtus."

3–7 This is the best I can do with an obscure passage which both *P* and *S* have corrupted.
The omission of line 4 by *S* can be explained by haplography of "equo" and "equos." Problems
remain: *odoro* normally means "give off a smell," not "sniff," but I cannot fit it in as a noun;
cf., however, *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, no. 30, ed. Elizabeth Revell (Oxford, 1993),
163, line 86. Further, I have had to emend liberally: "amat" (3), "videas" (4).

3, 9 For water-loving plants, cf. Baldmoney, I.5 (Appendix, no. 4), line 4.

Prouidus e multis tandem vix pauca reponam.
Mirti cum ptysana decoctio iuncta sinatur
Ebullire, sed hiis succum plantaginis adde.
15   Hec coquito donec pars tercia sola supersit;
Hinc dissentericos, hinc curabis ciliacos.
Quod si forte velis audax grauius medicamen,
Poma simul ponas quercus, fiatque necesse
Tormina sedari. Dabit ergo medela salutem,
20   Terminus hic vite si non statuatur ab illo
Qui statuit vitam. Lateri finis boreali
Hic datur, et finem libet hic donare libello.

---

12 e] est *S*   13 cum ptysana] est pusa *S*   16 dissentericos] dissini*eri*cos *S*
21 Lateri finis borealis] Lateris fini borealis *S*

---

16 "ciliacos": CL "coeliacos."

Now myrtle occupies the furthest sections of the northern part, myrtle, as welcome to fair Venus as the laurel to Phebus, sitting in a level bed of earth, for it loves waters. For although you may see the other level beds on your knees (lest, if you were to see or smell herbs close by, it would be an effort to bend over so often) and may not believe my words as to how much beauty they have, look, you'll believe!

Thus, myrtle stirs sexual desire, since it gives soothing warmth, although it was born in a cold marsh. Sweet to the lover, although bitter tasting, myrtle does many things. Since it does many things, I shall carefully place just a few from the many in my book.

Let a decoction of myrtle mixed with ptisan of barley be allowed to boil, but add to these plantain juice; cook this until only a third remains. With this you will cure those suffering from dysentery and gastric troubles. But if perhaps you daringly want a more drastic medicine, put oak apples in as well, and it would necessarily cause the pains to be sedated. Thus, the cure will provide health, unless at this point the end of life is decreed by the one that decrees life. Here an end is given to the northern bed, and here I am pleased to put an end to the book.

10. II Prologue

Clio, que superum gesta decoras,
Que regum fidibus nomen honoras,
Ex qua perpetuum lumen habetur,
Qua nec qui moritur morte tenetur,

5   Que iam serta michi clara dedisti
Antiquisque parum supposuisti,
Nunc, si parua potes magnificare,
Res fama tenues perpetuare,
Sic, queso, breuibus gramina stringas,

10   Ut late radiis carmina cingas!
Cum sit materies dura grauisque,
Leuem uestra paret cura leuemque,
Queque forent rudibus forte perosa,
Vestro melle fluant deliciosa!

P 8v, *S* 32v. *Title:* Prologus secundi libri *P.*
   8 tenues] tnues *S*   11 materies] maneries *S*   13 Queque] Quemque *S*

Metre: Boethius, *Cons. Phil.* 1 m.2, with couplet rhyme. In *S* the rhyming syllable of each couplet (e.g., *-as* in lines 1–2) is offset with brace-lines.
   1 Clio, Muse of history. Lines 5–6 seem to refer to the *Historia Anglorum,* of which the first copies of the first two versions were made soon after October 1131.
   6 Cf. Ps 8:5.
   7–8 Cf. Rose, II.10 (Appendix, no. 12), lines 1–2.

Clio, you who make splendid the deeds of the gods,
Who honour the name of kings on your strings,
You, from whom an eternal light is granted,
You, by whom not even the dying are held by death,
You, who have given me fine garlands already
And have placed me a little below the ancients,
Now if you can make small things great
And perpetuate slender matters by fame,
Bind together herbs in short words, I beg,
So that you may gird my songs afar with rays!
Since the matter is tough and heavy,
May your care make it smooth and light,
And may what might be distasteful to the unlearned
  Flow deliciously with your sweet honey!

11. *Mandragora* (II.1)

Mandragora excelso supereminet inclita lecto,
Iure locanda prius, quas si non ortus haberet
Noster, diuiciis hiis Anglia forte careret.
Cumque sit herbarum princeps, ut homo est animantum,

5   Principis hec princeps imitatur corpore corpus,

Quippe pedes pedibus, crus crure, uerenda uerendis,
Ilibus ilia, pectore pectora, gutture guttur,
Et caput atque manus capitis manuumque figura.
Pro digitis pes atque manus radice tenentur,
10   At ceruice sitos videas frondescere crines;
Vere nouo crescunt, estatis fine pauescunt.
Utque ferunt multi (non hoc tamen assero firme),
Si quis eam vellens, si de gremio genitricis
Audierit velli, quod homo moriatur ut herba.
15   Hanc circumfodiunt nectuntque canem, fugientes,
Mandragore ad corpus; canis esuriens petit escas
Longius appositas; hec rumpitur, occidit ille.
Hec que sit uel qualis, habes; quid possit, habeto:
Mandragore succus capitis sedare dolorem
20   Dicitur et scitur, si frons illa liniatur.
Nardino succum iungas oleo memoratum;
Infundens auris poteris curare dolorem.
Preterea scrupulum sumas tibi de pede dextro
Deque manu dextra scrupulum; puluis tibi fiat
25   Inde meroque dehinc tritus puluis bibitusque
Per septem luces celeri curare podagram
Prouentu poterit, sedabit quippe tumorem.
Contractosque simul neruos ad se reuocabit
Corporis egregii si sumitur uncia, sumptam
30   Si tribules oleo, si perfundas tribulatam;
Unguen contractis valet hoc succurrere membris.
Nec non mandragore scrupulum de corpore sumas;
Hunc in aqua calida prodest donare caduco;
Sic poteris rabidi uitium depellere morbi.

P 9r, S 68r–v. *Title:* Mandragor P : De Mandragora. Henricus S

1 excelso] excello P   3 diuiciis] duricias S   4 animantum] animatum S   5 hec] hoc S   9 pes] pedes P   11 vere] vt e P   estatis] etatis S   12 multi *om.* P 13 si de] fide S   genitricis] gnitricis S   16 canis *om.* S   18 Hoc S   20 illa] illo S 21 iungas] iungens S   23 (24, 32) scrupulum] scripulum S   sumas] summas P 26 curare] sanare S   29 uncia] vnica S   30 tribules] tribulos S   perfundas] confundas S   31 Vngwen P : Vnguem S   34 rabidi] rapidi S

2–3 This suggests that this is a real (or at least a real imagined) garden. Mandrake originated in the Mediterranean and was indeed rare in England.

12–14 The syntax seems to be incomplete ("and as many say . . . that . . .") and also *si* is repeated. The story is not quite complete, as the point is that anyone who hears the plant scream as it is plucked will die. Perhaps a line is missing.

35   Eius sarticulum collo suspenditur egri,
            Sicque filacterium quidam fidunt superatum.

---

36 filacterium] filadelium *P* : fila clerium *S*

---

35 "sarticulum": perhaps from *sarcio*. It must refer to an amulet.
36 That is, even the protective phylactery is surpassed by the mandrake; both scribes had trouble with the word.

Renowned mandragora stands high in an elevated bed, rightly to be placed first. If our garden did not have these, perhaps England would lack these riches. Since it is the leader of herbs, just as man is leader of animate creatures, by its body this prince imitates the prince's body, his feet with its feet, his leg with its leg, his genitals with its genitals, his loins with its loins, his breast with its breast, his throat with its throat, and his head and hands with the shape of its head and hands.

Instead of fingers, its foot and hands are held by a root, but on its neck you could see hairs sown and growing leafy. They grow at the beginning of spring, but shiver when summer is over.

And as many people say (though I don't assert this firmly), if anyone plucks it and hears it torn from its mother's bosom, (they say) that the man dies like the herb. They dig round it and, while fleeing, attach a dog to the mandrake's body; the hungry dog seeks for food that has been placed far away; the mandrake is plucked and the dog dies. Now you know what it is and of what kind. Now learn what it can do.

Mandrake juice is said and known to calm a headache, if the forehead is smeared with it. Join the aforementioned juice to nard oil; by pouring it you can cure earache. Further, take a pinch from the right foot and a pinch from the right hand. Make a powder from it and grind the powder in wine; when drunk for seven days it will, with a speedy result, cure gout, as it will reduce the swelling. Also, an ounce of the splendid body will restore pulled nerves to themselves, if it is taken and pounded with oil, and the oil smeared on the nerves. The ointment can help contracted limbs. Also, take a pinch of mandrake from the body; it is a good thing to give this in warm water to an epileptic; in this way you can expel the sickness of the raging disease. A little patch of it is hung from a sick man's neck, and some say that thus the phylactery is surpassed.

12. *Rose* (II.10)

            "Nunc, Herato, que magna canis, ipsis quoque magnis
            Fis maior. Sic parua canas ut maxima fias."

       Sic ego. Sic Herato, percurrens pollice cordas
       Umbriferoque vagos lauro redimita capillos:
5   "Non ignara fui, dum perscribens in amorem
       Gramina digrediens miro splendore locares,
       Hec agressurum te cominus. Ergo fideli
       Non infida meo, que dicas ordine dicto.
       At rosulam nunc ipsa canam. Dic, candide Macer,—
10   Sic tibi Tempe vacent, sic astra canora resultent—
       Dic tibi de rosula si quid videatur amena."
       Sic Dea. Sic Macer: "Florum flos esse videtur,
       Quod forma pariter precedat odoreque flores."
       "Dic et, Stabe, precor. Sic non grauis irruat ymber,
15   Non fera girouaget pegaseos incola fontis,
       Dum per amena tui lustras vestigia Macri,"
       Sic Dea. Sic Stabus: "Sic vi, sic vincit odore

P 12r–v, *S* 87r–88r. *Title:* Rosula *P* : De Rosa. Henricus *S*

  1 Nunc] Hunc *S*   Herato] heraco *P* (*also* 3)   canis] canens *S*   ipsis] ipsi *S*
3 pollice] police *S*   4 Umbriferoque] Vmbricoque *P*   vagos] vagens *P* : magos *S*
redimita] redimcia *S*   5 fui] sui *P* : diu fui *S*   6 digrediens] pregrediens *P*   8 infida]
insida *S*   dicas] dicat *S*   9 ipsa] ipse *S*   10 Tempe] tempora *S* (cf. I Prol.)
resultent] resultant *P*   11 Dic] Quod *S*   tibi] quid *P*   12 Sic[1]] Dic *P*   sic[2]] si *P*
Macer] mater *P*   13 precedat] procedat *S*   15 girouaget] gira vaget *S*   pegaseos]
pegaseios *S*   16 tui] tm̄ *S*   17 Dea] deam *S*

   The core of the poem is Macer 776–807, but Henry has transformed it into a dialogue be-
tween Erato (the divine Muse) and the herbalists Macer, Stabus, and Henry himself. The Muse
also tells us that in Henry's lost poem *De amore* he had had a digression on herbs. See also VI
Epilogue (Appendix, no. 27).

   1 Erato, the Muse.
   5–6 Henry himself refers to his poem *De amore* (see p. 219 above), and Leland mentions it
as well, but it does not seem to have survived.
   9 Macer, i.e., Odo of Meun, s. XI, Henry's principal source for about half of the poems in
the herbal. He is called *nitidus* in IV Epilogue 2, line 19, and praised highly in Salvia, I.9.
   10 Tempe: see I Prologue (Appendix, no. 2), line 10 (where *S* makes the same error); it is
clearly thought of as the dwelling of the Muses, where a place is reserved for Macer.
   12 Macer 776–77.
   14 Stabus: probably Walahfrid Strabo (808/9–849), author of the *Hortulus*. Macer (lines 900,
906, on Ligusticum) calls him Strabus, casting doubt on a medical opinion of his; this passage
is also utilized by Henry (II.25), so it is hard to see why he thought that Stabus was a disciple of
Macer, as at I.9 (Salvia), line 4 "sequens Macri vestigia Stabus" and IV Epilogue 2, line 19,
"Macrique pedissequa Stabus."
   15 Whoever the wild inhabitant of the Pegasean spring is, his whirlings seem to bring bad
weather.

Flores, ut merito florum flos esse feratur."
Tum Dea: "Quandoquidem tanto sanxistis honore
20 Veris uterque decus digno donabo decore
Veris et ipsa decus; necenim, que confero vobis,
Non potero conferre michi? Rosa, sic superasti
Flores puniceo vultu rutiloque colore
Ut superes aurum, superes gemmas, superesque
25 (Non tamen inuideant superi!) vaga lumina celi.
Sic, rosa, sic superas flores et odoris honore
Ut superes mirram, superes nardum, superesque
(Inuideant licet Eoi) noua balsama (victi).
Gallia quid species querat, quid et Anglia felix
30 Indis inuideat?" ("Si non hoc tempore cedat,
Tempore, pro!, cedat, cum numquam balsama cedant!").
"Flos rosule marcet, vis nullo tempore marcet:
Puluis habet quod flos habuit—vigor equs utrique.
 Huius opes et opus colliria multa requirunt;
35 Infrictus puluis langoribus obuiat oris.
Si caleat stomachus, caleant si viscera, prosit.
 Fluxum matricis, fluxum conterminat alui;
Ut reliquos ignes, sacros exterminat ignes.
Omnis trita recens feruores destruit omnes;
40 Mitigat ipsa recens si mulse mixta bibatur.
 Vis Henrice, tibi ius? Nam tibi fama rosatum
Predicat usque oleum distingui. Quomodo fiat?

---

19 Tum] Cum *PS* Quandoquidem] quandoquam *S* 20 donabo decore *inv. P*
21 vobis] nobis *S* 23 colore] decore *P* 24 superes¹] superasci *P* superesque]
superosque *P* 25 celi] coli *S* 26 honore] honorem *P* 28 victi] vitri *S* 29 que-
rat] curat *S* quid² *om. S* 30 inuideat] inuideant *P* hoc] hec *P* cedat] cedet *P*
31 pro cedat] procedat *PS* 32 marcet²] cedet *P* 33 utrique] vtrimque *S* 35 In-
frictus (*Macer*)] Infructus *P* : In fructus *S* oris] horis *S* 36 prosit] prodest *S*
 37 Fluxum¹ (*Macer*)] Et luxum *S* 39 feruores] feruore *S* 40 si mulse] simul se *S*
41 ius] vis *P*

---

18 Macer 776–7.
21–22 The redundant negative could be an English trait.
26 Macer 777.
29 "Anglia felix": cf. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* 9.53 (ed. Greenway, 694).
31–32 The punctuation, interpretation and separation of "pro! cedat" are all uncertain. I see
it as a belated interruption by balsam.
33–40 Macer 781–80, in an altered order.
38 "sacros ignes": erysipelas.
42 Cf. Macer 801, which cites Palladius for the recipe.

Floris quod rubeum fuerit discerpito talis;
Uncia sub libra leuis iungatur oliui.
45   Hec soli solum septem suspende diebus
In phyala, nisi Palladii deliret acumen.
Hoc oleum iam nunc roseum noua nomina sumit."
Sic Dea. Sic et ego: "Quid et hoc oleum valet, oro?
Namque valere scio; quid, nescio." "Me licet," inquit,
50   Cum Pindo Parnasus et Aonie Paganippe
Graminibus stupeant remorantem, non tamen ibo
Donec et ista scias. Ventrem mollire probatur;
Hoc foti feruor stomachi solet alleuiari;
Hoc dolor, hoc feruor capitis curatur. Aceto
55   Coniunctum purgat vulnus repletque profunda.
Combustis prodest, palpebras mollit, et aufert
Mire suppositum pruritus interiorum.
Cetera pretereo, nec enim numerare fauillas
Proderit Ethneas nec glauci prorsus harenas."

---

43 discerpito] discrepito *S*   44 iungatur] mergatur *S*   45 soli solum (*cf. Macer*
tantum)] sibi soli *P* : soli solus *S*   46 In phyala] Intiola *S*   nisi] uisi *P*   49 valere]
valore *P*   me] cum *P*   50 paganipeus *P* : aganippe *S*   52 et *om. P*   53 foti] forim
S   stomachi . . . alleuiari] capitis curatur aceto *P*   54 capitis . . . aceto] stomachi solet
alleuiari *sed corr. P*   55 repletque] repellet *S*   58 Cetera] Cetora *P*   59 Ethneas]
etheneas *S*

---

44 The variants "iungatur"/"mergatur" are recorded in the apparatus to Macer.
44–47 Macer 804–6, 802, 789.
45 Cf. Macer 806: "Sub Phoebo tantum septem suspende diebus."
46 Palladius, s. IV, cited in IV Epilogue 2 (Appendix, no. 18), line 15, and by Macer 802.
50 These are the two mountains and spring sacred to the Muses; Vergil, *Ecl.* 10.11–12:
        "nam neque Parnasi uobis iuga, nam neque Pindi
        ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe."
52–57 Macer 791–96, 798–99.

    "Now, Erato, who sing great things, you become greater than those great
things. Sing of small things so that you may become the greatest." Thus I spoke.
    Then Erato, running her thumb across the strings and with her wandering
hair wreathed in shady laurel, spoke thus: "I was not unaware that, when you
wrote about love and digressed and placed plants in wondrous splendour, you
would approach this subject closely. Therefore, not unfaithful to my trusty ser-
vant, I dictate in order what you are to say. But now I myself will sing of the
rose. Speak, splendid Macer; thus may Tempe be free for you; thus may the

tuneful stars resound. Say if anything seems good to you about the pleasant rose." Thus spoke the goddess.

Thus said Macer: "It seems to be the flower of flowers, because it surpasses flowers in both appearance and scent."

(Goddess:) "Stabus, you speak too, I beg. Let not a heavy shower fall, and let not the fierce dweller of the Pegasean spring wander in circles, while you follow in the pleasing steps of your Macer." Thus spoke the goddess.

Then Stabus said: "It so surpasses flowers in virtue and scent that it is rightly reckoned to be the flower of flowers."

Then the goddess spoke: "Since you both have canonized spring's glory with such honour, I also will endow spring's glory with worthy honour, for indeed, shall I not be able to confer on myself what I confer on you? Rose, you have so surpassed flowers with your scarlet face and red colour that you surpass gold, you surpass jewels, and—but don't let the gods be jealous!—you surpass the wandering lights of heaven. Thus rose, you so surpass flowers also with the honour of your scent that you surpass myrrh, you surpass nard, and you surpass (though the Easterners may be envious, having been conquered) fresh balsam. Why should France seek spices and blessed England envy the Indians? ("If it should not yield at this time, oh, it would yield in time, for balsam never yields"). The rose's flower withers; its power never withers. Its powder has what the flower had: both are equal in strength. Many poultices need its resources and assistance. Its powdered dust resists ailments of the mouth. If the stomach and bowels were hot, it would help. It stops flow from the womb and the uterus; it extinguishes sacred fires like other fires. Every crushed rose, when fresh, destroys all fevers. When fresh itself, it soothes if it is drunk mixed with mulse.

Henry, do you want the juice for yourself? For rumour tells you that rose oil is distinguished. How is it to be made? Separate whatever is red in such a flower. Let an ounce of smooth olive be added in a balance. Hang these ingredients in the sun for just seven days in a glass, unless the wit of Palladius has gone astray. This oil, now 'oil-of-rose,' acquires a new name." Thus spoke the goddess.

I now spoke thus: "And what is the use of this oil, I ask? For I know that it is valuable, but I don't know in what way."

(Goddess:) "Although," she said, "Parnasus and Pindus, along with Aonian Paganippe, may be amazed at me delaying with plants, nevertheless I will not leave until you know these things too. It is proven to mollify the belly. The burning of a stomach is eased if it is comforted with this. By this rose-oil are cured pain and burning of the head. Combined with vinegar it cleans a wound and fills up its depths. It is useful for burns; it soothes eyebrows, and when used as a suppository, it marvellously dispels itchings of the innards. I pass over its other qualities, for it will do no good to count the sparks of Etna nor the sands of the blue sea."

13. *Aesculapius* (III Prologue)

    Corporum quedam docet esse sana
    Phisice splendor, docet egra quedam;
    Terciam partem Venerem fatetur.
    Graminum promptus vigor ista sanat;
5   Ista conseruat, meliorat illa.
    Ergo non parui, tibi, lector, ortus,
    Ergo non parui tibi sit libellus,
    Alter complectens gremio tot herbas,
    Alter herbarum reserans triumphos.
10   Editus Phebo titulis earum
    Non mori sollers homini dedisset,
    Fulminis iactu nisi corruisset.
    Vidit et nouit titulos earum.
    Phebus hiis causas videt atque noscit
15   Prius absconsas radiisque monstrat.
    Has et inspexi, didici, notaui.
    Crede mortali. Moritura tempnis?
    Crede splendoris Domino perhennis.

P 16r–v, *S* 32v. *Title:* Prologus in librum tercium *P*.

 1 Corporum] Corpora *P*   3 Venerem] ventrem *S*   fatetur] facetus *P*   4 Graminum] Carminum *S* 5 *om. S* 7 Ergo] Hoc *S* (cf. I Prol. [App. 2], 10; I.25 [App. 9], 8) 8 *om. S* 9 reserans] referens *P*   10 Phebo] Phebi *P* : Plebo *S* titulis] titulus *P* 11 sollers] solers *S* 12 Fulminis] Fluminis *S* corruisset] coruisset *S* 14 Phebus] Plebus *S* 15 -que *om. P* monstrat *S* : modo *P* 16 Has] Hos *PS*

Sapphics.

10–12 Aesculapius, son of Apollo; see Ovid, *Met.* 2: 642–8. He was taught medicine by the centaur Chiron; he tried to restore Hippolytus to life, and so Jupiter killed him.
 15 That is, the rays of the sun bring out the flowers.
 16 "Hos" (*PS*) could conceivably refer to "titulos," but "Has (herbas)" is more likely.

  The splendour of Medicine teaches that some bodies are healthy, some are sick; it proclaims that the third part is sexual passion. The ready vigour of plants heals the sick; it preserves the healthy and cures the sick. Therefore, reader, let the garden not seem of small value to you, nor let the book be of small value to you—the one (the garden) enclosing so many herbs in its bosom, the other (the book) revealing the triumphs of herbs. By the glories of these herbs the skillful son of Apollo would have given immortality to man, if he had not first fallen,

struck by a thunderbolt: he saw and knew the glories of herbs. Apollo sees and knows in them the causes that were previously hidden, and he shows them in rays. I too have seen these, learned them, and noted them. Believe a mortal. Do you despise things that will perish? Trust in the Lord of eternal splendour.

14. *Elecampane, Enula* (III.15)

> "Enula, que tibi vis, quam vulgus nominat elnam?"
> "Vis michi feruescens et vis michi contigit humens;
> Primo prima gradu viget atque secunda secundo."
> "Enula, quanta potes, nisi nulla potes, manifesta."
> 5   "Puluis radicum prodest cum melle mearum
> Inflatis, orthopnoicis, tussique et anelis,
> Et meus et rute succus ruptis medicatur.
> Nefreticos foliis cum vini nectare coctis
> Et radice iuuo sciasim superaddita cruri.
> 10   Coctio vero mei stipatum commouet aluum;
> Tam molliter mouet urinam quam pellit abortum;
> Menstrua tam leuiter purgat quam pectora sanat."
> "Turpe loquax mulier! Vates odere loquaces!"
> "Cum non pauca queam, paucis contenta recedam."

P 21v, *S* 60r–v. *Title:* Enula *P* : De enula campana. Henricus *S*
1 tibi vis] ter*uis P* : tibi ius *S*   2 vis²] ius *S*   3 atque *om. P*   4 potes²] potest *S*
6 Inflatis] Inclatis *S*   orthopnoicis (*Macer*, v.11. emoptoicis, haemoptoicis)] aut ortomicis
P : diptonoicis *S*   7 meus] m*ens S*   ruptis] raptis *S*   8 Nefreticos] Nec + *lacuna S*
9 Et radice] At + *lacuna S*   iuuo] vino/viuo *S*   10 vero mei] uel mel *S*   11 molliter]
mollitat *S*   13 loquax] loquar *P*   uaces/nates *P* : uaces/naces *S*   odere] odore *P*
14 queam] quedam *S*   contenta] contempta *S.*

The qualities and properties of Elecampane closely match Macer 1489–1502. Henry has turned it into a dialogue and added the last two lines.

13 Henry's interruption is doubtless provoked by the mention of abortion and menstrual fluids.

"What is your power, Enula, whom the people call 'Elna'?" "My power is hot and my power is moist—the former in the first degree, the second in the second degree." "Enula, show what you can do, unless you can do nothing." "The powder of my roots, along with honey, benefits those suffering from wind, the asthmatic, the cough and the breathless; my juice and that of rue cures those suf-

fering ruptures. I help those with kidney problems with my leaves cooked in the nectar of wine, and with my root I help the sciatic nerve when applied to the leg. A concoction of me moves a blocked stomach; it moves urine as gently as it removes an abortion; it purges menstrual fluids as easily as it heals the chest." "Foul-mouthed chattering woman! Poets hate chatterers!" "Although I can do no few things, I shall depart content with few."

15. *Medicine and Ethics* (IV Prologue)

> Bina profundi
> Sidera celi,
> Splendida Phebe
> Phebus et ingens,
> 5 Omnibus eque
> Pregrediuntur.
> Sic quoque scriptis
> Bina preesse

P 24r–v, *S* 33r. *Title:* Liber quartus *P*.
  1 Bina] Sina *S*   4 Phebus] Plebus *S*   8 preesse] preest *S*

P and *S* differ considerably in their arrangement of the lines. *P* sets out the lines in pairs as ten-syllable lines, e.g., 1–2: Bina profundi sydera celi. Its order is 1 through 12 (correctly), 13+17, 14+18, 15+19, 28+20, 29+21, 30+23, 24+25, 31+27, 32+34, 33+35, 26+36. *S* has two columns of eighteen lines each: (col. A) 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 28, 30, 32, 2, 4, 6; (col. B) 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 29, 31, 33, 26, 27, 35, 25, 34, 36.

It is fairly easy to see what happened to *S*. Originally there were two columns of fifteen lines each, intended to be read horizontally, but *S* read them vertically. (The same thing happened in the disordering of list A; see pp. 288–89 below). In IV Prologue, the exemplar must have looked like this:

> 1   2
> 3   4
> etc.   etc.

Somehow, 25, 26, 27, and 34, 35, 36 (perhaps written as triplets) were also detached and disordered.

The reconstruction of *P*'s exemplar is, I think, impossible to achieve. 1–12 were written correctly, and we can also conjecture an original for 13–20:

> 13   14   15   (16)
> 17   18   19   20

which was then copied vertically by *P*, but the rest of the disordering is hard to explain.

Adonics. The sense is not always clear and the text may still be corrupt.

                              Iure putantur
10   Omnibus eque
                              Phisica sanans,
                              Ethica saluans.
                              Cetera Phebo,
                              Cetera Phebe,
15   Sidera fulgent.
                              Sic quoque scriptis
                              Ante relatis
                              Cetera florent
                              Tempora rite:
20   Solque sororque
                              Lumine miro
                              Cuncta gubernant,
                              Noctibus illa,
                              Lucibus ille,
25   Quod nisi lucis,
                              Quod nisi noctis
                              Tempus habetur.
                              Nec minus istis
                              Cetera plane
30   Scripta coherent,
                              Phisica carnis,
                              Ethica mentis,
                              Saluificatrix,
                              Que nisi carnis,
35   Hec nisi mentis
                              Cura tenetur.

11 sanans] sonans *S*   16 *om. P*   20 sororque] sorique *S*   21 Lumine] Lumina *S*
22 *om. P*   25 Quod nisi] Quin *S*   26 Quod . . . noctis] Quin nortis *S*   30 coherent]
cohercent *S*   33 Saluificatrix] Saluicatrix *S*   34 Que nisi] Quin *S*   35 Hec] Que *P*

Two stars of deep heaven, shining Phoebe and mighty Phoebus, advance
equally before everyone. So also in writings two things are rightly thought to be
above all equally, healing Physic and saving Ethics. Some stars gleam for Phoe-
bus, others for Phoebe. So also in writings reported before, other times flourish
duly. The sun and his sister govern all things in wondrous light, she by night, he
by day, unless this time is held to be the time of light and this the time of night.
No less than these, other writings clearly agree: Physic, saviour of the flesh,
Ethics, saviour of the mind—(Physic) if care is not held for the flesh, and this
one (Ethics) if care is not held for the mind.

16. *Hyacinth and Narcissus* (IV.1–2)

> Dum tibi res magno modicas ornamus honore,
> Tot labor est, inquis, herbas plantare librosque
> Tot legisse grauat; magis euitare labores
> Hos aliquosque libet. Tibi dum respondeo paucis,
> 5   Ni labor est, audi, piger, indignissime vita,
> Si quicquid labor est vitas, et viuere vita
> Ne cures aliquid. Quis enim viuit, nisi curet,
> Aut quis curantem nescit sentire laborem?
> Quod si res homini labor est, natura volatus
> 10   Ut volucri, Salamone ipso testante, labora,
> Insta, perquire, planta, lege, disce, doceto!
> Si labor est, modicus labor est, victoria magna est
> Vincere pugnantes morbos presentibus herbis.
>   Hic igitur, Iacincte, nites; Narcissus adheret—
> 15   Nunc flores, olim pueri—tu natus Amiclis,
> Hic Elicone satus. Te durus contudit error,
> Hunc leuis destruxit amor—te discus amantis,
> Hunc species fontis. Te morti demere frustra
> Et deus et medicus et amans temptabit Apollo.
> 20   Hunc tam mirifice quem copia fecit egere
> Flebat et Echo grauis. Te florem fecit Apollo,

P 24v–25r, *S* 33v–34r (*no title*).

  1 Dum] Quot *P*   2 inquis] iniquis *S*   3 legisse] tetigisse *P*   grauat] grauant *S*
4 Hos . . . libet] Hosque libet alios *P*   dum] dura *P*   respondeo] resplendeo *S*   5 Ni]
Nil *P*   indignissime] indignissima *S*   10 Salamone] Salomone *P*   11 Insta] Insca *P* :
In ista *S*   12 est² *om. S*   14 Hic] Hinc *P*   nites] uires *S*   Narcissus] narciscus *P* :
narticus *S*   adheret] adher' *S*   17 amantis] amantes *P*   18 morti] fonti *P*
20 quem] quam *S*   21–22 Echo] etho *S*

  These flowers are not in Macer or in lists A–D; they are, however, needed to make up the count of twenty-five herbs for book IV. The stories are in Ovid, *Met.* 10.163–219 (Hyacinth) and 3.339–510 (Narcissus). See also Pliny, *NH* 21.129 (where he says that narcissus is good for burns and bruises) and 21.65–66 (a brief account of the legend of Hyacinth).

  9–10 Prov 30:18–20, Sap 5:11; the biblical texts would suggest "volucris," but both *P* and *S* agree on "volucri." Henry seems to be using the quotation to exemplify the effort a bird has to make, rather than the mystery of its flight in man's eyes.
  15 *Met.* 10.162.
  16 Ovid does not give Narcissus's birthplace; his mother was the nymph Liriope, and this may have suggested Helicon, the abode of the Muses.
  17 "leuis": because of the smooth reflection in the water, or read "lenis."
  20 *Met.* 3.466 "inopem me copia fecit."

Hunc miserans Echo. Te ceruleum dedit ictus,
Hunc roseum flammata Venus—decor equs utrique
Floribus in variis fuit, et dolor equs utrimque,
25   Vulnera Iacinctus, periit quia vulnere, curat;
Feruores alius reprimit feruore peremptus.
Contusus contusa iuuat luxataque sanat,
Ast hic quem Veneris feruens extinxit acumen,
Si caput inde lauas, febres extinguit acutas.
30   Corpore formosos quia preradiauit uterque,
Corpore deformes maculas abradit uterque.
Vos igitur pueri, si carmine gloria fame
Queritur atque datur per vos quesita poete
Gloria, per vatem data vobis fama virescet,
35   Dum Stacio Thebe, Maroni Pergama stabunt,
Nisus et Eurialus, Dymas dum viuet et Opleus.

---

23 Venus] e venus *P*   24 utrimque] vtrumque *S*   25 Vulnera . . . vulnere] vulnere
. . . vulnera *P*   quia] -que *S*   27 Contusus] contusos *P*   luxata] laxata *S*   28 Ast]
At *P*   extinxit] extrinx*us S*   29 lauas] laues *S*   30–31 *inv. S*   30 formosos]
formosus *P*   preradiauit] preradiant *S*   34 Gloria] Gloriam *P*   36 Dymas dum]
diuasdum *S*   viuet] viuit *P* : iuuet *S*   Oplens] empla*us P*.

21–22 Although Echo mourned Narcissus's death, it was the naiads and dryads that turned
him into a flower.

23 *Met.* 3.482 "pectora traxerunt roseum percussa ruborem." Pliny NH 21.128 says that one
variety of narcissus is endowed with a *purpureus flos.*

23–24 Cf. Rose, II.10 (Appendix, no. 12), line 33.

26 Pliny, ibid. "ambustis prodest exiguo e melle."

27 Pliny, ibid. (of the narcissus, not the hyacinth) "sic et vulneribus et luxatis."

36 Statius, *Thebaid* 10.347–448, especially 447–48: "forsitan et comites non aspernabitur
umbras / Euryalus Phrygiique admittet gloria Nisi."

While I adorn small things for you with great honour, it is an effort, you say,
to plant so many herbs, it is a burden to read so many books, and you would
rather avoid these and other tasks. While I reply to you briefly, if it is not an ef-
fort, listen, sluggard, most unworthy of life if you avoid whatever is an effort,
and avoid living in such a way that you do not care for (cure) anything. For who
is alive if he doesn't care (cure), and who is unaware that a carer (curer) feels the
effort? But if something is an effort, as the nature of flying is for a bird (as
Solomon himself testifies), then labour, press on, inquire, plant, read, learn,
teach! If it is an effort, it is a small effort, and it is a great victory to overcome
the fighting diseases with the present herbs.

Here, then, you gleam, Hyacinth; Narcissus stands close—now flowers, once boys. You, Hyacinth, were born at Amyclae; this one (Narcissus) was born on Helicon. A hard error crushed you; smooth love destroyed him. Your lover's discus killed you; the beauty of the spring killed him. Apollo—god, physician, and lover—will try to snatch you from death, but in vain; sad Echo mourned this one whom abundance astonishingly made needy. Apollo made you into a flower, and pitying Echo did the same for him. A blow made you deep blue, and inflamed Venus made him rose-coloured—each was equally beautiful in their different flowers, and there was equal grief on both sides.

Because he perished by a wound, Hyacinth cures wounds; the other, destroyed by burning passion, represses fevers. The one who was bruised helps bruises and heals battered limbs, but he, whom the burning dart of Venus killed, allays sharp fevers, if you wash your head with it. Because both outshone the beautiful in body, both wash away ugly blotches.

Therefore, you boys, if you seek the glory of fame in song and the glory sought by you for the poet (or the glory of the poet) is granted, the fame given to you through the poet will remain green, as long as Thebes stands for Statius, and Troy, Nisus and Euryalus stand for Virgil, while Dymas and Opleus live.

17. *Theatre and Wild Cucumber* (IV Epilogue 1)

> Tedia ni tulerint cernenti gramina centum,
> Iam theatrum pete, sed modicum, medio quod in orto
> Suspicies. Hic baiula subnixus arundine palmes,
> Circumquaque situs summoque cacumine tandem
> 5 Pulcre contiguus, dedit ut sint frondea tecta
> Porticus et vitis (cancella zaphirea dicam
> Aut galeam veris?), que† vernus palmes odorans

P 31v–32r (*no title*).

1 tulerint] *add.* que re *et canc. P*   4 situs *corr. e* sitis   5 sint] fuit *P*   6 vitis] vita *P*   zaphirea] zaphireaus *P*

The text is very corrupt. Without the aid of *S*, many conjectures remain very uncertain.

1 "gramina centum": the herbs of books I–IV.

2–8 Cf. Prose prologue (Appendix, no.1), lines 45–46: "In medio vero laci sedes est quasi theatrum, palmitibus conductis Phebo resistens."

6–7 I take "perticus" to be "porticus" and read "vitis" ("vita" *P*) to refer to the "palmes"; I also take "cancella . . . veris" parenthetically, to explain "dicam."

7–8 Although there is no gap in *P*, I conjecture a lacuna after "que," because "eos" (8) has no referent and "que" cannot be either subject or object of "condit." Even if we read "quia" this would still leave "eos" unexplained. The sense of "spicant" is also uncertain.

Condit eos, varii quos spicant undique flores.
Hos inter volitat, numidarum nube vagantum,
10   Lactea lacteridis, que semine fertur aeno,
Lactea lacteridis, qua nulla inmicior herba,
Lactea lacteridis, que ventrem soluit acute.
Rarescente die, gelidos iam promouet ortus
Vesperus et fessos requiei dedicat artus.

---

9 nube] iube *P*   10 aeno] et eneo *P*   11 qua] que *P*   inmicior] mencior *P*

---

9 If "nube" ("iube" *P*) is correct, "wandering nomads" might refer to the cucumber's tendrils.

10–12 "lactea lacteridis": see the quotations in DMLBS under (1) *elaterium* and (2) *lathyris*: "elacteris est cucumer agrestis. elacterides secundum quosdam sunt cucumeres" (*Sinonomia Bartholomei*); "elacterides (v.l. electerides) sunt cucumeres agrestes . . . item lacterides sunt cathapucia" (*Alphita*); (2) "lacterides sunt catapucie secundum quosdam" (*Sin.Barth.*). *Cathapucium*, however, seems to be spurge. Daniel: "elaccerides is cucumer agrestis & bothe þe erbe and þe seed and laccerides is cathapucia" (!). Despite the confusion, there can be no doubt that our poem intends cucumber, as it is a climbing plant. It is modern *Echallium Elaterium*, the Squirting Cucumber.

10 "aeno" ("et eneo" *P*): a wild conjecture to accommodate the metre. Perhaps the seed is bronze coloured or hard. See the "Cucumber, Squirting" entry in M. Grieve, *A Modern Herbal* (first published in 1931), ed. C. F. Leyel (Darien, Conn., 1970), 1:241 (electronic version at www.botanical.com): "The fruits forcibly eject their seeds together with a mucilaginous juice."

11 If "mencior" conceals a comparative adjective, "qua" is necessary. I could have as easily emended to "micior," but the cucumber fruit and stems are prickly and its effect is powerful; see the next line and the entry in *A Modern Herbal* ("A powerful hydragogue cathartic. . . . If administered too frequently it operates with great violence in both the stomach and bowels, producing inflammation and possibly fatal results"). Hence "inmicior."

13–14 This suggests a bucolic setting for the poem.

If the hundred herbs do not already bore the viewer, go to the theatre (though it's small) which you will see in the middle of the garden. Here a vine, propped up by a supportive stake, placed all around and finally touching prettily at the top, has brought it about that the portico and vine form a leafy house. (Should I call it a sapphire lattice or the helmet of spring?) which . . . the scented spring vine establishes/flavours those which varied flowers cause to stand up on all sides.

Among these, with a cloud of wandering nomads, flies milky wild cucumber, which is borne from a bronze seed, milky wild cucumber, than which no herb is more ungentle, milky wild cucumber, which dissolves the stomach sharply.

While the daylight grows thin, the evening stirs the beginnings of cold and pledges tired limbs to rest.

18. *Earlier herbalists* (IV Epilogue 2)

> Hec super herbarum michi laude ferebat Appollo,
> Nec puduit vatis, nec te Normannia bellis,
> Rex Henrice, tenet, nec enim liuor probitatem,
> Optima corrodens, tibi deserit incomitatam,
> 5   Sed te qui rodunt dentes molasque retundunt,
> Dumque premunt gratis, te vix dignante premuntur.
> At ne vana putes nos hic commenta tulisse,
> Auctores si vis istorum noscere, scripsi
> Quod Phebus Pheboque satus, quod Olympius autor,
> 10   Quod Temeson, quod Apollodorus cecinere, sorores,
> Siue quod excellens Ypocras, diuinitus eger,
> Quod Prodymus, quod Crisipus, et quod Plinius ingens

P 32r (*no title*).
  1 Hec] Nec *P*   michi] m^s *P*   3 Henrice] enricus *corr. e* enride *P* (henricus *marg.*)
7 commenta] *com*mensa *P*   8 si vis] q*ue* velis *P*   10 Temeson] temeseon *P*

---

  1 As emended, this marks a clear end to the hundred herbs.
  2–3 The lines may mean simply that King Henry I was free from distractions, but 3–6 could refer to the suppression of rebellions in 1124. Henry of Huntingdon often accompanied the court (Greenway, private communication).
  8 If the reading in *P* ("Auctoresque velis") is retained, a line must have been lost after 7.
  9 The verbs in the *quod*-clause are: "cecinere" (10), "memorat," "dyuinat" (13), "asseruere" (15); these must be supplied throughout.
  9–20 Of the authorities cited here, all are in Macer except *sorores*, Prodymus, Justus, Stephanus, and Philo. Indeed, of the authorities cited by Macer, all are here except Diocles, Praxagoras, Sextus Niger, and Anaxilaus.
  9 "Pheboque satus": presumably Aesculapius/Asclepius, as in III Prologue, line 10 (Appendix, no. 12), but it is not clear why he should be repeated in 17. It is unlikely that Henry thought that there were two authorities of this name.   "Olympius autor": unless this is a repetition of Apollo or Aesculapius, it may be a slip for Olympias, cited by Macer 1978 (Malva): "Scripsit abortivam Thebana Olympias illam."
  10 Themison, a medical writer of the time of Augustus, is mentioned by Macer as an author cited by Pliny (at 265 as an author of a book on plantain and at 1825 as a user of White Hellebore).   Apollodorus (third century BC), is cited by Macer 1588 (Cyperus).   "sorores": this might be the Muses, but it is oddly placed in the sentence.
  11 "Ypocras": Hippocrates (fifth century BC), cited by Macer 173 (Allium), 508 (Porrum, "medicinae maximus auctor"), and 1814 (White Hellebore, cited as an author of aphorisms). These citations do not explain why he was "divinely sick."
  12 "Prodymus": unknown.   "Crisipus": Chrysippus, a physician of Cnidus at the time of Alexander, cited by Pliny and also by Macer 1225, where he is credited with a book on cabbages (*Caulis*). See also *Historia Anglorum,* prologue (ed. Greenway, 2).   "Plinius ingens": Pliny the Elder, author of *Natural History,* cited often by Macer and also by Henry.

    Quod memorat Justus, quod dyuinat Galienus,
    Et quod Xenocrates quem philosophia venustat,
15 Quod Catho, Pittagoras, Palladius asseruere,
    Quod Stephanus, quod melliti Mellicius oris,
    Asclepiusque, pater medicine, splendidus autor,
    Quod Dyascorides, quod Philo, quod Menetamus,
    Quod Macer nitidus, Macrique pedissequa Stabus,
20 Nota quod ignotis iubet Oribasius equans
    Siue alii quos fama virens florente corona
    Lucescente manu caua circum tympora cinxit.

---

17 splendidus] spendidus *P*   20 Oribasius] orbasius *P*

---

13 "Justus" ("iuscus" *P*): unknown.   "Galienus": Galen (129–99), cited frequently by Macer.   Xenocrates, a physician in the age of Nero and the Flavians, is cited by Macer 984 on the use of coriander.

15 "Catho": Cato (234–149 BC), author of *De agri cultura,* mentioned by Macer 1205 and 1219 for his writing on cabbages.   "Pittagoras": probably the philosopher Pythagoras (sixth century BC), is cited by Macer 1139–40 for his praise of mustard. Alternatively, this is a variant in Macer 180 for Praxagoras (Allium).   "Palladius": writer on agriculture (fourth century AD). He is cited by Macer 802 on the rose, a passage alluded to by Henry in II.10, line 46 (Appendix, no. 12).

16 "Stephanus": unknown.   "Mellicius": cited by Macer 1262 (Caulis).

17 "Asclepius": see above on 9. Macer 1092 refers to him on onions.

18 Dioscorides (first century AD), cited by Macer 1088, 1103 (Cepa), and 1964 (Malva). "Philo": Lewis and Short (III) refer to a Greek physician, a native of Tarsus, inventor of an eye-salve.   "Menetamus": perhaps the Menemachus cited by Macer 1166 on a recipe for mustard.

19 "Macer" (=Odo of Meun, eleventh century): Henry's principal source. See the poem on Rose, II.10 (Appendix, no. 12), where he is one of the participants and is called "candide." "Stabus": probably Walahfrid Strabo, ninth century. See the note to II.10, line 14, for other citations by Henry, who constantly refers to him as Macer's disciple. Even if Henry thought that Macer was a classical poet, he could hardly have failed to notice that Macer cites Strabus.

20 "Oribasius": Greek medical writer, 320–400, cited by Macer 506 (Sabina), 2255 (Aloe). Cf. the last line of the poem on Savin, IV.25, "Congnita non notis iubetque Orbasius equans."

    Apollo brought these poems to me concerning the praise of herbs, and the poet was not ashamed; nor does Normandy hold you in wars, King Henry, nor indeed does Envy, which gnaws the best, leave your prowess unaccompanied, but those who bite you blunt their teeth and grinders, and while they gratuitously oppress, they are oppressed, and you scarcely deign (to notice?).

    But lest you think that we have here brought falsehoods, if you wish to learn their authors, I have written what was sung by Phoebus Apollo, by Phoebus's son, by the Olympian author, by Themeson, by Apollodorus, by the sisters, what (was sung) by excellent Hippocrates, divinely sick, by Prodymus, by Crisipus,

by mighty Pliny, what Justus mentions, what Galen foretells, and what was as-
serted by Xenocrates, whom philosophy adorns, by Cato, by Pythagoras, by Pal-
ladius, by Stephen, by Mellitius of the honeyed mouth, by Asclepius, father of
medicine, a splendid author, by Diascorides, by Philo, by Menetamus, by gleam-
ing Macer and Macer's follower Stabus, what Oribasius orders, matching the
known to the unknown, or what others (teach) whom fresh fame girded with
shining hand around their hollow temples with a flowering crown.

19. V Prologue

           O tibi si placeant meorum carmina florum,
           Aut saltem nisi displiceant, plasmator eorum,
           Indefectiuis paradysum floribus ornans,
           Cui rosa martirii, cui lilia virginitatis,
5   Cui viole mitis bene sunt redolencia mentis,
           Vita beata, vigor vite, medicina vigoris,
           Principium rerum, vegetacio, finis earum,
           Cui, ludens Veneremque fugans et gramina plantans,
           Seruitui quarto quadratum texo libellum,
10   In quo wlgares recito ter quatuor herbas,
           Tot species, totidem gemmas totidemque lapillos,
           Nec postrema duo medicamentis aliena
           Iudico, ni vatem Phebus deludit Apollo.
           Hic michi florigeris ter cinxit tympora sertis:
15   "Nunc magis ut deceat, hiis gemmas insero," dixit,
           "Gemmas preclaris interpellabo lapillis:
           Quantus splendor inest predictis, tanta potestas.

P 32v (*no title*).
   8 Cui] Qui *P*   10 recito] renito *P*   13 deludit] diludit *P*   16 interpellabo] inter-
cellabo *P*

  1–13 These lines seem to consist of a vocative with dependent clauses, but no main verb.
  4–5 In II.9 (Violet), lines 9–11, the trio of violets, rose, and lilies is an emblem of the
Virgin Mary.
  7 This is identical to *Historia Anglorum,* prologue (ed. Greenway, 6.3–4), and close to the
first line of the couplet that begins the prose prologue (Appendix, no. 1).
  9 The "fourth service" may refer to books I–IV (the hundred herbs), but the squared little
book must refer to the herbs that follow.
  10 I.e., V.1.1–12.
  11 The spices, jewels, and little stones (also at 15–16) may be some kind of decoration in
the garden, or may be rhetorical.
  12 "postrema duo": probably referring to V.1.11–12, hemlock and bur.
  14 Cf. IV Epilogue 2 (Appendix, no. 18), lines 21–22.

Serta decora gerens pro sceptro dextra tenebit
Diuinas, quas vulgus habet nec iudicat, herbas.
20   Que magis ut placeant, orientis aromata iungam:
Talia serta meis et talia sceptra ministro."

---

20 ut] nec *P*

15–21 These lines are tantalizingly reminiscent of Henry's lost works *De aromatibus* and
De gemmis (cf. above, p. 216 n. 13).
19 Perhaps referring to V.2.1–6, the vegetables, which the cook describes.
20 I.e., the eastern spices of book VI.

O, if the songs of my flowers might please you, or at any rate not displease
you! You, their creator, adorning paradise with unfailing flowers; you, to whom
the rose of martyrdom, the lilies of virginity and violets are fully redolent of a
gentle mind; you, blessed life, vigour of life, medicine of vigour, the beginning
of things, their growth and their end; you, for whom I, playing and driving away
Venus and planting plants, weave a squared little book for the fourth service, in
which I recite thrice four popular plants, as many spices, as many jewels, as
many pebbles. Nor do I judge the last two alien to healings, unless Phoebus
Apollo deceives his poet.

He bound my temples three times with flowering garlands. "Now," he said
"so that it may be more pleasing, I insert jewels in these, I will interrupt the
jewels with precious stones: as much splendour as there is in the aforesaid, so
great is their power. My right hand, bearing beautiful garlands as a sceptre, will
hold divine herbs, which the people hold but do not judge (to be divine?). To
make them more pleasing, I shall add aromas of the east. Such garlands and such
scepters I provide to my servants.

20. *The Cook's Interjection* (V Interlude)

Notificans herbas Phebi monitu duodenas,
Incepi promissa tibi persoluere, lector.
Quas si prescriptis centum subdas, medicina
Difficiles facile languores quosque iuuabis.
5   Sic medicis Phebi similis gratissimus omni

P 36r–v (*no title*).

---

1 "Phebi monitu": referring to V Prologue (Appendix, no. 19), lines 15–21. The twelve
herbs are V.1.1–12.
3 I.e., the hundred herbs of books I–IV.

Orbe legar toto nomenque perenne tenebo!
Hec dum iacto frequens, "O Phebe," cocus michi quidam
Subridens, "pociora tacens †inglor't," inquit,
"Qui porrum, cepas, caules—wlgaria certe
10   Sed prorsus ⟨valde⟩ gratissima—conticuisti!"
Tunc ego: "Non scriptis escas sed tradimus herbas;
Hec, quia sunt esce, non sunt, proth Jupiter, herbe."
"An pocius quoniam compilas singula libris
Hec non vidisti? Que nescis, conticuisti?"
15   "Nescio, confiteor. Quis enim simul omnia noscat?
Tu, si quid nosti, refer," et simul incipit, ecce.

---

7 mihi] *add.* fidem *et canc. P*   8 inglōr *P*   9 cepas] cepe *P*   10 valde *om. P*
16 incipit] incipis *P*

---

7 For the cook, based on Martial and first mentioned in I.21, see pp. 218–19 above.
8 At "inglōr" we need a word like "you belittle" or "you are blameworthy, talking nonsense."
13–14 Perhaps read "compilans" and punctuate all as one sentence.
16 The "ecce" refers forward to to the vegetables in V.2.1–6.

At Phoebus's instruction, making known twelve herbs, I have begun to pay you what I promised, reader. If you add these to the aforesaid hundred, you will readily aid all difficult sicknesses by medicine. Thus, like the doctors of Phoebus, I shall be read throughout the whole world, most pleasing to everyone, and I will have an eternal name.

While I was making these frequent boasts, a certain cook, smiling at me, said: "Being silent about greater matters . . . , you who have been silent about leek, onions, and cabbages—certainly vulgar, but very pleasing." Then I replied: "We put herbs, not foods, in our writings. Since these are foods, they are not herbs, by Jove!" "Or perhaps rather, because you compile everything from books you have not seen these? You were silent about what you do not know?" "I don't know, I confess, for who could know everything at once? If you know anything, report it," and he immediately began, as follows.

21. *Orach* (V.2.4)

Ista cocus verbis vehemens sine fine ferebat.

P 38r. *Title:* Attriplex *P*
  1 Esca *P*

---

1 "Ista" ("Esca" *P*): i.e., the three preceding poems (V.2.1–3) on onion, leek and cabbage.

Hec ego: "Nunc finem facies? Nondumque latrasti
Quascumque audisti nugas?" "Si sunt mea nuge,
Sunt tua multo magis." Nec enim—non que modo dixi—
5   Nescio." "Non notam tibi noui notificoque
Atriplicem, primoque gradu frigere, secundo
Humectare, canam. Nescis quod molliat aluum?
Soluere duricias nescis clauisque mederi?
Si crude cocteve superponas cataplasma,
10   Sic scrabos ungwes, sic sacros destruit ignes.
Nescis coniunctam cum nitro melle et aceto
Sicque superpositum disperdere sepe podagram?
Semine predicte cum vino sepius hausto
Soluitur yctericus, nisi delirat Galienus.

---

7 molliat aluum] mollit ventrem *P*   11 cum] nec *P*

3–5 The distribution of speeches to speakers here is not entirely certain.
6–14 These lines are based closely on Macer 947–56.
7 The metrically necessary emendation is based on Macer 948.
10 "sacros ignes": erysipelas. The use of "destruit" for both cures is awkward; Macer has "detrahit" for the rough nails.
14 Macer also ascribes this quality of the seed to Galen.

The cook continued with such utterances vehemently and endlessly.

I said, "Will you now make an end? Haven't you yet barked out all the nonsense you've heard?" (Cook:) "If my words are nonsense, yours are much more so." (Henry:) "No indeed, not what I just said, I don't know." (Cook:) "I know a plant not known to you, and I make it known, orach. I shall sing that orach is cold in the first degree and moist in the second. Don't you know that it softens the belly? Don't you know that it dissolves hardness and heals warts? If you apply a poultice of raw or cooked orach, it destroys rough nails and sacred fires? Don't you know that when mixed with nitre, honey and vinegar, and applied on top, it often dispels gout? Someone with jaundice is cured by frequently drinking the seed of orach along with wine, unless Galen is talking nonsense."

22. *Parsley* (V.2.5)

"Amplius, O liuor, cur scribens petrosilino

P 38r–v. *Title:* Petroselinum *P*

The poem takes its starting point from the first poem on parsley, I.21 (Appendix, no. 7). It is

Detrahis? An quod sit vestre mirabile genti?
Huius enim vires apio canis esse minores,"—
Quod quam mendosum sit, vi patefecit erumpens—
5   "Quatuor antidotis aliis precellere scimus:
Hoc quod Allexander, que dicitur aurea, fecit,
Quodque Mitridates ternis rutilans speciebus,
Quodque "climax" dicunt cohibens sex dena gradatim,
Et dyamargariton ex omni parte beatum.
10   In tribus ex istis apponere petrosilinum
(In solo selinon preciosius) est preciosum.
Sepius in vanum corrodas grece libellum?
Iam scripsisse pudet? Malles tacuisse? Notanda

---

2 detrahiis *P*   6 Hoc *vel* Hic *P*   7 ternis] ter^{is} *P*   11 preciosius] preciosus *P*
12 vanum] vnctum *P*   grece] g^e *P*   13 Malles] mallas *P*

---

amusing that there Henry describes the virtues of parsley for cooking ("medicique recedant"), especially of mutton and pork, whereas here he places in the cook's mouth the values of the herb for medicinal antidotes (but compare also I.21, line 13, "Hec solet antidotis nec sepius ulla, reponi"). Much of the interpretation remains conjectural, and it is possible that more lines should be in dialogue form.

3 I.21, line 8; *apium* is smallage, a kind of parsley.

6 I have not found the antidote called "golden" that Alexander made.

7 Mithridates, king of Pontus (second–first century BC), an inveterate enemy of Rome, fortified himself against poison by drinking regular antidotes. Macer on rue (line 19 below) 305–10, describes Mithridates' antidote, which consisted in twenty leaves of rue with a bit of salt, two large nuts and two figs. It was known as a *Mithridatium*. The rue, nuts, and figs may constitute the "ternis speciebus."

8 "climax": more properly "Hermes' ladder" (so DMLBS), fully explained by L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and. Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), 2:481, taking his account from Gilbertus Anglicus: "it consists of sixty different simples (= *cohibens sex dena*) and is called a ladder because the amount of these simples used in a compound is increased step by step (cf. *gradatim*). First one takes one ounce each of four simples, then two ounces each of four more, and so on for four species at a time, until the quantity of fifteen ounces is reached and the list of sixty simples is exhausted. This compound is asserted to be beneficial for rather more than fifteen ailments."

9 "dyamargariton": a compound (electuary) of pearls. See DMLBS, s.v. *dia-*.

10–11 I have not been able to verify this, but at I.21, line 13, Henry says that *petroselinum* is used for antidotes (see above).   *selinon* is the Greek for parsley (*apium* or *petroselinum*?), but here is clearly regarded as superior, if my punctuation and emendation are correct. I take "solo" to mean "one" to account for all four of the antidotes. The emendation "preciosius" is for the metre.

11 Scanned "selīnon" in CL.

12 "in vanum" seems a likely emendation, but I do not know why Henry says "grece," except that at I.21, line 2, he says that *petroselinum* is called *triannis* by the Greeks.

13–14 The punctuation and interpretation are uncertain.

Dic michi preterea. Que si nescis tibi dicam
15   Herbarum numerum que splendescunt preciosis
Sepius antidotis. Has bissenas numeraui:
Petrosilinum, jusquiamum, aristologiaque,
Post rosa, post yreos, post camedreos apiumque,
Rutaque, puleium, ligustica, prassion, inde
20   Et maratrum. Dictas dignissimus ordo locauit
Pluribus antidotis primas, sed posteriores
Paucis ponuntur, sed vis descendit earum.
Absinthiique et pyonie atque ysopi et calamentis
Vim subiunxissem, si non prolixior essem.
25   Sepe quidem ponunt alias sed sepius istas,
Unde supercellunt aliis ut sydera gemmis.

---

19 ligustica] ligurtica *P*   21 primas] prime *P*   24 Vim] Vix *P*   25 quidem] quidam *P*

15–20 All twelve herbs are in this herbal: I.21, V.1.3, IV.23, II.10, III.9, I.12, 1.20, I.10, II.16, II.25, III.20 (Marrubium=Prassion), III.2 (Feniculum=Maratrum). All except Petroselinum and Yreos are in Macer, and all except Rosa, Yreos, and Prassion are specifically said to be good against bites and poisons.

17 Perhaps elide the *-um* of "petrosilinum" and of "jusquiamum" and delete the final "-que."

20–22 The meaning is not entirely clear.

23–24 The meaning of these lines depends partly on my emendation of "Vim" (for "Vix"). Absinthe (III.11), Pyonia (IV.16), Ysopus (I.11), and Catmint (III.23) are in the herbal, but only Absinthe and Calamint are specified for poisons and bites.

23 This can just be made to scan by reading *-ii* in "absinthii" as a monosyllable, and by eliding "-que," "pyonie," "atque," and "ysopi."

O Envy (= Henry), why do you continue to write critically about petroselinum? Is it that it is a marvel to your race? For you say that its powers are less than smallage. (Henry:) How false this is, he made clear as he burst out violently. (Cook:) We know that four antidotes surpass other antidotes: (1) This which Alexander made, which is called "golden," and (2) what Mithridates made, gleaming with three spices, and (3) what they call "ladder" (*climax*), containing sixty (simples) in steps, and (4) diamargariton, blessed in all respects. In three of these it is valuable to add petroselinum (in one alone the more precious *selinon*). Would you often vainly bite at the little book in Greek? Are you ashamed to have written? Would you have preferred to remain silent? In addition, tell me what ought to be noted. If you do not know these, I will tell you the number of herbs which often gleam in precious antidotes. I have counted these twelve: petrosilinum, henbane, birthwort, then rose, then yreos, then camedreos and smallage, rue, ligustica, horehound, and fennel. A splendid arrangement has

placed the aforesaid very worthy herbs first in many antidotes, but the later ones are placed in few, and their power diminishes. I would have added the efficacy of absinthe, peony, hyssop, and catmint, if I were not already too long. Often, indeed, they place others, but these most frequently, whence they surpass the others as stars surpass jewels.

23. *Garlic* (V.2.6), lines 1–8

Nondum latraui quicquid scio: corrue, liuor!
Allia, saluete, diuinum munus, auete!
Allia, vos docti dixerunt "scordeon" Argi.
Quid super ista canat, vates paupercule, nosti,
5   Mundi lux Ypocras. Pulmonum sepe querelas
Decoctum cum lacte iuuat crudumve comestum,
Serpentis morsum dixit curare comestum,
Et nocuos perdi vermes ipsius odore . . .

P 38v. *Title:* Allium
   6 comestum] comostum *P*

This is closely based on Macer 161–95, which also cites Hippocrates.

1 "latraui": cf. V.2.4 (Appendix, no. 21), line 2.
3–8 Closely based on Macer, as is the remainder of the poem. Macer cites Ypocras, Diocles, Praxagoras (v.l. Pittagoras), and this poem does likewise (with Pittagoras), but also cites Macer himself as an authority.

I have not yet barked out all that I know. Collapse, Envy (=Henry)! Hail, garlic; greetings, gift of the gods! The learned Greeks, garlic, called you "scordeon." You know, tiny poet, what Hippocrates, light of the world, says about garlic. Cooked with milk or raw, it often helps lung complaints when eaten. He says that when eaten it cures snake bite and that harmful worms are destroyed by its odour . . .

24. VI Prologue

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Precipue quicquid causa salutis erit.

P 39r (*no title*).

Elegiac couplets.
   1 Vergil, *Georg.* 2.490.

Si non vis aliis, saltem tibi disce mederi:
Te quoque ⟨si⟩ spernis, cui bene fidus eris?
5   Arbitror insanos proprie monimenta salutis
Qui didicisse queunt nec didicisse volunt.

---

4 si *om. P*

Happy is he who has been able to learn the causes of things, especially what will be the cause of health. If you do not wish to heal others, at any rate learn to heal yourself. If you reject yourself, to whom will you be trustworthy? I judge them to be insane who are able to learn advice for their own health but are unwilling to do so.

25. *Transition to Pepper and Spices* (VI.1.1, lines 1–4)

Protinus eoas species, celestia dona,
Exequar. Hec tanto studiosius inspice, lector,
Quanto graminibus species presunt speciose.
Principio piperis naturam nobilitemus . . .

P 39r–v. *Title:* Piper (39v)

Next I shall follow up eastern spices, the gifts of heaven. Consider these all the more closely, reader, in as much as beautiful spices surpass grasses. First, let us ennoble the nature of pepper . . .

26. *The Bearded Man Interrupts* (VI Interlude)

Finieram. Quidam vero, qui tota verendus
Pectora pubetenus barba contexerat hirta,
Is barbam digitis contrectans, "Sit licet," inquit,
"Hoc signum non discendi sed rite docendi,
5   Quero tamen dubius cur has species duodenas

P 42v–43r (*no title*).
3 Sit] sic *P*

1–2 Henry may intend us to think of Apollo himself.
4 "signum": perhaps the fingering of his beard. Although it is the sign of a teacher, he is going to ask a question.
5 I.e., the twelve herbs of VI.1.1–12.

Quam species alias tractatu condecorasti?
Iste sunt equidem—nec detrecto—preciose."
Tunc ego: "Seu Socrates sis vel de gente Crisippi,
Docte pater, wlgo wlgarem ferre poetam
10   Vota decet: vix has nouerunt, et michi note
Sunt harum vires et nomina non aliarum."
Ille sub hec: "Quod Arabs quondam, quod Serus et Yndus
Inter eos peregrinantes docuere reponam."

---

8 de gente] degente *P*   9–10 wlgo . . . poetam / vix . . . note *inv. sed corr. P*

---

6 "Quam": *scil.* "potius."
8 Chrysippus: see IV Epilogue 2 (Appendix, no. 18), line 12.
12 "sub hec": this could be part of the old man's speech.
13 "inter eos peregrinantes": perhaps this means "when the Chinese and Indian were travelling among the Arabs." "Serus" might mean "Syrian." It seems that the old man is to speak VI.2.1–28.

I had ended, but a certain venerable man, who had covered his breast down to his pubic region with a shaggy beard, handling his beard with his fingers, said: "Although this is a sign not of learning but, properly, of teaching, nevertheless I ask in curiosity why you have adorned these twelve spices in your treatise (rather) than other spices? They are indeed—I don't criticize them—beautiful." I replied: "Whether you are Socrates or of the family of Crisippus, learned father, it is fitting for a popular poet to bring to the people what they want. They scarcely know these, and the powers of these and their names are known to me, and not those of other spices." To this he replied: "I shall set down what the Arab once, and (what) the Chinese and the Indian taught when travelling among them."

27. Epilogue

Floriger eoas species herbas philogeas
Centum sex decies claudens concluditur ortus.
Quis, cuias, cui vel, ipsum plantauerit auctor

P 47v, after colophon, but clearly connected to book VI.

---

1 "philogeas": DMLBS c. 1200.
1–2 Strictly speaking, the eastern herbs are only those of book VI, not all one hundred and sixty of the whole herbal.

Si queris, "cuias" baldemònia dicet;
5   Si "cui," carpe rosas oleumque require rosarum.
In primo primi titulum deprendito libri.

---

4 This refers to the poem on Baldmoney, I.5 (Appendix, no. 4), line 2: "Anglia te speciem, me reddidit Anglia vatem."

5 The poem on Rose and Rose-oil (II.10 [Appendix, no. 12]) gives the poet's name as Henry (i.e., "quis auctor") but not for whom he wrote ("cui"), unless he means the goddess Erato. IV Epilogue 2 (Appendix, no. 18) is addressed to Henry I.

6 The first herb of the first book (I.1) is Artemisia, and it is common to give a herbal the name of its first entry. Alternatively, I Prologue, line 14 suggests that the title is "Flores" ("Ecce meos flores . . . fero").

The flower-bearing garden, including a hundred and sixty eastern spices, is concluded. If you ask what author, of what country, planted it for whom, Bald-money will tell you of what country. If you ask for whom, pluck roses and seek oil of roses. Take the title in the first of the first book.

THE SLOANE LISTS

On fols. 32r–34r of the Sloane manuscript, interspersed among the verse prologues (which *S* puts all at the beginning, before the alphabetical herbal), is a set of four lists of herbs. These (after adjustment) correspond not to the alphabetical collection of *S* but to the original order of *P,* up to IV.23. The A list, corresponding to book I, appears in a disordered form as explained in the notes below. The B list corresponds to book II but lacks Serpillum (II.17) and Basilisca (II.22) and—perhaps con-sequently—adds two, B25 and B26, from III.1–2. The C list corresponds exactly to book III, after the omission of 1–2. The D list does not include IV.1–2 (Hyacinth and Narcissus), which is not given a title in Prague or Sloane and is a kind of pseudo-prologue; and it stops at IV.23, thus omitting Palma Christi and Savina (IV.24–25). As *S* does not include these poems, it may be that the exemplar of both *S* and the lists ended at IV.23; this suggestion may be supported by the fact that the lists do not have any herb from books V–VI (but see the notes below on B8, Terion).

In the manuscript the lists are laid out as prose across the page without numbers, but I have printed them vertically for convenience, numbering them and noting the corresponding poems in the herbal.

List A (32r, after I Prologue; 12 lines)	*Herbal no.*	*Equivalent*
A1 ¶ Artemisia, i. mater herbarum.	I.1	Artemisia
A2 ¶ Anthemis, i. camomilla.	I.13	**Camomilla**, camomile
A3 ¶ Ozima, i. basilicon.	I.2 (App. 3)	**Ocimum**, basil
A4 ¶ Buglosa, i.lingua bouis.	I.14	Lingua bovis, **bugloss**

A5	Crocer vulgariter Sapharan.	I.3 (not in S)	Crocus, saffron
A6	¶ Sanicla [Samela MS]	I.15	Sanicula, sanicle
A7	¶ Costus	I.16	Costus, **costmary**
A8	laureola	I.4	Laureola, **spurge laurel**
A9	¶ Baldebonia.	I.5 (App. 4)	**Baldemonia**, baldmoney
A10	Anglica costis.	I.17 (App. 6)	Anglica costus
A11	Ambrosia	I.6	Ambrosia
A12	¶ Organum	I.7	Origanum
A13	¶ Personacio, i.betha	I.18	Betha
A14	Lauendula	I.8	Lavandula, **lavender**
A15	¶ Liliphagum, i. saluia	I.9	Lilifagus, sage
A16	¶ Betha minor	I.19	Betha minor
A17	Paganon, i. ruta.	I.10	Ruta, rue
A18	¶ Ysopum.	I.11	**Hyssopus**, Hyssop
A19	¶ Selinon [Selmon MS], i. apium	I.20	Apium, smallage
A20	Cametreos, i. germandrita	I.12 (App. 5)	Camadreos, germander
A21	¶ Triannes [e Triamnes], i. petrocillinum	I.21 (App. 7)	Petroselinum, **parsley**
A22	¶ Elitropia.	I.22	Solsequium, heliotrope
A23	¶ Victoriosa, i. peruenca.	I.23 (App. 8)	Pervinca, periwinkle
A24	¶ Struccion, i.ostricium	I.24	Strucion
A25	¶ Mirtus Henrici poete, centum herbarum.	I.25 (App. 9)	**Mirtus**, myrtle

De xxv herbis que sunt in boriali [e boraiali] parte orti sui quadranguli. ¶ Explicit

---

The disordering of list A clearly came from miscopying a list of titles from I.1–I.21 horizontally instead of (as intended) vertically, thus:

A1	(I.1) Artemisia	A2	(I.13) Anthemis
A3	(I.2) Ozima	A4	(I.14) Buglossa
A5	(I.3) Crocus	A6	(I.15) Sanicla
	A7 (I.16) Costus		
A8	(I.4) Laureola		
A9	(I.5) Baldemonia	A10	(I.17) Anglica Costus
A11	(I.6) Ambrosia		
A12	(I.7) Origanum	A13	(I.18) Betha
A14	(I.8) Lauendula		
A15	(I.9) Lilifagum	A16	(I.19) Betha minor
A17	(I.10) Ruta		
A18	(I.11) Ysopum	A19	(I.20) Apium
A20	(I.12) Cametreos	A21	(I.21) Petroselinum

The scribe also mistakenly took Costus out of its column, and this may also explain why he wrote "Costus laureola" as a single entry without punctuation between the two words. Much the same happened in the disordering of the lines in IV Prologue (Appendix, no. 15).

List B (32r–v, after list A; 10 lines)	*Herbal no.*	*Equivalent*
B1 ¶ Mandragora.	II.1 (App. 11)	Mandragora
B2 ¶ Eleborum album.	II.2	Elleborus albus
B3 ¶ Eleborum nigrum	II.3	Elleborus niger
B4 ¶ Azimum [Ozinum MS], i. cauernum.	II.4	Azimum
B5 ¶ Pastinacha.	II.5	Pastinacea, **parsnip**
B6 ¶ Carui.	II.6	Carui, caraway

B7 ¶ Tracuntea.
¶ Colubrina: aschepis, pitomon,
    pangromaton, affrissa.
	II.7	Dragancia, colubrina,
		    dragonwort

B8 ¶ Terion cromate angiolicor non orida asimina		
B9 ¶ Saxifragia	II.8	Saxifraga, **saxifrage**
B10 ¶ Viola.	II.9	Viola, **violet**
B11 ¶ Rosa	II.10 (App. 12)	Rosa, **rose**
B12 ¶ Lilium.	II.11	Lilium, **lily**
B13 ¶ Celidonia.	II.12	Celidonia, **celandine**
B14 ¶ Pigmentum.	II.13	Pigmentum
B15 ¶ Cetron, i. ueconia.	II.14	Betonica, cestron
B16 ¶ Fraga.	II.15	Fraga, **strawberries**
B17 ¶ Puleum.	II.16	Pulegium, **pennyroyal**
B18 ¶ Pipera	II.18	Pipera
B19 ¶ Benedicta	II.19	Benedicta, hare's ear
B20 Conferua.	II.20	Conferba, comfrey
B21 ¶ Viola	II.21	Viola^2, winter violet
B22 abrotanus	II.23	Abrotanus, southernwood
B23 ¶ Taneticum.	II.24	Taneticum, tansy
B24 ¶ Ligustrum.	II.25	Ligustica, **lovage**
B25 ¶ Dyptanunum.	III.1	Diptanus, dittany
B26 ¶ Maratrum, i. feniculum	III.2	Feniculum, fennel

B7 Tracuntea, presumably a variant for Dragancia, should not be separated from Colubrina, which is the same plant. I do not know what the other words mean; they are not in the poem.

B8 Terion (along with the words that follow it) is also a mystery; there is nothing corresponding to this in book II. The only similar word in the herbal is Careon, i.e., Nux muscata, "Notemuge," at VI.2.24, but it would be surprising that just one word from book VI should make it into the lists. It seems better to add whole *ignotum* of B8 to the *ignotiora* of B7.

B15 "ueconia": cf. the spelling Vetonica (for Betonica) in the *S* text of II.14 (under V-).

B17 Serpillum (II.17) should come at this point; it is in both *P* and *S*.

B19–20 There is no punctuation between the entries, but they should be treated as two separate herbs.

B21–22 There is no punctuation between the entries. Basilisca (II.22) should come after B21.

List C (33r, after III Prologue; 6 lines)	*Herbal no.*	*Equivalent*
C1 ¶ Anetum	III.3	Anetum, anise
C2 Febrifuga	III.4	Febrifuga, feverfew
C3 Fiola	III.5	Nymphea, millemorbia, fiola
C4 Asarum	III.6	Asarum
C5 Macedonia	III.7	Macedonia, alexanders
C6 Yris	III.8	Yris, iris
C7 Yreos	III.9	Yreos
C8 Menta	III.10	Menta, mint
C9 Asenthium	III.11	Absinthium, wormwood
C10 Balsamum	III.12	Balsama
C11 Rafanus	III.13	Rafanus, ?horseradish
C12 Radix	III.14	Radix, radish
C13 Enula	III.15 (App. 14)	Enula, elecampane
C14 Altea	III.16	Altea, hollyhock
C15 Simila	III.17	Simila, mallow
C16 Piretrum terrestre	III.18	Piretrum, ?pellitory
C17 Centaurea	III.19	Centaurea, centaury
C18 Maurubium	III.20	Marubium, horehound
C19 Sclarega	III.21	Sclarega, clary
C20 Sclarega maior	III.22	Sclarega maior
C21 Calamentis, i. nepta [ypta MS]	III.23	Nepta, catmint
C22 Adraginis, id est Portulaca	III.24	Portulaca, purslane
C23 Barba Iouis	III.25	Semperviva, **sorrel**

List D (34r, after IV.1–2; 4 lines)	*Herbal no.*	*Equivalent*
D1 Sinapis	IV.3	Sinapis, mustard
D2 Eruca	IV.4	Eruca
D3 Lactuca	IV.5	Lactuca, lettuce
D4 Satureia	IV.6	Saturegia, savory
D5 Nasturcium	IV.7	Nasturcium, **cress**
D6 Ameos	IV.8	Ameos, ?giant hogweed
D7 Psillium	IV.9	Psillium
D8 Coliandrum	IV.10	Coriandrum, **coriander**
D9 Lupinum	IV.11	Lupinus, **lupin**
D10 Fenugrecum	IV.12	Fenugrecum, **fenugreek**
D11 Pa'pa'uer	IV.13	Papauer, poppy
D12 Git	IV.14	Gith
D13 Gazara	IV.15	Gazara
D14 Peonia	IV.16	Pionia, **peony**
D15 Aquileia	IV.17	Aquilegia, **columbine**
D16 Verbena	IV.18	Verbena, vervain

D17	Men	IV.19	Meu
D18	Ciperus	IV.20	Cipparus, ciparus
D19	Valeriana	IV.21	Valeriana, valerian
D20	Boragium	IV.22	Borago, borage
D21	Aristologia	IV.23	Aristologia

University of Toronto.

GOWER'S EARLY LATIN POETRY:
TEXT-GENETIC HYPOTHESES OF AN
EPISTOLA AD REGEM (CA. 1377–1380)
FROM THE EVIDENCE OF JOHN BALE[*]

David R. Carlson

THE English poet John Gower's representation of his Latin *Vox clamantis* as a finished piece of the still greater tripartite *monumentum aere perennius* that he was building himself at the end of his life—"the tepid, sticky vastness of his Titanic critical ambitions," in Gardiner Stillwell's phrase,[1] involving the *Speculum meditantis, Vox clamantis, Confessio amantis,* and various briefer *impedimenta* like the *Traitié pour essampler les amantz marietz* and *Cronica tripertita*—may have tended to obscure what evidence remains in the received *Vox clamantis* for Gower's earlier work in Latin poetry. For editorial purposes, the author's final intention is so unusually well attested in Gower's case that little has been required beyond establishing the best manuscripts' witness. The problem is that, authorial intentions notwithstanding, Gower's *Vox clamantis* remains incoherent. It is not like the *Confessio amantis* in this regard, nor even the *Miro ur de l'omme,* later called *Speculum meditantis.* The *Vox clamantis* is a fabrication—an authorial fabrication, evidently, but a fabrication nonetheless—built of bits and pieces, of disparate origin, some at least most likely published separately before their incorporation into the larger poem. Embedded in the surviving *Vox clamantis* is evidence that, already in the late 1370s, Gower had an incipient career as an apologetic occasional Latin poet for the late Plantagenet monarchy, even for the Ricardian regime which later he was to turn against.

   [1] Gardiner Stillwell, "John Gower and the Last Years of Edward III," *Studies in Philology* 45 (1948): 471.

1. INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF A GOWERIAN *EPISTOLA* FOR RICHARD II

In some respects, the piece-by-piece assembly of the *Vox clamantis* has been well accounted.[2] The *Cronica tripertita,* which stands as a concluding postscript-like coda in the most authoritative manuscripts, was separately and later written, added to the final composite after 1399, when a version of the *Vox clamantis* proper had long been in circulation by itself. Similarly, the *Visio Angliae* of the Peasants' Revolt, written in 1381 (or possibly early 1382 but not later), given as book 1 of the *Vox clamantis* in the most authoritative manuscripts, has been widely described as an addition. The internal evidence is that the *Visio Angliae* in book 1 was a separately conceived piece of writing, after the fact, whereas the *Vox clamantis* proper, to which the *Visio* was added, begins only with the prologue-like, abbreviated book 2 of the final structure, where the work is first called by that name.[3]

The middle books too of the *Vox clamantis*—books 2 through 7 of the final work—appear to have been put together by similar means: to some greater or lesser degree, here too Gower may have made his big poem by reassembly of pieces written variously, some at least of which may have had separate publication and circulation before being incorporated into the final complex structure. The most substantial—and best unified—separable piece herein is the passage comprising the imposed chapters 8–18 of the received book 6 of the

[2] The fundamental work is that of Maria Wickert, in *Studien zu John Gower* (Cologne, 1953), esp. 13–30 and 169–73.

[3] On the *Visio,* see esp. Wickert, *Studien,* 31–64; also, John H. Fisher, *John Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (London, 1965), esp. 103, on its relation to the *Vox;* and Andrew Galloway, "Gower in his Most Learned Role and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381," *Mediaevalia: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 16 (1993): 329–47, on its import as an independent piece of writing. There is a manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 92) in which the *Cronica tripertita* stands by itself, as a separate item; there is no such manuscript evidence for a separately circulated *Visio Angliae.* Although the evidence of one late manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud 719) transmitting a six-book *Vox clamantis,* having no *Visio Angliae* section to it, might be thought to attest to circulation of a version of the *Vox* predating Gower's 1381 composition of the *Visio,* the absence of the *Visio Angliae* from this manuscript is likely to be an editorial omission rather than a reflection of an earlier authorial state of the poem, and the same is probably to be said of the surviving manuscript copy of the *Cronica tripertita* apart from the *Vox clamantis.* Textually, both manuscripts have late authorial revisions in them, indicating access to exemplars containing Gower's final intentions; consequently, the idiosyncratic configurations of their contents must appear more likely to reflect willful editorial intervention than to transmit knowledge of earlier (pre-final) forms of publication; see Fisher, *John Gower,* 101–2. For descriptions of the Gower Latin manuscripts, I have relied on G. C. Macaulay, ed., *The Latin Works,* in *The Complete Works of John Gower,* vol. 4 (Oxford, 1902), lix–lxxi, and Fisher, *John Gower,* 303–9 (with analysis on pp. 99–103); there are also additional particulars reported in Karl Friedrich Heinrich Meyer, *John Gower's Beziehungen zu Chaucer und König Richard II* (Bonn, 1889), 66–71.

Vox clamantis (6.581–1200).[4] At about six-hundred lines, it is of precisely the standard length to fit a single-booklet presentation manuscript.[5] In 1889, K. F. H. Meyer wrote of the section as if it were an independent poem ("dieser 'brief' an den könig zeigt uns den dichter in besten lichte," for example).[6] More recently, calling it "the Epistle to the King" (an English rendering of phrases Gower himself used), John H. Fisher pointed out that the passage in question "has its own introduction and conclusion," and he went on to characterize the combined *Vox clamantis* + *Cronica tripertita* as "a unified commentary on the tragic course of Richard's rule from 1381 to 1400, with a prologue (the *Visio*), a midpoint (the Epistle), and an epilogue (the *Cronica*)."[7] But whether or not Gower's Epistle "was composed to stand alone" Fisher felt "it is impossible to say."[8]

Review of such internal evidence as there is, as well as the quasi-internal evidence of the transmitted prose headings, corroborates this possibility that embedded in the middle of book 6 of the *Vox clamantis* is some remnant (at least) of a once separate piece of writing—a coherent verse *speculum principis*, cast in epistolary form—akin to the separate (or separable) *Cronica tripertita* and *Visio Angliae* that Gower used eventually for beginning and ending the larger structure of the final *Vox clamantis*. The passage itself is no simple composition. It incorporates, for example, two substantial biblical *exempla* (871–902, on Balak, and 1039–50, on Solomon), the first introduced by an inchoate rehearsal of the mortal sins (801–70), always a favourite organizational topic with Gower. The nature of other parts too may ultimately tend to indicate that the hypothesized *Epistola ad regem* itself was built in some part by reassembly, just as the *Epistola ad regem* would have been used, albeit later, for making up part of the *Vox clamantis*. The various *disticha*

---

[4] All references and quotations are taken from the text of the Macaulay edition, *Latin Works*, though tacitly on occasion I have changed Macaulay's punctuation and capitalization and I have always changed his formatting of the verse, in order to make graphic Gower's dispositions of lines of differing metrical dimensions.

[5] A twenty-folio booklet (i.e., in a gathering or gatherings of ten sheets, having forty pages) would hold a roughly 600-line *Epistola ad regem*, at a rate of fifteen lines per page; a sixteen-folio booklet (i.e., a gathering or gatherings of eight sheets), at 18.75 lines per page. Survivals of actual presentation copies themselves, from late in the fifteenth century—some published in David R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print 1475–1525* (Toronto, 1993)—are characterized by precisely these dimensions: the two surviving identical presentation copies of a 630-line saint's life in Latin verse, presented by Pietro Carmeliano in 1483, for example, are in eighteen-folio manuscripts, at a rate of seventeen or eighteen lines per page.

[6] Meyer, *John Gower's Beziehungen*, 25; cf. 36–38. The most detailed analysis is in Wickert, *Studien zu John Gower*, 110–40.

[7] Fisher, *John Gower*, 107 and 114.

[8] Ibid., 107.

Catonis-like leashes of brief imperative phrases Gower uses here could have been written or added or rearranged at any point—such is their nature, e. g.,

> Sperne malos, cole prudentes, compesce rebelles,
>   Da miseris, sontes respue, parce reis.
> Quicquid agas, vicio numquam mergatur honestum;
>   Fama lucro, rebus preficiatur opus.
> Nil tibi, rex, fingas pro mundo, quo reputeris
>   Iustus apud proceres et reus ante deum:
> Ecclesiam studeas multa pietate fovere,
>   Cuius enim precibus vult diadema geri.
> Pauperis et vidue dum cernis adesse querelas,
>   Iudicium miseris cum pietate geras (6.733–42).[9]

Earlier in the fourteenth century, a French poem purporting to be the "Instructio patris regis [Edward III himself] ad filium Edwardum," addressed the father of Gower's subject similarly ("Quant de manger estes levés,/ Tes mains e ta bouche lavés"); in the early sixteenth century, John Skelton was still giving the same advice about widows and orphans, in much the same form, to the young prince who was to become Henry VIII: such remarks, so styled, are predictable, certainly.[10] But their predictability may adumbrate an intention on Gower's part to work within the established literary genre, recognizable by such authorial gestures, that of the *speculum principis*.

The hypothesized separate *speculum principis* here is unified throughout by a persistent direct address *ad regem,* of a sort that occurs only in this section of the *Vox clamantis.*[11] Additionally, the verse describes itself as a self-contained, complete and separable unity, though built out of *scripta* ("regi puero scripta sequenda fero" [6.580]), as if of diverse origin, some traditional:

> Hinc est, quod normam scriptis de pluribus ortam
>   Regis ego laudi scribere tendo mei (6.587–88).

This initial self-justifying, explanatory remark is matched at the end of the section with an envoy-like passage, wherein the poet says farewell to the subject of the address, using terms (*ista metra, scripta*) which again suggest the 600-line section's discrete coherence, as well as its traditional nature:

---

    [9] Cf., amongst numerous examples, 6.781–88.
    [10] The "Instructio patris regis" is quoted from Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Oeuvres de Froissart,* vol. 1., pt. 1 (Brussels, 1870), 541–53; for the Skelton, cf. David R. Carlson, ed., "The Latin Writings of John Skelton," *Studies in Philology* 88.4 (1991): 71–73.
    [11] Meyer, *John Gower's Beziehungen,* 31; George R. Coffman, "John Gower, Mentor for Royalty: Richard II," *PMLA* 69 (1954): 961. The other bit of Gower's Latin verse similarly addressed directly *ad regem* is the poem "O deus immense," which may be related to a Gowerian *Epistola ad regem* in other ways as well; see further pp. 304–6 below.

> Ad decus imperii, rex, ista tui metra scripsi,
>   Servus ego regni promptus honore tibi.
> Hec tibi que, pie rex, humili de corde paravi
>   Scripta tue laudi suscipe dona dei:
> Non est ista mea tantum doctrina, sed eius
>   Qui docet, et dociles solus ab ore creat.
> O iuvenile decus, laus regia, flos puerorum,
>   Ut valor est in te, sic tibi dico vale (6.*1191–*1198).[12]

The implications of such unifying remarks, initial and final, and the persistent direct address *ad regem* between them are corroborated by the prose headings in and around the section. These headings are self-evidently later additions, added after the fact of the verse composition, to explain it and its fit into the larger *Vox clamantis*. Consequently, the prose matter does not have the same testamentary immediacy that the verse itself has. Given their justificatory purpose after the fact, the prose headings might be expected to downplay any separability about the section. More significant, then, from the present perspective is the weight the headings make of the independent nature of the section. As if reflecting still earlier rubrics that may once have traveled with the hypothesized independent poem, the prose headings in the *Vox clamantis* still describe the section as coherent and discrete.[13] After the fashion of the initial and final rubrics that were standard in manuscript copies of separate poems, the first prose says what the author is going to do: "indendit ad presens excelentissimo iam regi nostro quandam epistolam in eius honore editam scribere;" and the final prose says that the author is finished: "in fine regis epistolam breviter concludit."[14]

2. BALE'S WITNESS

There is no external manuscript evidence surviving by which an hypothesis of an independent Gowerian *Epistola ad regem* might be corroborated. From this perspective, the surviving manuscript evidence is in fact singularly unhelpful. The paradox that Joel Fredell formulated recently, about the *Confessio amantis* manuscripts and a differing range of their features, can apply to the Gower Latin manuscripts too, *mutatis mutandis*. No direct manuscript wit-

---

[12] On these passages, see Wickert, *Studien zu John Gower,* 112–13 and 169–71.

[13] Meyer, *John Gower's Beziehungen,* 36–38.

[14] Macaulay, ed., *Latin Works,* 247 and 264; in the first passage I quote the early, unrevised *lectiones* "excelentissimo" and "in eius honore" from the apparatus, in preference to the belated revisions, over erasures, "regnaturo" and "doctrine causa," of the better part of the manuscript tradition.

ness to any pre-1399 state of any of Gower's writings has been shown to
survive. The earliest manuscripts that do survive are textually late, the work
having undergone extensive revision, probably in several campaigns and pos-
sibly non-linear in relation to one another. These earliest manuscripts incorpo-
rate revisions Gower was making near the end of his life, in 1408, and their
production was probably authorially supervised. The later manuscripts may be
textually earlier in some respects, transmitting various unrevised readings and
passages, but are also always contaminate and self-evidently edited as well.[15]
The individual manuscripts making up the Gower textual traditions "contain
variations that are due only to the special circumstances" of their productions,
as Peter Nicholson demonstrated, no matter how authorized the manuscript
may otherwise appear to be. "The text itself"—or perhaps better, the evolving
literary work—"has a history apart from the manuscripts in which it is now
contained," from which a textual evolution might be reconstructed.[16]

The printed and manuscript lists assembled by John Bale (1495–1563) in
the early sixteenth century may hold another kind of external evidence, how-
ever, for in them Bale sometimes reports having seen writings and kinds of
manuscripts of Gower that do not now survive.[17] In his manuscript notebook
Index Britanniae scriptorum, Bale identifies some of the sources of his infor-
mation about Gower's writings. He used a manuscript "Ex collegio Anima-
rum, Oxon.," which can be identified with the singularly best manuscript of
Gower's Latin, Oxford, All Souls College 98 (Macaulay's *S*), and Bale also
had access to the 1532 printed edition of the *Confessio amantis* and the 1532

---

[15] Joel Fredell, "Reading the Dream Miniature in the *Confessio Amantis,*" *Medievalia et
Humanistica,* n.s., 22 (1995): 62: "those *Confessio* mss containing what is in theory the earliest
textual form of Gower's poem have what seem to be the latest design features; those containing
what is in theory the latest textual form have what seem to be the earliest design features."

[16] Peter Nicholson, "Poet and Scribe in the Manuscripts of Gower's *Confessio amantis,*" in
Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature, ed. Derek Pear-
sall (Cambridge, 1987), 136.

[17] Bale's Gower article in the *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae catalogus* (Basel,
1557–59) is quoted herein from Macaulay, *Latin Works,* lviii; and the cognate section of Bale's
manuscript notebook is quoted from *Index Britanniae scriptorum: John Bale's Index of British
and Other Writers,* ed. Reginald Lane Poole and Mary Bateson, reissued with an introduction
by Caroline Brett and James P. Carley (Cambridge, 1990), 208–10. Fisher, *John Gower,* 17,
describes Bale as supplying "a full and very accurate list of Gower's works," though Fisher
offers no confirmatory particulars, citing only Macaulay's quotations and discussion (which
ignores the not immediately explicable information), *Latin Works,* lviii–lix. A different instance
of Bale's witness to the writings of another fourteenth-century Anglo-Latin poet is analyzed in
A. G. Rigg, "Antiquaries and Authors: The Supposed Works of Robert Baston, O. Carm.," in
Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker, ed. M. B. Parkes
and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978), 317–31.

printed complete Chaucer, having a text of Gower's "In Praise of Peace" in it.[18]

Where Bale's lists can be checked with surviving materials, as in these instances, his witness is true. However, the sourcing is only intermittent in the manuscript *Index,* and no such information is given in Bale's later printed *Scriptorum illustrium catalogus.* In neither compilation does Bale supply consistently detailed descriptions of the items he lists, and not all of the items Bale lists can now be confirmed by survivals. In the printed *Catalogus,* under Gower's name, Bale lists a "*De compunctione cordis,* Lib. 1"—giving no further information about it, not even the incipit he characteristically supplies—of which no trace has ever been uncovered, even by speculation.[19] But, with the possible exception of the "*Carmina diversa,* Lib. 1," listed in the *Catalogus* without incipit and in the *Index* with the incipit "Rex celi deus et dominus," for the rest of the items in Bale's lists identifications with surviving Gower materials can be made.

Nevertheless, the matches are not always straightforward, and there are three instances in which Bale's descriptions may yet yield evidence of Gower's Latin writings in a pre-final state, having been published but not in the form the writings take in the surviving manuscripts. In the *Catalogus,* Bale lists a work by Gower "*De eodem rege Henrico,* Lib. 1, 'Rex celi deus et dominus' " (having the same incipit as the *Carmina diversa* listed in the *Index*); another "*De regimine principum,* 'O deus immense, sub quo dominatur' " (with no indication of its length, e.g., by use of Bale's usual determinant "Lib. 1" or "2" or "3," etc.); and finally an "*Epigrammata quaedam,* Lib. 1, 'Alta petens aquila volat alitque.' " All three of these listings, as also the vague, otherwise unattested "*Carmina diversa,* Lib. 1," may be made to speak to the matter of the composition and circulation of an *Epistola ad regem* by Gower, in the manner of external evidence.

3. THE "REX CELI DEUS"

Bale's listing in the *Catalogus,* "*De eodem rege Henrico,* Lib. 1, 'Rex celi deus et dominus' "—the line of verse repeated in the *Index* as the first line of Gower's *Carmina diversa*—can be identified with surviving Gowerian writ-

---

[18] For description of the Berthelette edition of Gower, see Tim William Machan, "Thomas Berthelette and Gower's *Confessio," Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 18 (1996), esp. 145–52 and 154.

[19] The title suggests something to do with the traditional threefold penitential process, which often supplied Gower with organizing topics, including the seven mortal sins.

ing, but with two different pieces. The incipit Bale gives occurs within the *Vox clamantis,* specifically, at the beginning of the concluding section of the *Epistola ad regem,* in the late manuscripts, though the earlier, authorially revised manuscripts of the *Vox clamantis* have something different at the same point. Bale's incipit also occurs as the first line of an independent 56-line poem, in different manuscript contexts, which appears to be a revision of the *Vox clamantis* material.[20]

The passage beginning "Rex celi deus" embedded in the *Epistola ad regem* section of the *Vox clamantis* in the late manuscripts shares with the separately circulated independent poem various other lines and phrases, in addition to its opening. The embedded "Rex celi deus" also comes with a heading on it describing what is to follow as to do with the "rex" Richard II—a young Richard II, moreover.[21] In the quotation following, the matter peculiar to the *Epistola ad regem* section is in boldface; page-left numbers are the line numbers of the *Vox clamantis* chapter, and the page-right numbers are those of the independent "Rex celi dominus," when they are shared (sometimes only in part) with the *Vox clamantis* chapter:

> **Hic loquitur in fine istius Epistole, ubi pro statu regis devocius exorat, ut deus ipsius etatem iam floridam in omni prosperitate conservet, et ad laudem dei suique et sibi commisse plebis utilitatem feliciter perducat in evum.**

	Rex celi deus et dominus, qui tempora solus	1
*1160	Condidit, et solus condita cuncta regit;	2
	Qui rerum causas ex se produxit, et unum	3
	In se principium rebus inesse dedit;	4
	Qui dedit ut stabili motu consisteret orbis	5
	Fixus in eternum mobilitate sua;	6
*1165	Quique potens verbi produxit ad esse creata,	7
	Quique sue mentis lege ligavit ea;	8
	Ipse meum iuvenem conservet supplico regem	
	Quem videant sanum prospera regna senem;	
	Ipse iuventutem regat et producat in evum	
*1170	**Semper et in melius dirigat acta deus.**	
	Consilium nullum te tangere possit iniquum,	33
	Rex nec in hac terra proditor esse tua;	36
	Omne **malum cedat, ne ledere possit,** et omne	31
	Est quod **in orbe bonum,** det deus esse tuum.	32

---

[20] Macaulay, ed., *Latin Works,* 343–44.

[21] Meyer, *John Gower's Beziehungen,* 31–34. Also, George B. Stow, "Richard II in John Gower's *Confessio Amantis:* Some Historical Perspectives," *Mediaevalia: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 16 (1993): 7–9.

*1175	O tibi, rex, evo detur, fortissime, nostro	41
	Semper honorata ceptra tenere manu;	42
	Assit et illa dies, qua tu, pulcherrime regum,	
	Quatuor in niveis aureus ibis equis.	
	Qualis et Augusti nuper preconia Rome	39
*1180	Extiterant laudis sint renovanda tibi.	
	Augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos,	45
	Protegat et nostras aucta corona fores:	46
	Stes magis, o pie rex, domito sublimis in orbe,	47
	Cunctaque sint humeris inferiora tuis.	48
*1185	Que magis eterne sunt laudis summus ab alto	29
	Aurea det dextre fulgida ceptra tue:	
	Qui tibi prima dedit, confirmet regna futuri,	
	Ut poteris magno magnus honore frui.	
	Sic tua processus habeat fortuna perhennes,	37
*1190	Ut recolant laudes secula cuncta tuas.	38
	Ad decus imperii, rex, ista tui metra scripsi	
	Servus ego regni promptus honore tibi.	
	Hec tibi que, pie rex, humili de corde paravi	51
	Scripta tue laudi suscipe dona dei:	
*1195	Non est ista mea tantum doctrina, sed eius	
	Qui docet, et dociles solus ab ore creat.	
	O iuvenile decus, laus regia, flos puerorum,	
	Ut valor est in te, sic tibi dico vale.	

The Ricardian heading and these lines beginning "Rex celi deus" occur only in the belated, unauthorial manuscripts of the *Vox clamantis.* The early, authorized manuscripts of Gower's Latin have something else at this point in their texts, headed by a prose rubric acknowledging that the address is still to Richard II, though a Richard not to be maintained *in omni prosperitate,* but to be threatened with revolution:

> Hic in fine regis epistolam breviter concludit, dicens quod, sicut rex ex sue libertatis privilegio sublimari et inde coram populo dominari magnificus affec-tabit, ita ad onus sui regiminis cum omni iusticia supportandum coram deo iustum et humilem se presentabit. Non aliter stabit regnum quod rex variabit.[22]

The alternative verse passage following this heading—ominously enough be-ginning "Regia maiestas veneracior est super omnes, / Dum probus in regno rex regit acta suo" (6.1159–60)—goes on in the same vein of dire menace,

---

[22] In this "prose" heading, the phrase "Non aliter stabit regnum quod rex variabit" is a Leo-nine hexameter, "rhyming" also with the "presentabit" ending the clause just before it and the "affectabit" concluding a still earlier clause.

having the appearance of a prophecy after the fact. It shares no lines or phrases with either of the "Rex celi deus" versions. Probably, both heading and verse passage are early Lancastrian in origin.

The separate 56-line poem beginning "Rex celi deus" was copied into the so-called "Trentham" manuscript—Macaulay's *T*—chiefly a vehicle for French writings of Gower though incorporating also Gower's quasi-laureate post-1399 English poem "In Praise of Peace."[23] The independent "Rex celi deus" also occurs near the end of the early, authorized manuscripts of Gower's Latin writings, containing also the revised *Vox clamantis* + *Cronica tripertita* combination that characterizes Gower's final intentions for the larger work, amongst a group of other relatively shorter independent Latin poems that Fisher calls "laureate poems." The group includes at least also Gower's "H. aquile pullus" and "O recolende bone," and all show evidence of having been written after the 1399 usurpation.[24] In both of these kinds of manuscript contexts, the heading on the independent "Rex celi deus" describes it as a poem about "rex" Henry IV. In the quotation following, the matter peculiar to the independent poem is in boldface; the page-left numbers are the line numbers of the independent poem, and the page-right numbers are those of the *Vox clamantis* chapter:

Sequitur carmen unde magnificus rex noster Henricus prenotatus apud deum et homines cum omni benediccione glorificetur.

	Rex celi deus et dominus, qui tempora solus	*1159
	Condidit, et solus condita cuncta regit;	*1160
	Qui rerum causas ex se produxit, et unum	*1161
	In se principium rebus inesse dedit;	*1162
5	Qui dedit ut stabili motu consisteret orbis	*1163
	Fixus in eternum mobilitate sua;	*1164
	Quique potens verbi produxit ad esse creata,	*1165
	Quique sue mentis lege ligavit ea;	*1166
	Ipse caput regum, reges quo rectificantur,	
10	**Te que tuum regnum, Rex pie, queso regat.**	
	Grata superveniens te misit gracia nobis,	
	O sine labe salus nulla per ante fuit:	
	Sic tuus adventus nova gaudia sponte reduxit,	
	Quo prius in luctu lacrima maior erat.	
15	**Nos tua milicia pavidos relevavit ab ymo,**	
	Quos prius oppressit ponderis omne malum:	

---

[23] Fisher, *John Gower*, 71–73.

[24] Ibid., 99–101. On this aspect of Gower's writing, see esp. Frank Grady, "The Lancastrian Gower and the Limits of Exemplarity," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 552–75.

Ex probitate tua, quo mors latitabat in umbra,
    Vita resurrexit clara que regna regit:
Sic tua sors sortem mediante deo renovatam
20   Sanat et emendat, que prius egra fuit.
O pie rex, Cristum per te laudamus, et ipsum
    Qui tibi nos tribuit terra reviva colit:
Sancta sit illa dies, qua tu tibi regna petisti,
    Sanctus et ille deus, qui tibi regna dedit!
25   Qui tibi prima tulit, confirmet regna futura,
    Quo poteris magno magnus honore frui:
Sit tibi progenies ita multiplicata per evum,
    Quod genus inde pium repleat omne solum:

Quicquid in orbe boni fuerit, tibi summus ab alto	*1185
30 Donet, ut in terris rex in honore regas:	
Omne quod est turpe vacuum discedat, et omne	*1173
Est quod honorificum det deus esse tuum.	*1174
Consilium nullum te tangere possit iniquum,	*1171
In quibus occultum scit deus esse dolum	
35 Absit avaricia, ne tangat regia corda,	
Nec queat in terra proditor esse tua;	*1172
Sic tua processus habeat fortuna perhennes,	*1189
Quo recolant laudes secula cuncta tuas.	*1190
Nuper ut Augusti fuerant preconia Rome	*1179
40 Concinat in gestis Anglia leta tuis.	
O tibi, rex, evo detur, fortissime, nostro	*1175
Semper honorata sceptra tenere manu;	*1176
Stes ita magnanimus, quod ubi tua regna gubernas,	
Terreat has partes hostica nulla manus.	
45 Augeat imperium tibi Cristus et augeat annos,	*1181
Protegat et nostras aucta corona fores:	*1182
Sit tibi pax finis, domito domineris in orbe,	*1183
Cunctaque sint humeris inferiora tuis:	*1184
Sic honor et virtus, laus, gloria, paxque potestas	
50 Teque tuum regnum magnificare queant.	
Cordis amore tibi, pie rex, mea vota paravi,	*1193
Est qui servicii nil nisi velle mihi:	

Ergo tue laudi que tuo genuflexus honori
    Verba loco doni pauper habenda tuli.
55   Est tamen ista mei, pie rex, sentencia verbi,
    Fine tui regni sint tibi regna poli!

Evidently, the separate, independent poem that Bale attests, "*De eodem rege Henrico,* Lib. 1, 'Rex celi deus et dominus,' " began as the concluding

prayer—where the poet "pro statu regis devocius exorat"—of an *Epistola ad regem,* for which the *rex* in question was still Richard II. At some later date— most likely after 1399, when Gower was preparing his Latin writings and the rest for republication in their final form after the Lancastrian usurpation—a new concluding section was written for what had in the interim become only a section of Gower's *Vox clamantis.* The item Bale attests originated as part of an *Epistola ad regem* and was subsequently spun off, so to speak, and re-worked, as a "new" independent poem, *De rege Henrico,* for the "laureate" group. One might like to think that the irony implicit in readdressing to the new king monitory remarks formerly addressed to a deposed king—the ges-ture might be construed as a warning: as Richard, so Henry—may not have been beyond Gower's intention. In any event, this evidence confirms that the ending of the *Epistola ad regem* embedded in the *Vox clamantis* underwent revision, at some point or some several points, the better to fit the *Epistola* into the larger poem. Such evidence for concern on Gower's part about the way this ending of the *Epistola ad regem* worked with or in the *Vox clamantis* con-text suggests that the *Epistola* did not always naturally or necessarily fit there.

4. THE *DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM* ("O DEUS IMMENSE")

With his listing in the *Catalogus,* "*De regimine principum,* 'O deus im-mense, sub quo dominatur,' " Bale gives no indication of dimension, as he does ("Lib. 1") in the case of the description of the "Rex celi deus." In this in-stance, the incipit can be matched with the beginning of an independent 104-line poem, "O deus immense, sub quo dominantur in ense," transmitted amongst the back-matter—Fisher's "laureate poems"—in the earliest, finally authorized manuscripts of Gower's Latin writings.[25]

The incipit Bale gives occurs only in this independent "laureate" poem, nowhere in the *Epistola ad regem* section nor indeed anywhere in the *Vox clamantis.* The surviving poem makes reference to itself as a simple, self-containing entity—"Et sic concludo breviter de carmine nudo" (83)—and there are also things about what survives that suggest late composition, post-*Vox clamantis.* Though the advice in it about kingship is mostly general, sometimes the poem reads as an after-the-fact prophecy of Richard II's down-fall (e.g., "Laus et honor regum foret observacio legum" [7]), much like the Lancastrian conclusion written for the end of the *Epistola ad regem* section in the *Vox clamantis.* The prose headings transmitted with the independent poem also suggest a Lancastrian date, possibly as specific as the period after Rich-

---

[25] Macaulay, ed. *Latin Works,* 362–64.

ard's deposition but before his murder. Save one, all the manuscripts having an independent "O deus immense" describe it as "Carmen quod Johannes Gower tempore regis Ricardi dum vixit ultimo composuit." The exceptional heading, in Oxford, All Souls College 98, reading "Carmen quod Johannes Gower adhuc vivens super principum regimine ultimo composuit," makes best sense as a derivative from the more widely attested heading. Expunction of the (possibly politically inexpedient) reference to Richard II by the descriptive phrase "super principum regimine" stranded "ultimo"; and the attachment of the "dum vixit"-like phrase "adhuc vivens" to Gower's name may conjure the possibility of Gowerian verse composed *post mortem.* In any case, as do the other considerations, both versions of the heading suggest late composition for the independent "O deus immense" that survives, therefore something apart from any earlier Ricardian *Epistola ad regem.*[26]

There is a connection of the independent poem with the *Vox clamantis,* nevertheless, though not with the *Epistola ad regem* section of it. A couplet from the *Vox clamantis* occurs also in the independent "O deus immense," though in the independent poem the couplet's members are separated and combined with other elements. In the quotations following, the shared matter is in boldface:

Vox clamantis 6.497–98:

> **Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi,**
> Nam **caput infirmum** membra dolere facit.

"O deus immense" 5–6 and 85–86:

> **Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi,**
> Quo mala respirant, ubi mores sunt fugitivi.
> . . . .
> Quo **caput infirmum**, nichil est de corpore firmum,
> Plebs neque firmatur, ubi virtus non dominatur.

In such a case, it may be hard to say which came first—the couplet proper or the other couplets from which it might have been distilled—unless a putting asunder of conjoined members is inherently more likely to have taken place than an amalgamation of disjuncts. The priority of the *Vox clamantis* couplet may also be signaled by the largely redundant nature of the matter introduced in the lines of the independent poem, padded out, it would seem, to make rhyme. Finally, the source of all the matter is a proverbial line of Horace (*Ep.* 1.2.14), to which the *Vox clamantis* couplet is nearer, though the proverbiality

---

[26] See Meyer, *John Gower's Beziehungen,* 29–31, who concludes nevertheless that the poem is Ricardian; cf. Coffman, "John Gower, Mentor for Royalty," 958–64.

of the shared matter may suggest rather independent recurrence than deriva-
tion. In any event, given the state of the evidence, the interconnection of the
independent "O deus immense" and the *Vox clamantis* cannot be shown to be
as extensive as that of the independent "Rex celi deus" with the ending of the
Epistola ad regem.

   A possibility remains—no more—that what Bale describes was a manu-
script copy of a full, independent *Epistola ad regem,* circulating apart from
the *Vox clamantis,* the beginning of which would have been something like
the surviving "O deus immense," having at least the opening line in common
with the attested independent poem. The possibility is in the descriptive
phrase Bale gives as if a title for the item he saw, *De regimine principum.* It
would do better to describe a lengthy separate *speculum principis* by Gower
than the brief independent prayer. Bale's phrase is paralleled by that of the
exceptional prose rubric occurring with the independent "O deus immense" in
the All Souls manuscript, where it is said to be a poem "super principum
regimine." Bale's title or descriptive phrase may well derive simply from such
a heading, though the prose heading he used need not have been precisely that
occurring with the independent poem, for the headings in the surviving manu-
scripts may in their turn reflect something of an earlier heading.[27]

   The hypothesis presented in the preceding section—that the "Rex celi deus"
began as the conclusion of the *Epistola ad regem* (sc. *ad regem Ricardum*)
and only later, after revision, became the independent Lancastrian poem that
Bale called *De eodem rege Henrico*—is based on weighty evidence. What
needs be imagined, in this case without direct evidence, is that the surviving
"O deus immense" is of similar derivation, with the consequence that Gower's
earlier independent *speculum principis,* the *Epistola ad regem,* can be sup-
posed to have begun with a prayer—something like the surviving "O deus
immense," sharing at least the opening phrase, and possibly more—sym-
metrically matching the prayer "Rex celi deus" at the end of it, and that this
was what Bale saw and described as a Gowerian opus *De regimine prin-
cipum:* a substantial piece of writing, beginning with some prayer "O deus
immense," followed by the body of the *Epistola ad regem,* and concluding
with a Ricardian "Rex celi deus" version.

5. THE "ALTA PETENS AQUILA"

   The hypotheses advanced above on the basis of Bale's witness to the "Rex
celi deus" and the "O deus immense" imagine processes of disintegration,

---

[27] Cf. Meyer, *John Gower's Beziehungen,* 31.

whereby Gower would have taken the independent *Epistola ad regem* he had made and broken it up, the bulk of it to become a sizable section of the *Vox clamantis,* remaining parts being reused to make the shorter "laureate" poems he put about early in the reign of Henry IV. Other evidence in Bale's lists may be used for inferring opposite processes, and occurring earlier, even in the reign of Edward III: integration and synthesis, whereby what had been separate items came to be incorporated into an *Epistola ad regem,* much as the *Epistola ad regem* was eventually to be incorporated into the *Vox clamantis.*

In the *Catalogus* again, Bale lists a Gowerian opus "*Epigrammata quaedam,* Lib. 1, 'Alta petens aquila volat alitque.' " The title supplied bespeaks not a sizable, singular, or univocal piece of writing, like a one-book *Epistola ad regem* or a seven-book *Vox clamantis,* but a Gowerian collection of several separate poems, relatively briefer, the first of which had the line Bale cites as its opening line. No separate poem, strictly speaking, with the incipit Bale gives is known to survive. Still, it may yet be possible to formulate some conclusions about what Bale saw on the basis of materials that do survive. The line Bale gives turns out to be a quotation from a non-Gowerian piece of writing, the *Aurora* of Peter Riga (confirming that Bale's "alitque" is an error for "alite"). In this form, the line recurs in Gower, in book 6 of the *Vox clamantis,* at the beginning of chapter 14 (6.985), that is, within that portion of the *Vox* that would derive from an independent *Epistola ad regem.*

By light of Bale's witness to a separately circulated *epigramma* with this opening phrase, it may be possible to imagine what the independent *epigramma* might have looked like, albeit that whatever would remain of it survives now only as it was incorporated into the *Epistola ad regem* section of the *Vox clamantis.* A reasonably coherent, epigrammatically brief twelve-line passage occurs here (6.985–96), beginning with the phrase Bale gives, "Alta petens aquila," the quotation from Peter Riga; and it turns out that more than the initial phrase in the Gower passage derives from Peter's writing. All the terms and phrases in boldface in the following quotation come (in order and complete) from Peter's *Aurora:*[28]

> **Alta petens aquila volat alite celsius omni,**
>   Et regem **mundum corde** figurat ea.
> **Ut sacra testantur citharistea scripta prophete,**
>   **In celum tales cor posuere suum.**

---

[28] Lev. 635–41, ed. Paul E. Beichner, *Aurora: Petri Rigae Biblia versificata. A Verse Commentary on the Bible,* 2 vols. (Notre Dame, 1965), 1:171. The passage immediately at issue here was analysed by Beichner in "Gower's Use of *Aurora* in *Vox Clamantis,*" *Speculum* 30 (1955): 589–90. At Lev. 637, Peter has "cithariste" where the corresponding line in Gower (6.987) reads "citharistea," which I have marked as a borrowing nonetheless.

Pennatum griphes animal pedibusque quaternis
   Invitos **homines carpit** et horret equos:
Designatur in hoc facinus crudele potentum
   Qui mortes hominum cum feritate vorant.
Est igitur melius aquile tibi sumere formam,
   Rex, ut amore pio regna quieta regas,
Griphis quam specie populum terrere pavore,
   Semper enim superat acta timoris amor.

To make such an epigram (or, in any event, at least to make the passage of the *Vox clamantis* in which it now appears) what Gower did was to take a passage of the *Aurora,* reworking it so that it could go with the concluding quatrain, which is altogether of Gower's invention. The passage embodies, in other words, a standard school-boyish exercise in Latin verse composition. The procedure was to select something from a poetic authority and rework it into an original—to begin to learn Latin verse composition by close imitation of poetic authorities, close to the point of co-inhabitation or embodied possession, just as Gower has done here. The practice was familiar enough that Chaucer made fun of it.[29]

Though often Gower does more complexly involute things with his tyronian adaptations of poetic authority than he has in the "Alta petens aquila" lines quoted above, Gower used such scholarly exercises repeatedly for making what survive as sections of the *Vox clamantis.* In addition to the *Aurora,* the poetic authorities Gower favoured with this kind of treatment include the thirteenth-century *De vita monachorum* (in Bale attributed to Alexander Neckham), the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo, and Nigel Whiteacre's *Speculum*

---

[29] See the *Nun's Priest's Tale* 3347–52. The R. F. Yeager paper, "Did Gower Write Cento?" in *John Gower: Recent Readings,* ed. R. F. Yeager (Kalamazoo, 1989), 113–32, sheds light on this feature of Gower's compositional technique in Latin, though the attempt to associate it with ancient and Renaissance *cento*-writing seems to me to involve misunderstandings of the genre, as well as the evidence. The Proba *cento* from Vergil was in fact in English circulation late in the fourteenth century; see A. G. Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (I)," *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977): 298, and the evidence published subsequently by Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII): The Biblical Anthology from York Minster Library (Ms. XVI Q 14)," *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002): 63. The history of the theory and practice of what Gower was doing with poetic authorities is discussed fully in G. W. Pigman III, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 1–32, and, on the temporally more proximate developments, in Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991), esp. 158–78. Several Anglo-Saxon period instances are discussed in detail in the important article by Andy Orchard, "After Aldhelm: The Teaching and Transmission of the Anglo-Latin Hexameter," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992): 96–133; a mid-fifteenth-century example (published by Henry Thomas Riley in 1870), though at a more advanced level, is discussed in David R. Carlson, "The Civic Poetry of Abbot John Whethamstede of St. Albans († 1465)," *Mediaeval Studies* 61 (1999): 230–31.

stultorum, in descending order of frequency.[30] The one ancient Latin poet whose work Gower appears to have known and to have known intimately, Ovid, he treats differently for the most part. He knew Ovid well enough that Ovidian phrases and lines slip into the *Vox clamantis* as if unbidden—even at points where the allusion, running counter to the stated drift of the passage in Gower, is certainly out of Gower's control. There is but one section of the *Vox clamantis* where Gower tried the kind of imitative embodiment that he worked with the *Aurora,* the *De vita monachorum,* and so on, on a passage of Ovid.[31]

Bale's evidence indicates that at least an "Alta petens aquila" epigram circulated as a separate poem. The epigrammatic passage embedded in the *Vox clamantis* may be, or may be related to, the epigram Bale attested. The passage confirms this much about Gower's practice as a Latin poet, in any event: the *Vox clamantis* incorporates scholastic exercises. In this one section of the *Vox,* the *Epistola ad regem* section, the coincidence of Bale's evidence for independently circulating Gowerian epigrams with the internal evidence of Gower's incorporative imitational technique of composition, may suggest a general working hypothesis: when in the *Vox clamantis* Gower can be seen to be incorporating adaptations of poetic authorities, after the fashion of the scholastic exercise demonstrated here, in such places may be the remains of originally independent shorter poems, of the sort attested by Bale, being re-used to piece together the larger composition.[32]

[30] See Macaulay, *Latin Works,* xxxii–xxxiii; and Eric W. Stockton, *The Major Latin Works of John Gower* (Seattle, 1962), 26–29; in annotations to particular passages, Stockton's work makes considerable supplement to Macaulay. Studies of Gower's use of particular authorities have been made by Beichner, "Gower's Use of *Aurora,*" 582–95, with corrections in Beichner, ed., *Aurora* 2:[62]–[64]; and by Robert R. Raymo, "Gower's *Vox Clamantis* and the *Speculum Stultorum,*" *Modern Language Notes* 70 (1955): 315–20. Raymo documented another instance of Gowerian adaptation, in book 4, from a different source, in "*Vox Clamantis,* IV, 12," *Modern Language Notes* 71 (1956): 82–83. On the attribution of the *De vita monachorum,* see A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), 65.

[31] *Vox clamantis* 1.1653–94 adapts *Met.* 11.480–523, where Gower is making a descriptive set-piece of a storm at sea from description of the same in Ovid; cf. Stockton, *Major Latin Works,* 367–68. The difference between this passage and what Gower does elsewhere in the *Visio Angliae* with phrases and lines of Ovid can be taken to represent in general the difference *passim* between Gower's scholarly adaptations of poetic authorities, at greater and lesser length, and the simpler, other matter of his various particular quotations and allusions, involving isolated phrases and single lines.

[32] An example, closely parallel to the *Epistola ad regem* in various respects, might be the matter now surviving as *Vox clamantis* 6.309–418 (book 6, chap. 5): possibly a once independent Gowerian "Epistola ad iudices de caduca suarum diviciarum multitudine" subsequently incorporated into the *Vox clamantis.* There is no external manuscript witness here either, but again the internal evidence of the heading and the verse itself may suggest a self-contained, independent piece of writing: an epistolary direct address *ad iudices* in 110 lines of verse.

6. REMAINS OF A GOWERIAN "EULOGY OF THE BLACK PRINCE" (1377)

One of the reasons Gower can make his adaptations of authorities work, for reassembly into independent epigrams or parts of larger poems like an *Epistola ad regem* or the *Vox clamantis,* is that the matter he takes over tends to be commonplace. A remark in the *De vita monachorum,* "Et miser est dives, perdere parta timens" (198),[33] that Gower absorbed wholly into the *Vox clamantis,* "Et miser est dives, perdere dumque timet" (6.340), for example, is not context-specific, and the kinds of "original" remarks Gower tends to couple with such absorptions—"Fiduciam certam dives habere nequit" in the present case (6.336)—tend not to be any more so. A consequence of this preference for the broad remark is that the adaptations resist absolute dating.

That Gower did his school-boyish adaptations rather earlier than later in his career as a Latin poet seems a plausible supposition, and there may be supporting evidence. This distinctive feature of Gower's Latin composition—the patches of scholastic recompositions of poetic authorities embedded in larger, "original" pieces—occurs not only in the *Epistola ad regem* section; the recompositions occur, locally concentrated, at various other points in the *Vox clamantis* as well, most often in sections of the poem that seem on other grounds to be of relatively earlier date, like the *Epistola ad regem* section. The distribution of the adaptations is not even. In the *Cronica tripertita,* which post-dates 1399, Gower nowhere recomposes poetic authorities. In the *Visio Angliae* section, written in 1381 or 1382, he does so only restrictedly.[34]

Though its length may exceed that to be associated with epigram, it would yet not have been out of place in the kind of collection of shorter Latin verse—*Carmina diversa*—attested by Bale; and, probably like the brief "Alta petens aquila" that Bale saw, this verse address *ad iudices* is a scholastic adaptation of poetic authority. It is based on matter from the *De vita monachorum,* though on a bigger portion of it, by contrast with what the "Alta petens aquila" does with the *Aurora,* and entailing more complex reassortments and alterations of the absorbed matter, which is also diversely more farfetched, from disparate sections of the *De vita monachorum.*

[33] The *De vita monachorum* is quoted from the edition in Thomas Wright, *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century,* 2 vols., Rolls Series 59 (London, 1872; rpt. Wiesbaden, 1964), 2:175–200; the portion in question here is from p. 181, though the lineation of the poem is mine.

[34] The exceptions in the *Visio Angliae* are the passage of Ovid mentioned above (p. 309 and n. 31) and two brief bits from the *Aurora,* at 1.983–92 and 1.1013–22. That the latter of these passages (1.1013–22) was subject to revision that eliminated some of the adapted matter (as is pointed out by Beichner, *Aurora* 2:[62]) may also bespeak the relatively earlier dating of Gower's adaptations. The ten instances of extensive adaptations from the *De vita monachorum* in the *Vox clamantis*—passages in which Gower takes over between six and nearly a hundred lines at a time, none occurring in the *Visio Angliae* section, and none in the *Cronica tripertita*—are distributed as follows: 4.43–48 (book 4, chap. 2); 4.395–490 (chaps. 10–11); 4.1145–48 and

One of the conceivably reassembled subsections out of which an *Epistola ad regem* might have been built is of particular interest because it would be datable, fairly narrowly, to late 1376 or possibly early 1377. It involves another of Gower's adaptations of a poetic authority, and it could conceivably have once been an independently circulated *epigramma,* of the sort attested by Bale in the case of the "Alta petens aquila." The *Epistola ad regem* incorporates a substantial passage (transmitted, again, only as chapter 13, or part thereof, in book 6 of the *Vox clamantis*) in praise of Richard II's father, Edward, prince of Wales, known as the "Black Prince," who died on 8 June 1376.[35]

At its beginning and end, the surviving passage transmits remarks—addressed directly *ad regem*—specific to the context of the *Epistola ad regem* and wholly original with Gower. These introductory and concluding remarks fitting the matter into the *Epistola ad regem* (respectively 6.917–20 and 6.967–84) would seem to have so thoroughly displaced any earlier introduction and conclusion that it is not possible to divine how or where an antecedent poem might have begun or ended. Also, between the two connecting passages there is another couplet that, by virtue of its direct address *ad regem* again, would seem to be intrusively connective: "Inque suam laudem que tuam mea scripta revolvo, / Ut probitate memor sit tibi patris honor" (6.923–24).

Lines 931–36 also pose problems, though problems of a different sort; in these lines, the poem transmits three closed couplets, each of which makes the same point:

> Eius enim laudes si nos cantabimus omnes,
>> Omnia sunt meritis ora minora suis.
> Nulla suum meritum poterit complectere fama,
>> Vox minor est omnis laude ferenda sua.
> Ut brevitate loquar, tantus princeps fuit ille,
>> Laudantum poterit quantus ab ore cani.

Gower is often distracted and prolix in precisely this repetitious manner (despite the inevitable disclaimer, "Ut brevitate loquar"), and perhaps there is no more to be said. The six lines, however, remain awkwardly disjunct from the context around them, one way or the other: they do not address Richard II

1175–76 (chap. 23); 5.335–36, 341–42, 375–78, and 413–28 (book 5, chap. 6); 6.313–71 and 397–98 (book 6, chap. 5); 6.1019–24 (chap. 14); 6.1085–86 and 1107–16 (chap. 16); 7.375–420, 437–42, and 499–502 (book 7, chap. 5); 7.685–708 (chap. 8); and 7.909–32 (chap. 17). Similar distribution-lists of the adaptations from the *Aurora* and from the *Speculum stultorum* can be gleaned from the studies of Beichner, "Gower's Use of *Aurora,*" esp. 593–95, and Raymo, "Gower's *Vox Clamantis* and the *Speculum Stultorum,*" 315–20, respectively.

   [35] There is discussion of the chapter in Wickert, *Studien zu John Gower,* 130–33.

directly, as do the opening and closing lines transmitted in the *Vox clamantis* (along with the intrusive couplet *ad regem* at 923–24); and six such lines of apology for authorial incompetence would shift attention away from the proper subject of eulogy, which ought not be the eulogist after all.

What remains—the surviving 6.921–22, 925–30, and 937–66 of the *Vox clamantis,* setting aside, in other words, the context-establishing remarks addressed *ad regem* (6.917–20, 6.923–24, and 6.967–84) and the awkward clutch of reiterated self-deprecations (931–36)—may be an embedded fragment of a once independent eulogy of the Black Prince, written at the time of his death. The lines form an initial section in praise of the Black Prince's martial accomplishments abroad, this followed by a paired section in praise of the Black Prince's cognate contributions to domestic tranquility. The same *dispositio* of matter as in this putative embedded fragment of Gowerian eulogy also features in the precisely contemporary anonymous "Epitaphium Edwardi tertii," transmitted only by the important late anthology of historical and political Latin verse in Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson B.214. Framed by a (metrically distinct) *proemium* and a concluding petitionary imprecation to the Christian God, between them the 1377 "Epitaphium" treats (by means of a series of parallel *tam . . . quod* constructions: "Tam ferus et fortis et formidatus in armis / Ad Francos fuerat, quod . . ." [61–62], for example) first King Edward's martial successes abroad (58–120) and then his good governance at home—unsurprisingly, the briefer section (121–56).[36] Conjectural reassortment of Gower's lines may help clarify the transitions and the topical organization that Gower's eulogistic remarks share with the "Epitaphium," though without imposing or creating it, and such a reassortment is essayed in the quotation following below.[37]

---

[36] Cf. Meyer, *John Gower's Beziehungen,* 23–24. The "Epitaphium" is published in Thomas Wright, ed., *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History Composed During the Period from the Accession of EDW. III. to that of RIC. III.,* vol. 1, Rolls Series 14 (London, 1859), 219–24, from Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson B.214; the late date of the manuscript (1469) tends to suggest wider circulation for the poem—in the interval between its 1377 composition and its copying here nearly a century later—than a single copy nearer the date of composition would. On the manuscript, see Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (I)," 309–24. Another contemporary commemorative verse for Edward III is cited in Rossell Hope Robbins, "Geoffroi Chaucier, Poète Français, Father of English Poetry," *The Chaucer Review* 13 (1978–79): 110–11 n. 62.

[37] The received line-ordering can easily enough be studied in the Macaulay edition, *Latin Works,* 257–58, or reconstructed from the information supplied here with the quotation; the reassortment is essayed, not necessarily because it might have anything to do with what Gower wrote, but chiefly for the heuristic value in the exercise itself. No matter the status or worth of the conjectural product, the effort may reproduce or simulate something of Gower's own genetic compositional process: Gower did rearrange his own lines from time to time.

In favour of some such reconstruction of Gower's writing—the hypothesis that remaining in these lines in the *Vox clamantis* is evidence for Gower's having made a complete independent eulogy of the Black Prince, akin to the surviving contemporary "Epitaphium Edwardi tertii"—might also be the fact that these lines are another of the points where Gower was rewriting poetic authority, though in this case Gower's reworking is more studied than in the case of the "Alta petens aquila" discussed above. What Gower did here was abstract, from several diverse passages of the *Aurora* (rather than just one, as in the adaptation discussed above), and reassort (again, unlike the other adaptation discussed above) all of the *Aurora*'s most heroic remarks, no matter the hero about whom they were made, distilling from them an essence of heroism in which Gower then bathes his own subject.[38] The *Aurora* adaptations in the *Vox clamantis* chapter are restricted to the lines on Prince Edward, from this perspective too appearing to represent an earlier layer of composition than the rest. The terms and phrases in boldface in the quotation following come from the *Aurora* again; the page-right numbers show the sections and lines of the *Aurora* that Gower used, with extensive rearrangement; and the page-left numbers are the line numbers of *Vox clamantis,* book 6:

921	Numquam de terra nomen delebitur eius:	
922	Precellunt armis Hectoris arma sua.	
937–	Francia sentit eum, recolens Hispannia vires,	
	Unde subegit eam de probitate, timet.	
	Turbans hostiles turmas mediosque per hostes	79 Mac
940	Irruit, et **rumpit more leonis iter:**	80
	Ut lupus ipse fame strictus dispergit ovile:	
	Hos premit, hos perimit, hos secat hosque necat.	92
	Sobrius in gestis semper fuit ille, set **hostis**	93
	Sanguine sepe suus ebrius ensis erat:	94
945	**Pugnat** et impugnat expugnans **acriter hostes,**	175
	Vaginam siccus mucro subire negat:	130
	Fit satur hostilis hostili sanguine mucro,	545 1 Reg
	Armorum pascit sanguinis unda sitim	546
	Intra vaginam mucro torpere **recusat,**	543
950	**Evomitur gladius eius ab ore foras.**	544
	Sicut aper querulis silvis latratibus actus,	
	Letifero celeres conterit ore canes,	
	Sic magis audaces prope se quos attigit hostes,	
	Fulmineo gladii trivit in ore sui.	
955	Singula **perdomuit fera prelia more leonis;**	1413 Gen
	Depopulans populos forcia castra ruit:	1416

[38] Beichner, "Gower's Use of *Aurora* in *Vox Clamantis*," 584–85.

	Ut predas raperet, audax descendit **in hostes,**	1415
	Hostica sunt eius colla subacta manu:	1408
	Colla superborum premit eius dextra per orbem;	1431
960	Sic leopardus eo **dicitur esse leo.**	1436
929	Extera depredat loca, set sua propria servat,	
930	Et sibi commisse prospera plebis agit.	
961–	**Terra quieta** fuit **sub tali principe magno,**	273 Mac
	Non terret gladius quos **tegit illa manus:**	274
	Sub ficu, sub vite sua, sub fronde, sub umbra,	275
	Quisque manet tutus nobilis **ense ducis:**	276
965	Sic **robusta** sua **virtus plus surgit in altum,**	33 2 Reg
966	**Plus viget hoste suo, plus probitatis habet.**	34
925–	Iustus erat iustos, probus unde probos sibi legit,	
	Nec sinit urticas commaculare rosam:	
	Confluit in donis non parce dona merenti,	
928	De largo corde fit sibi larga manus.	

7. GOWER'S EARLY LATIN

Contemporaries of Gower who wrote poems in both Latin and English are numerous, as are others who wrote both Latin and French, not to mention instances of the commonest French and English doubling; but Gower alone appears to have written verse (at length) in all three of England's current languages.[39] The singularity of this linguistic facility in poetry, however, may have tended to obscure such differences as there are about Gower's relations with the three languages in which he did extensive versifying. The vernaculars were both as native languages for Gower, acquired naturally, without systematic tuition. There were canons of poetic composition in both vernaculars, less fixed in one case than the other, to which Gower would have been beholden. Still, the vernacular poetic canons were by no means as long and complexly evolved, nor as technically rigorous, as those of Latin.

By contrast with the vernaculars, Latin must have been an unnatural acquisition for Gower. The biographical evidence is slight, especially for his early life; what evidence has been brought to light—mostly suggesting mercantile involvements and professional legal practice—fails to yield any indication of extensive clerical scholastic training. Gower would not seem to have had, in boyhood or adolescence, the kind of preparation in Latin verse composition—in that established advanced specialist branch of the school- and uni-

---

[39] Rigg, "Preface," in Siân Echard and Claire Fanger, *The Latin Verses in the Confessio Amantis: An Annotated Translation* (East Lansing, Mich., 1991), xv.

versity-curriculum—that regularly brought forth the medieval Latin poets whose work Gower was yet eventually to study and to use.[40] The evidence is not good; still, for Gower to have taken up Latin poetry-writing, in the urban-professional, possibly marginally courtly circumstances in which he did so must have been an ambitious decision for him. Chaucer tried no such thing.

Evidence presented herein may be taken to suggest that Gower's beginnings in Latin verse composition were nevertheless scholastic-type exercises, though he would have undertaken them on his own, at a relatively advanced age, in his forties, when he was already an accomplished vernacular poet: the kinds of recompositions of poetic authorities that crop up at various points embedded in the *Vox clamantis*. These exercises in Latin verse composition are not independently attested—cannot be shown to have been separately composed and separately circulated—excepting the case of the "Alta petens aquila" mentioned by John Bale, where Gower may only have been using the same quotation from the *Aurora* twice. Even in this case, what attestation there is is oblique, second-hand: no such independent, separately circulated exercise-poem by Gower is now directly in the manuscript or other textual evidence. The existence of such things can only be inferred, from Bale's remarks and from matter embedded in the *Vox clamantis*.

Evidence presented herein also suggests that Gower's work in such preparatory exercises may have led in 1376 or 1377 to his composition and publication of a Latin verse eulogy of the Black Prince, based in some part on the *Aurora* (though again the existence of such an independent poem by Gower is strictly inferential)—an occasioned and inevitably public piece of poetry-writing in the learned, acquired language. Similar practice and similar though grander poetic ambitions arguably led also to Gower's composition and publication of the longer, more complexly assembled *speculum principis* for the young king Richard II—after Richard's 1377 accession but before the 1381 Peasants' Revolt—that is attested again only as an embedded section of the *Vox clamantis*. An independent *Epistola ad regem*, like the similarly hypothetical eulogy for the Black Prince, would again have been an occasioned, public poetic performance in Latin for Gower, as likewise Gower's 1381 *Visio Angliae* of the Peasants' Revolt, the other inferentially independent work in-

---

[40] Fisher, *John Gower*, esp. 54–55. Götz Schmitz, "Gower, Chaucer, and the Classics: Back to the Textual Evidence," in *John Gower: Recent Readings*, 95–111, has pertinent remarks about the qualities of Gower's Latin education. Gower himself, in the head-verses at the beginning of the prologue to the *Confessio Amantis*, lists want of proper schooling, i.e., in Latin, as one of his reasons for having written the work as he did ("Torpor, ebes sensus, scola parva, labor minimusque / Causant quo minimus ipse minora canam"), though the remark, topos-like, may not be wholly credible.

corporated into the *Vox clamantis*—still early work, but decidedly more ma-
ture, inasmuch as it is the less dependent on poetic authorities.

At some point, Gower must also have decided to try larger-scale composi-
tion in Latin as he had done already in French. The balladry and occasional
courtly entertainments had led to the *Mirour de l'omme;*[41] so in Latin, the ear-
lier, briefer occasioned poetic performances would have led to the *Vox cla-
mantis.* Here again, the evidence is not good; still, the relations between the
later parts of the *Mirour* and the early parts of the surviving *Vox clamantis,*
along with the relative coherence of the early parts of the *Vox clamantis,* may
permit the inference that the *Vox clamantis* was conceived and begun as an
estates satire, perhaps as a rendition into Latin of some of the same matter that
occupied the later portions of the *Mirour,* with work on both poems going
forward concurrently.[42]

The relative incoherence of the other parts of the *Vox clamantis* might be
explained by public events of the period between 1376 and 1382, overtaking
whatever plans Gower would have had for his larger work in Latin and neces-
sitating their change. The "lollard menace"[43]—attaining critical mass in public
awareness, one supposes, at some point between Wyclif's London trial in
1377 and the condemnation of his views at the Blackfriars "Earthquake"
Council in 1382—must have made Gower's anatomy of the clerical estate (in
books 3–4 of the *Vox clamantis*) seem a less promising beginning than it
would have been at the outset, sometime in the mid-1370s. Gower's criticisms
of the clergy are always altogether orthodox, abstracted from any immediate
social context—nothing in this part of the *Vox clamantis* is not a repetition of
some earlier, traditional clerical self-criticism. Nevertheless, the religious
troubles alone must have made social satire a topic about which reticence was
in order, the more so when the religious trouble became as thoroughly im-
plicated in general social sedition, even revolution, as it was in 1381.[44]

The Latin poetry that Gower can possibly be glimpsed working on in this
period, 1376–82, would have been occasional, imposed on him by events, of a
sort to take precedence over any plan he may have had for continuing with

---

[41] Cf. Fisher, *John Gower,* 70–71.

[42] Cf. Winthrop Wetherbee, "John Gower," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English
Literature,* ed. David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), 591: the "critiques of the Estates in the *Vox*
and *Mirour* . . . must have been composed almost simultaneously and are virtually identical in
content." A similar proposal was made by Fisher, *John Gower,* 103–7; also, Wickert, *Studien
zu John Gower,* 28–30.

[43] The phrase is from Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Lan-
guage of Legitimation, 1399–1422* (New Haven, 1998), 32–62.

[44] See esp. Margaret Aston, "Lollardy and Sedition, 1381–1431" (1960), rpt. in *Lollards
and Reformers* (London, 1984), 1–47.

estates-satire in Latin: the eulogy of the Black Prince in 1376 or 1377 and the *Epistola ad regem* for the new king at some point soon after his 1377 accession and certainly before the events of May and June 1381, which occasioned in turn the *Visio Angliae.*

How these bits came to be combined with the incipient estates-satire (and everything else) into the seven-book *Vox clamantis*—to which eventually the *Cronica tripertita* could be added, under pressure of another series of momentous public events—is not in evidence. But such a thing happened: Gower put a *Vox clamantis* into circulation, probably at about the time he began to plan and to write the *Confessio amantis,* at the bidding of Richard II. Gower returned to the *Vox clamantis*—revising, adding the *Cronica tripertita,* writing and reworking the various Latin "laureate" poems that go with it, and otherwise finalizing his intentions—only after this work for king Richard was done, in fact after Richard had ceased to be serviceable. Gower's fifteenth-century writings, chiefly the *Cronica tripertita* and "In Praise of Peace," would still be continuous with his earliest Latin work, in the sense that in them Gower was acting for the Lancastrian regime the same part he had tried twenty years before for the late Plantagenet monarchy, when he was making, already on princely conduct and stately affairs, the earliest Latin poetry that can be imputed to him.

University of Ottawa.

ICONOGRAPHICAL SOURCES OF SCRIBAL TECHNOLOGY: SELECT CATALOGUE OF NON-FORMULAIC DEPICTIONS OF SCRIBES AND ALLIED CRAFTSMEN (WESTERN EUROPE, S. VII EX.–XIV IN.)

Randall A. Rosenfeld

THE primacy of narrative and documentary sources in the task of interpreting the material remains of the classical and medieval past seems hardly worth debate.[1] Rather, it is the relative independence, comprehensiveness, and reliability of those records which stand in need of questioning, particularly with reference to other types of sources. It is as rare for a textual source on technology to' be free of interpretative cruxes as it is for a premodern artifact to emerge from the earth with identifying tag and instructions for use. The value of the writings of such as Pliny the Elder, Isidore of Seville, and Alexander Nequam on the material culture of their worlds, and their and their contemporaries' attitudes to things and their uses is obvious. Equally evident is their insufficiency to reveal fully any ancient or medieval craft practice. Recourse to other sources, be they archaeological, anthropological, or art historical is clearly a necessity when attempting to make more and better sense of any written witness to past technology. And among the best alternative sources to narrative and documentary texts for the investigation of scribal technology are depictions of scribes and allied craftsmen.

Images of scribes have been mined by those interested in scribal technique since the beginning of the eighteenth century, if not earlier. From Bernard de Montfaucon's handbook of Greek palaeography (1708) to Bernhard Bischoff's of Latin palaeography (English trans. 1990), the value of these images as rec-

---

[1] Not everyone, however, has thought so; see Brian Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria,* Department of the Environment, Archaeological Reports, no. 7 (London, 1977), xviii, 284, 286, 315; C. J. Arnold, "Archaeology and History: The Shades of Confrontation and Cooperation," in *Archaeology at the Interface: Studies in Archaeology's Relationship with History, Geography, Biology and the Physical Sciences,* ed. J. L. Bintliff and C. F. Gaffney, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, no. 300 (Oxford, 1986), 32–39; and John Moreland, *Archaeology and Text,* Duckworth Debates in Archaeology (London, 2001), 18–19, 21–22, 24, 103.

ords of scribal tools and techniques has been affirmed.[2] Not that these images
are a trouble-free source, uncomplicated in their interpretation—far from it.[3]
They were certainly not produced in the first instance to document craft prac-
tice for the benefit of a curious and distant posterity. Original intentions and
conventions must be taken into account in their interpretation. Yet the fact
remains that for the presence, appearance, and use of many scribal tools these
images are either the only or the chief surviving evidence.[4]

Most images from the Middle Ages of figures with scribal tools are images
of the Evangelists, and most of those images show a bare minimum of writing
tools, merely enough, it seems, to establish that the figures are (or were) en-
gaged in some scribal activity.[5] The most commonly encountered grouping of
writing tools (representation of a scribal tool kit) consists of quill, inkwell,
and penknife. These three objects—with minor variation—form a recurring
iconographic formula.[6]

Some images of scribal activity display tools or techniques which are rare
in the corpus of scribal depictions, illustrate a greater variety of the tools of
bookmaking than usual, show an intriguing iconographical iteration of the in-
struments,[7] or combine two or more of these characteristics. A numerically in-

---

[2] Bernard de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca, sive, De ortu et progressu literarum
graecarum* . . . (Paris, 1708), 22–24 (1.3); Heinrich Fichtenau, *Mensch und Schrift im Mit-
telalter*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 5 (Vienna,
1946), 58; Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dái-
bhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), 38.

[3] Martin O. H. Carver attempts to deal with some of the problems of using images as evi-
dence for the appearance and characteristics of items of material culture in "Contemporary
Artefacts Illustrated in Late Saxon Manuscripts," *Archaeologia* 108 (1986): 117–45.

[4] By way of example, one can cite the sub-conical parchment or paper clips (cat. nos. 5 and
16 below), objects whose appearance and use is known only through surviving images; or the
fact that few penknives have been identified in the archaeological record, but a multiplicity of
forms are documented in images; or the case of quills, of which there are countless depictions
but very few artifacts.

[5] The question of author/*compilator* vs. copyist is immaterial in an examination of
representations of scribal technology.

[6] The formula is sometimes abbreviated by one or even two scribal tools. A notable ex-
ample of this is in the portrait of St. John in the Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College Library
58 [olim A.1.6], Quattuor evangelia [incomplete], "Codex Cenanensis," Iona or Kells, ca. 810,
fol. 291v). The only scribal tool shown is a highly stylized quill pen, held by the Evangelist
along with his codex; see *The Book of Kells: MS 58, Trinity College Library, Dublin*, ed. Peter
Fox, facsimile volume (Lucerne, 1990); and *The Book of Kells: Trinity College Library, Dublin*,
CD-ROM, ed. Bill Simpson (Dublin, 2000).

[7] This aspect of certain images has received little discussion. Mundane explanations might
be sought from the realm of craft practice: doubles, triples, etc., of the same tool could be ex-
plained by the need to have spares on hand (e.g., the reeds in cat. no. 9 or the quills in cat. nos.
15a–f), or in the case of multiple containers for ink—with associated pens (and sponges)—by

significant subset within the corpus of scribal images, these "non-formulaic" (according to the iconography of writing) depictions can be of proportionally greater value in documenting—however imperfectly, and with whatever disregard of their intended functions—the hardware of antique and medieval communication than many of the images with but quill, inkwell, and penknife.[8] These non-formulaic depictions are the subject of this paper, and its main contribution is a catalogue of the most significant produced in the medieval West between the close of the seventh century and the beginning of the fourteenth century.[9] The chronological limits are determined in part by the nature of the material, by an interest in the earliest surviving occurrence of these iconographies, and by considerations of space (advancing the *terminus ante quem* could potentially swell the article into a monograph, given the potential increase in eligible catalogue entries due to the apparently greater realism of some images produced in the period spanning the second half of the fourteenth century to the fifteenth century). Although many of these images have received prior attention, it has been from those whose main concerns have been art-historical rather than palaeographical or codicological. If noted, the scribal tools are usually not discussed, or are at best relegated to the category of symbolically minor attributes—and frequently they are not even mentioned.

The catalogue can serve as a finding aid to particularly informative or unusual images of scribal tools and techniques. It can also serve as an introduction to some of the problems of using iconographical sources to investigate scribal technology.

the necessity to keep the tools for different-coloured media separated (e.g., cat. nos. 2 [?], 11c–d, 12, 17). There may have been symbolic reasons for showing multiples of the same tool; but such an explanation would require, at the very least, some textual support. Finally, there may have been artistic considerations behind a pleonastic display of tools, such as a particular disposition of the iconographic elements. It should be borne in mind that various reasons may lie behind a decision to iterate tools.

[8] Although "non-formulaic" in their representation of tools or techniques, such images can serve as exemplars for other images. While most elements of the exemplar may be reproduced in the copy, there are invariably differences in the type or number of scribal tools, or in their disposition, e.g., cat. no. 3 (cf. cat. no. 18); cat. nos. 7a–d (cf. cat. nos. 8a–d).

[9] A few formulaic depictions are included in the catalogue below because they are part of an image which includes a non-formulaic depiction, or are in an otherwise close relation to such an image (e.g., the unexceptional accoutrements and activity of the scribe in cat. no. 4 compared to the tools and activity of his companions who are ruling or cutting a text support [surface with writing]). Their inclusion provides a fuller view of the immediate manuscript context of the non-formulaic depictions. It is worth noting that in some cycles of Evangelist depictions one image is non-formulaic while the other extant images are conventional in their iconography of scribal tools (e.g., cat. nos. 2, 13 [?], 16, 17), whereas in some other cycles all the extant depictions are non-formulaic (cat. nos. 11a–d, 19a–d).

Anyone who wishes to employ iconographical evidence in writing the history of technology must first address the cardinal problem of its evidential value: "How reliable are images as records of the technologies they portray?" The question is uncomplicated, yet it has no easy answer. A useful beginning could be based on the following premises: first, that visual evidence is generally deserving of the same respect and weight as would be accorded any other type of evidence, be it literary, artifactual, or ethnographical, provided its particular limitations are acknowledged; second, every case must be assessed on its own merits; third, single images, groups of images, or recurring iconographical themes cannot of themselves prove definitive in establishing the presence, appearance, or technique of tools, but iconographic evidence is strongest as evidence in the pursuit of technological history when it is combined with other types of evidence. And the same could be said of a narrative source, an artifact, or a modern or early modern record of a craft practice.

The problem of the evidential value of iconographical material for the history of scribal technology can be further illuminated through focussing on a single technological change, the adoption of desks by scribes (or, more accurately, the change to placing hard flat surfaces [e.g., wood] beneath text supports [e.g., papyrus/parchment/paper] for writing). Some scholars have seen the change to writing on desks as an important development in scribal technique, which clearly affected the appearance of the written page, and the format of books. A review of the principal literature is ideal for illustrative purposes, given that iconographical evidence figures large in the published arguments. This problem provides a good example of the advantage—or necessity—of using iconographical material in concert with other relevant types of evidence. In addition, the opportunity is taken to introduce into the debate some relevant but hitherto neglected material.

WHEN DID SCRIBES BEGIN TO USE WRITING DESKS?

The best-known attempt at an answer to this question was provided by the noted New Testament scholar Bruce Metzger in his "When Did Scribes Begin to Use Writing Desks?" of 1958/1968.[10] Metzger found that "[d]uring the lat-

---

[10] Bruce M. Metzger, "When Did Scribes Begin to Use Writing Desks?" in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München 1958,* ed. Franz Dölger and Hans-Georg Beck (Munich, 1960), 355–62, reprinted in expanded form with an appendix dealing with Fr. de Vaux's highly questionable identifications of the Qumrân scribal "furniture" in Bruce M. Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian,* New Testament Tools and Studies 8 (Leiden, 1968), 123–37, pls. III–XIXʙ. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography,* 38, and

ter part of the eighth century and throughout the ninth century the number of artistic representations of persons writing on desks or tables shows a marked increase,"[11] and that "[b]y the end of the ninth century and throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, examples of persons writing on desks, tables, and stands [i.e., lecterns] multiply noticeably."[12] It is clear that Metzger's main evidence is iconographical, as it must be, in face of the few relevant literary remains,[13] and even fewer artifacts of scribal furniture from before the fourteenth century.[14]

Metzger offers a reasonable and qualified account of this technological change and is fully aware of some of the difficulties of relying on iconographical evidence:

> In seeking to discover when it was that scribes began to use a writing desk, one must not imagine that the habits of all scribes changed suddenly. The transition from the custom of writing on one's lap to the custom of using a desk or table must have taken place gradually. . . . such a change probably took place

Leonard E. Boyle, *Medieval Latin Palaeography: A Bibliographical Introduction,* Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 8 (Toronto, 1984), 264 (entry 1728), refer to the 1968 version.

[11] Metzger, "Writing Desks," 128.

[12] Ibid., 130.

[13] Ancient, sources, such as the *Greek Anthology,* book 6, epigrams 62–68, 227, 295, or Cassiodorus's *Institutiones* 1.30 make no mention of any furniture which could be interpreted as scribal desks (although they do not mention the contemporary practice of writing with the text support on the knee, or lap, either). Some Greek colophons dating from the third century BC. to the fourteenth century AD. can be read to imply that desks were not regularly used for writing in the ancient and Byzantine cultural sphere, for in versions of the "three fingers labouring" commonplace the knee or leg is mentioned as cooperating with the fingers or hand(s) in writing, i.e., the text support rests directly on the knee, or lap; see George M. Parássoglou, "ΔΕΞΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΝΥ: Some Thoughts on the Postures of the Ancient Greeks and Romans when Writing on Papyrus Rolls," in *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979): 5–21 at 16–20. The earliest references (of which I am aware) to scribal desks in Western medieval sources date from the period of the second half of the twelfth century to the beginning of the thirteenth century, such as Alexander Nequam's *De nominibus utensilium;* see A. Scheler, "Alexanderi Neckam de nominibus utensilium," in "Trois traités de lexicographie latine du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle," *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur* 7 (1866): 58–74, 155–73 at 167–69; and Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1991), 1:177–90 at 188–89.

[14] See Randall A. Rosenfeld, "Tools for Producing Books and Documents in Roman Antiquity and the Middle Ages: A Summary List of Classes," in *Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits* 56 (2002): 156–76 at 175. The so-called "Desk of St. Radegund" (s. VI–VII?), on the basis of its iconography (lamb of God, cross, Evangelist symbols), surface treatment (nine well-defined fields in moderate relief), and size (l.=26.04 cm., w.=19.05 cm., h.=15.24 cm.) was almost surely fashioned for liturgical use (perhaps an early survival of what later became known as a missal desk), rather than as a scribal desk; for plates, see J. Hubert, J. Porcher, and W. F. Volbach, *Europe of the Invasions,* trans. Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons, The Arts of Mankind (New York, 1969), ills. 23, 120.

neither quickly nor generally. . . . In evaluating the significance of such icono-
graphic evidence, one must always take into account the well-known conser-
vatism of "sacred" scenes.[15]

Despite a number of technical errors in the paper, chiefly in the identification
of writing tools,[16] Metzger's conclusion seems fully supported by his evi-
dence. It is notable that his findings have not been well received by palaeog-
raphers and others who deal directly with the physical remains of early
medieval texts. Bischoff's brief comment in his handbook, that ". . . Metzger
. . . dates the general shift to writing at a desk to the eighth and ninth century,
which is probably too late for the West,"[17] could be echoed by many.
Bischoff's brief report, however, does not reproduce the nuances of Metzger's
argument,[18] and it is unfortunate that Bischoff did not expand on his mild
objection, for his comment is unlikely to have been as casual as it might ap-
pear. Art historians do not seem any more comfortable with Metzger's work
than are the palaeographers and codicologists. It is not necessary to assume
that the causes for dissatisfaction are shared across disciplines. Art historians
could contend that Metzger has not handled the material as they would, which
is undoubtedly true, but at least one art historian who set out to tread the same
ground, but using the methods and arguments of stylistic analysis and a more
sophisticated consideration of the relationship of "model" to "copy," has ar-
rived at a conclusion not too dissimilar from Metzger's regarding the icono-
graphical evidence for the use of desks by scribes: that the presence of desks
in Carolingian scribal depictions is hardly a faithful reflection of lost antique
models but rather a clear instance of Carolingian iconographic invention.[19]

[15] Metzger, "Writing Desks," 131, 133.
[16] For example, Esdras's pen in the Amiatinus (cat. no.1 below) is termed a "stylus" (p.
125); the Milan Castello Sforesco sarcophagus (s. III ex.) iconography is read as a scribal scene
(p. 128), even though this is not and never has been the generally accepted interpretation (see
Gerhard Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen,* Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Archäo-
logische Forschungen 12 [Berlin, 1982], 135, cat. no. 50); one of the pens which appears on the
ivory panels from the cover of Dagulf's Psalter (Paris, Louvre, MR 370–371) is termed a
"stylus," whereas the stylus in an eleventh-century scribal image in a copy of Persius's *Satires*
(Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit B.P.L. 82) is not identified (p. 131).
[17] Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography,* 38.
[18] The even briefer description in Boyle, *Medieval Latin Palaeography,* 264 (no. 1728),
does manage to convey the general shape of Metzger's argument.
[19] Eddy van den Brink, "Das Evangelistenpult und seine karolingische Ikonographie," in
Aachener Kunstblätter 61 (1995–97): 371–79. Van den Brink is in the first instance responding
to Carl Nordenfalk's reaction to Metzger. Van den Brink's "earliest" example of a Western
medieval scribal desk is, unfortunately, misdated. General scholarly agreement places the por-
trait of Gregory the Great in the Egino Codex (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer
Kulturbesitz Phillipps 1676, fol. 18v) in the second half of the eighth century, or even at the

The unease of palaeographers and codicologists arises from considering the limits of what scribes could accomplish with particular technologies: is it conceivable that the finer examples of early medieval script in formal books of large format could have been penned by scribes writing on text supports placed directly on their knees or lap, without the aid of a hard, flat work surface, such as even a simple writing board could offer? The question is reasonable and worth asking, and it may have been one of the considerations behind Bischoff's comment. Metzger himself doubted that a book the size of the Codex Amiatinus (ca. 50×34 cm.; cat. no. 1 below) could have been written and painted ". . . without the use of some kind of support more firm than the scribe's knees. The splendid calligraphy . . . even at the bottom of the columns of script, suggests that at the very least a lap-board [i.e., writing board] must have been used by the scribe."[20] Can this objection be sustained, does it have any bearing on the question of the adoption of desks by scribes, and does it render iconographical evidence useless as a documentary source for scribal technology?

George M. Parássoglou, writing on an earlier period (Greek and Roman antiquity), found no more abundant precedents for antique scribal desks than did Metzger.[21] Parássoglou's evidence, chiefly though not exclusively iconographical, indicates that the common Greco-Roman practice was to write everything of a non-epigraphic nature on text supports placed on the knees, or lap. His finding is unlikely to occasion surprise among the majority of classicists. Metzger, along with those who disagree with his account, would find nothing to object to in Parássoglou's conclusions concerning antique writing posture. Parássoglou also demonstrates that scribal desks never became particularly popular during the Byzantine centuries, a view with which most Byzantinists would concur.[22] Yet this "technical limitation" did not prevent

very end of that century, and not at the end of the preceding century as van den Brink claims; see K. Bierbrauer, "Egino-Codex," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 3 (Munich and Zürich, 1986), col. 1613, and "Egino, Codice di," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* 5 (Rome, 1994), 773–75. I wish to thank Elisabeth Sears and Michael Gullick for bringing van den Brink's paper to my notice. The earliest Western medieval image of a figure writing at a desk (a "writing" lectern) remains the figure of St. Mark in the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library Cotton Nero D.iv, Northumbria, ca. 698, fol. 93v); see *Evangeliorum quattuor codex Lindisfarnensis,* ed. T. D. Kendrick, 2 vols. (Olten and Lausanne, 1956–60), 1; and *Lindisfarne Gospels,* ed. Michelle Brown, 2 vols. (Lucerne, 2003), facsimile volume.

[20] Metzger, "Writing Desks," 133.

[21] Parássoglou, "ΔΕΞΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΝΥ."

[22] Ibid., 15–16, 18–20; John Sharpe, "Preliminary Notes on Writing Implements Seen in Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament," in *Pen in Hand: Medieval Scribal Portraits and Writing Implements,* ed. Michael Gullick and Randall A. Rosenfeld (Walkern and Los Altos Hills, forthcoming 2004).

Byzantine scribes and artists from producing large format books of superb quality.[23] The iconographical evidence which suggests that Byzantine scribes did not use desks when working on their text supports seems to accord well with the meagre literary evidence.[24]

The placing of the text support as practised by the scribes of Greco-Roman antiquity was not confined to Greek or Latin cultures, and it is indeed found, with some regional variation and change over time, within the Islamic and client scribal cultures of Asia Minor, the Middle East, and North Africa throughout the Middle Ages. Intriguingly enough, in those cultures from the sixteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century the practice of writing with the text support resting on the knee continued, but there was also the option of using a writing board on the knee, or, indeed, writing at a table.[25] This shows,

[23] E.g., Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Coislin 79, Homilies of John Chrysostom, 1078–81, 41.5×31.5 cm.; and Bibliothèque nationale de France gr. 2144, Hippocrates, ca. 1342, 41.5×35 cm.

[24] See the references in n. 13 above. An important Eastern Christian exception is offered by some images of Evangelists and associates in Armenian Gospel books of the fourteenth century, which show a simple writing board suspended from the ceiling by a rope or chord long enough to enable the board when in use to be propped at an angle on the scribe's lap, or knee, but short enough to allow the board to hang suspended off the ground when not in use (the rope/cord may have been adjustable); each board was fit with a band (textile?) for securing the text support; see Tania Velmans, "Les miniatures inédites d'un manuscrit Arménien de la région du Vaspourakan (XIVᵉ siècle)," in *Cahiers archéologiques, fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge* 38 (1990): 123–58 at 145–49, figs. 31–32, 34, 36, 38–39. This design of writing board is apparently unique to late medieval Armenian scribal culture.

[25] See Edward William Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Written in Egypt During the Years 1833–1835* (The Hague, London, and Cairo, 1978; reprint of London, 1895), 211; Yasin Hamid Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy* (London, 1978), 18 (unnumbered figure), 88 (fig. 93), 90 (fig. 99 shows use of writing boards), 92 (fig. 102); Johannes Pedersen, *The Arabic Book,* trans. Geoffrey French, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, Modern Classics in Near Eastern Studies (Princeton, 1984), 26, ills. 17 (writing board), 29 (use of a low table); Angelo M. Piemontese, "Colophon persiani fioriti e illustrati," in *Scribi e colofoni: Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa. Atti del seminario di Erice. X Colloquio del Comité international de paléographie latine (23–28 ottobre 1993),* ed. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto, 1995), 473–93, tables 7–8 (writing boards); and François Déroche et al., *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe,* Bibliothèque nationale de France, Études et recherches (Paris, 2000), 213–14. Colette Sirat has published a photograph of a contemporary Yemenite Jewish scribe writing on leaves of monumental proportion placed directly on his lap rather than on a writing board; see *Du scribe au livre: Les manuscrits hébreux au moyen âge* (Paris, 1994), 107, ill. 63; and *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages,* ed. and trans. Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge, 2002), 175, ill. 113 (a general discussion of the historical postures of Hebrew scribes is found at pp. 171–81 in the English edition, and at pp. 107–13 in the French edition). A recent and excellent glossary of medieval and post-medieval terms in Arabic codicology provides no word for desk and lists only one definite term for a portable writing board (*misnadah*), a "... copyist's book support made up of some dozen sheets of paper held together at the four corners and placed on the knee" (Adam Gacek, *The*

at the very least, that basic technical procedures need not have been uniform in a scribal culture capable of producing books at the highest level—a point worth keeping in mind when determining the range in book production techniques current at any time.[26]

The most suggestive ethnographic analogy is without doubt that offered by the practice of traditional book making in Christian Ethiopia. In an introduction to late antique and early medieval binding practices Barbara Shailor writes that ". . . the art of book production remained relatively unchanged in Ethiopia until at least the nineteenth century."[27] Traditional Ethiopian scribes until the middle of the twentieth century eschewed desks—and some may do so even to the present day—preferring instead that the text support rest on their knees as they worked.[28] The Ethiopian scribe, like his Byzantine counterpart, could produce very fine large format books this way.[29] In fact, several medieval (early Solomonic period) and early modern (late Solomonic period) Ethiopian codices dwarf the Codex Amiatinus as to the height and width of their folios.[30] And depictions of Ethiopian scribes never show writing desks, a fact which agrees perfectly with the recorded scribal practice.

Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1, The Near and Middle East, vol. 58 [Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2001], 72).

[26] It must be noted that although the Western evidence suggests a loose historical progression from writing on the knees or lap to using a desk, that progression is not strictly linear (diachronic), but is analogous to developments in musical style and practice, where innovations do not necessarily drive out earlier techniques (e.g., accurate pitch notation did not cause the abandonment of unheighted neumes; contrapuntally complex mid-fifteenth-century part writing could coexist with Guidonian-style organum in the later Middle Ages). The progression does not proceed as a rigid typological seriation, from writing on the knees/lap, to using a portable writing board on the knees/lap, then a portable lap desk, followed by the lectern desk, culminating in a scribal "station" with integral components, such as a table or cupboard with a moveable lectern for exemplars above a sloped writing surface with a lamp on a hanging arm. In fact, evidence for the use of the lectern desk precedes that for the use of the portable writing board, or desk.

[27] Barbara A. Shailor, *The Medieval Book Illustrated from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,* Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 28 (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1991; originally published at Yale, 1988), 55.

[28] Sergew Hable Selassie, *Bookmaking in Ethiopia* (Leiden, 1981), cover and pp. 13 (figs. 3–4), 19 (fig. 7), 31 (text and fig. 16); Marilyn E. Heldman, "The Late-Solomonic Period: 1540–1769," in *African Zion: The Sacred Art of Ethiopia,* ed. Roderick Grierson (New Haven and London, 1993), 193–255 at 242 (text and unnumbered fig.). I would like to thank Julian G. Plante for informing me of Selassie and generously making a copy available to me.

[29] E.g., Ankobar, Astit Kidana Mehrat, s.n., *Gadla Samatat* (Acta sanctorum martyrumque), Dabra Hamlo (Aksum), 1382–88, 48×31 cm. (*African Zion,* 177, cat. no. 66); and Addis Ababa, Library of the Patriarchate, s.n., *Haymanota Abaw* (Excerpta patrum), Gondar, 1667–82, 47.5×44.5 cm. (*African Zion,* 242, cat. no. 100).

[30] E.g., Lake Zeway, Church of Maryam Seyon, s.n., *Gadla Samatat* (Acta sanctorum mar-

It can be stated with some confidence, then, that folio size and quality of script may not be considered reliable indicators that a medieval codex was produced with, or without a desk. These features, therefore, have no bearing on the question of the adoption of desks by scribes, and they can hardly invalidate the use of iconographical evidence as a documentary source for scribal technology. The agreement of the information from iconographical and literary sources in the case of Byzantium, and of iconographical sources and ethnographic record in the case of Ethiopia regarding the non-use of desks by scribes is both striking, and suggestive. It is striking because in both cases the artistic traditions appear to be intensely conservative in some respects.[31] It is suggestive in that this fact does not necessarily mean the images (or components of them) have no value as scenes of contemporary technologies. The Byzantine and the Ethiopian analogies support Metzger's use of visual evidence and the case he builds from it. They suggest that iconographical evidence is strongest as a witness to scribal technology when combined with other relevant evidence. But these analogies, as strong, close, and suggestive as they are, do not absolutely prove Metzger's iconographically derived model, for such proof is, in truth, beyond the powers of analogy.

There are limits to the sort of question even the best iconographical evidence can answer, even if buttressed by other types of sources. Such a question is "Why did scribes turn to desks in the medieval West?" The answer may seem obvious to people who habitually use desks, but, as the Byzantine and Ethiopian evidence shows, answers based on our sensibilities and preconceptions are worth little in seeking to understand or explain technologies with which we are no longer familiar. "Why" is a more important question than "when did scribes start to use desks," although the two are really aspects of the same query. Metzger's answer to the first question was closely based on a letter he received from Meyer Shapiro, who wrote that ". . . ancient society, being little concerned with the comfort or efficiency of slaves, provided no artificial support for the professional scribe, who was a slave; whereas the medieval scribe, usually a monk, was more likely to improve his means of

---

tyrumque), Northern Ethiopia?, 1382–1413, 57×39.5 cm. (*African Zion,* 179–80, cat. no. 70); and Chalaqot, Church of the Trinity, s.n., *Haymanota Abaw* (Excerpta patrum), Gondar, s. XVII ex., 59.9×48 cm. (*African Zion,* 242–44, cat. no. 101), compared to the Codex Amiatinus at ca. 50×34 cm. Only in the number of its leaves is the Amiatinus physically more imposing than these manuscripts.

[31] This is not to say, however, that conservative traditions are static, for, as reflective Byzantines could be aware, created things (including established artistic traditions!) are subject to change. The case for innovation in Byzantine culture is variously argued in *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music,* ed. A. R. Littlewood, Oxbow Monograph 50 (Oxford, 1995).

writing."[32] The answer Shapiro supplied to Metzger is insufficient.[33] Atticus, the great bookman, equestrian, and epicurean, had an enviable reputation as a good *paterfamilias,*[34] doubtless concerned about both the efficiency and condition of his workers; RUFIVS PROBIANVS VICARIVS VRBIS ROMAE, hardly a slave, appears on his vicarial diptych writing without any "artificial support";[35] and by the end of the period of technological change which resulted in the widespread use of desks by scribes (from the eleventh to the twelfth century), many medieval scribes were not monks (see cat. no. 12 below).

Technological change can be driven by non-technological considerations. Such a consideration may lie behind the adoption of desks by scribes in medieval Western Europe: the reason may be nothing more than fashion. No argument of technological determinism based on the nature of the materials involved, be they reed or quill, papyrus or parchment, can seriously be maintained: none of these materials demand the use of a desk. An argument based on technique may be possible, but to advance such an argument it is necessary to identify some significant feature or features of Caroline or early Gothic scripts that can be more efficiently produced by a scribe at a desk, than by a scribe writing on his or her knee.[36] Perhaps some feature or other may someday be identified and the identification withstand critical scrutiny.

This foregoing assessment of iconographical evidence for the use of desks furnishes a fair indication of the potential value of iconographical evidence in the investigation of scribal technology generally. The literal documentary reliability of an image cannot and should not be presumed, but neither can its absolute inutility. If integrated with other types of evidence an image may communicate eloquently if obliquely some of the material conditions of a craft whose practices are long past.

[32] Metzger, "Writing Desks," 132 and n. 4 on 132–33 (Shapiro's letter is dated 8 January 1956).

[33] Parássoglou competently observes the weaknesses, misconceptions, and mistakes in Shapiro's letter in "ΔΕΞΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΝΥ," 14 n. 27.

[34] Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus* 13–14. Annette Dortmund has questioned Atticus's role as a "publisher" of texts in the ancient sense, although she does not deny that he owned slaves who produced books; see her *Römisches Buchwesen um die Zeitenwende. War T. Pomponius Atticus (110–32 v. Chr.) Verleger?* Buchwissenschaftliche Beiträge aus dem deutschen Bucharchiv München 66 (Wiesbaden, 2001).

[35] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz theol. lat. fol. 323, Rome, ca. 400; see Richard Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), 250–56 (cat. no. 65), pl. 65.

[36] Joseph Boüüaert suggested that the script has one feature which can be best explained by the adoption of desks by scribes: the change in the angle of script (orientation of the nib to the line of ruling) from that of the *De bellis Macedonicis,* London, British Library, Papyrus 745 (E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* [Oxford, 1934–71], 2:207), ca. 100, to that of the *Epitome Livii,* London, British Library, Papyrus 1532 (ibid. 208), s. III–IV; see Joseph Boüüaert,

CATALOGUE ENTRIES: GENERAL REMARKS AND FORMAT

The catalogue entries are presented as a chronological sequence and are as-signed separate Arabic numerals; successive images from the same manu-script or monument share the same number but are each given their own lowercase letters (e.g., 7a–d). The primary focus of this work is not with issues of localization and dating. I am content to accept, for the most part, the current judgement of the *sanior pars* in these matters. Where a problem in assigning a place or date to an image could potentially affect our under-standing of the significance of the materials, tools, and techniques shown, the problem is discussed within the entry (with citations to relevant bibliography). The date of an image which is "dated or dateable"—understood in the sense used by the Comité international de paléographie latine in its monumental *Manuscrits datés*—is given in Arabic numerals without qualification, whether it is a single date, or a range. A date which is less secure is indicated by cen-tury in Roman numerals, or by the date in Arabic numerals qualified by a preposition, adjective, or other sign (i.e., "ca.," "?").

Every attempt is made to identify every scribal tool in the images; where identification is uncertain, the suggested tool is marked with "?" or alter-natives are listed; and where identification is not possible at present the fact is not suppressed. Each image is provided with a commentary noting the sig-nificant features of the scribal tools and techniques or difficulties in their interpretation, comparanda are cited (some earlier and some later than the limits of the catalogue), and the best and most accessible reproductions are listed.

Each catalogue entry contains four sections: shelfmark; description; select bibliography; and commentary. The description is divided into the following fields: **i)** subject(s) treated; **ii)** posture and activities of scribes, allied crafts-men, and others; and **iii)** tools. The tools field is subdivided into **α)** tools for forming characters, or producing designs; **β)** tools for preparing or maintain-ing other writing tools (e.g., penknife);[37] **γ)** ink, or pigment, or solvent con-

---

"Pour un renouvellement de la paléographie latine," in *La nouvelle clio: Revue mensuelle de la découverte historique* 5 (1953): 328–39 at 335–39. Unfortunately, Boüüaert did not make use of iconographical or literary data in his report but relied solely on informal (i.e., uncontrolled and unreplicated) experiments in writing without a desk, and with various forms of desk.

[37] The whetstone would also belong in this field, but it has not so far been found in scribal depictions. It is mentioned by Ælfric Bata (s. x^2–xi^1) for sharpening penknives, and its use to sharpen styli is implied by Martianus Capella (s. $v^{1/4}$); see *Latin Colloquies from Pre-Conquest Britain*, ed. Scott Gwara (Toronto, 1996), colloquium 14, p. 57; and Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 1.65, ed. James Willis, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1983), 19.18–20.

tainers; δ) supports for text, drawings, or illuminations; ε) tools for preparing and laying out supports for writing, drawing, or illuminating; ζ) scribal furniture (e.g., desks, lecterns; also tables, cabinets, and boxes for holding tools during work); η) storage containers and furniture (e.g., *calamarium, capsa, armarium*); and θ) unidentifiable objects which may be tools. The following figure shows the hierarchy of the fields within the entries:

Hierarchy of fields in catalogue entries

(A) Shelfmark   (B) Description   (C) Select bibliography   (D) Commentary

i) subject(s) treated   ii) posture and activities   iii) tools

α) tools for forming characters or producing designs β) tools for preparing or maintaining other tools γ) ink, pigment, or solvent containers δ) supports for text, drawings, or illuminations ε) tools for preparing and laying out supports ζ) scribal furniture η) storage containers and furniture θ) unidentifiable tools

It should be noted that many of the objects in the images, given their possible diverse functions in book or document production, could be entered across several fields.[38] Such an option, however, is not pursued here; rather, the objects are entered in the single field which corresponds to their inferred main codicological function within the image (the assignment of objects to fields is subject to some unavoidable arbitrariness, given that it is a product of one author's judgement). Needless to say, every image cannot be expected to contain information relevant to all fields. An explanation of the typological code used in the entries is found at the end of the catalogue, along with an iconographical index. Unless otherwise noted, scribal tools when not in use are placed on the upper surface of writing furniture. Any pen for which the

[38] For instance, as penknives were used to make or retouch quill or reed pens, to correct mistakes, and, according to a widely held modern belief about medieval book production, were even used as *punctoria* (e.g., Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* [Malibu and London, 1994; rpt. 1995], 77), they could be entered into either β or ε (the use of penknives as *punctoria* has been posited to account for slit or triangular pricking marks, but such a use has yet to be established through an unequivocal medieval literary source, or an experiment critically designed, conducted, and reported); styli, used to write on wax tablets, were also used for blind ruling (according to Guarino; see Rosenfeld, "Summary List of Classes," 169) and could, therefore, be placed in α or ε; *calamaria/* penners, conceived as portable protection for pens, penknives, and ink, would belong in η, yet, functioning as temporary holders for tools during scribal work, they could equally be placed in ζ.

location is not specified is understood to be held by a scribe; the location of additional pens is noted. The inclusion of typological information on pen grip in an entry implies that a scribe is shown writing in the image, unless it is stated that the scribe is engaged in another activity, and is merely holding his pen.

CATALOGUE

1. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Amiatino 1, Biblia, "Codex Amiatinus," Wearmouth-Jarrow, 689–716, fol. Vr.
   Description. i) subject: The priest, scribe, and "lawgiver" Ezra (Esdras), inspired by the Holy Spirit, writes books of the law which had been burnt (an iconographical compression of the text of 4 Esdr 14:22–44). **ii) activity:** Ezra seated, type II pen grip, body right. **iii) tools:** α) two reed pens (one on floor); γ) double-compartment inkwell (for black and red ink), and two vessels for ink (?; black and red; placed on floor); δ) writing in a bound codex, with a second codex on the floor, and the *novem codices* bible in the *armarium* (book cupboard); ε) *punctorium* (or stylus), dividers (locking dividers), and *Wachsspachtel* (wax-spatula), all placed on floor; ζ) table for holding equipment, and a footstool; η) *armarium;* θ) two unidentifiable objects (pencase on left? inkhorn on right?) on bottom shelf of *armarium,* to the right of the book.
   Select bibliography. On this manuscript, see J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts, 6th to the 9th century,* A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 1 (London, 1978), 32–35, no. 7. On the images, see Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work,* The James P. R. Lyell Lectures in Bibliography, 1983 (New Haven and London, 1992), 72–73, fig. 118; Jürgen Merten, "Die Esra-Miniatur des Codex Amiatinus: Zu Autorenbild und Schreibgerät," in *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete* 50 (1987): 301–19 (to be used with caution);[39] Paul Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus," in *Speculum* 71 (1996): 827–83 at 870–82 (Meyvaert [877] believes there is good evidence to attribute the verses above the frame[40]—and perhaps even their script—to Bede himself); and Jennifer O'Reilly, "The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow," in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson,* ed. Paul Binski and William Noel (Stroud [Glou.], 2001), 3–39 (O'Reilly [22–28] holds

---

[39] For example, the author is not always careful to distinguish which characteristics of tools are derived from the image (310–11); comparison is made to a hypothetical model rather than to surviving examples of late Roman scribal iconography (307–9, 313); the iconography of erasing mistakes (correcting) does not occur in Byzantine scribal depictions (308); and there are some misidentifications, such as the reed pen on the floor being called a paint brush (313).

[40] CODICIBVS SACRIS HOSTILI CLADE PERVSTIS / ESDRA DEO FERVENS HOC REPARAVIT OPVS (When the sacred books were consumed by the hostile scourge, / Ezra, inflamed with ardor for God, restored this work).

that Bede's *In Ezram et Neemiam,* and *In Regum librum XXX quaestiones* are the proximate textual sources for the image's iconography, to the exclusion of 4 Esdras—but this is surely an overly artificial constriction on the image's textual allusions). This giant image (on a folio measuring ca. 50×34 cm.) is widely reproduced, though necessarily greatly reduced; for colour reproductions, see Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York, 1977), pl. 48; or the facsimile *The Codex Amiatinus; from 8th Century Northumbria to the Tuscan Medieval Monasteries,* CD-ROM, ed. G. Baroffio, L. Castaldi, M. Ceccanti, and S. Nencioni (Tavarnuzze and Florence, 2002).

Commentary. The *Wachsspachtel* is probably an elliptical reference to the only scribal tools directly mentioned in the biblical passage, writing tablets *(buxi).* The artist of the Amiatinus image clearly understood these to have been wax tablets, although why he didn't show tablets in preference to the *Wachsspachtel* is puzzling (additionally, if the *punctorium* can be shown to be a stylus, then its function in the image would be similar to that of the *Wachsspachtel).* The instruments shown in this image have been and continue to be a source of puzzlement to many commentators. The interpretation of the vessel lying on its side in the right foreground as a shadow of the upright vessel placed in front of it seems hardly tenable, given that none of the other objects cast similar "shadows"; cf. *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue c. A.D. 625–1100,* ed. Thomas H. Ohlgren (New York, 1986), 5: ". . . ink-bottle (plus its shadow). . . ." Raffaele Garrucci interpreted the *Wachsspachtel* as a funnel *(imbuto),* and had it drawn as such in his influential *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* 3 (Prato, 1876), 49–50 at 50, table 126 (Garrucci's plate is still used in scholarly literature, as in Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus," 871, fig. 5). On the *Wachsspachtel,* see Michel Feugère, "Les spatules à cire à manche figuré," in *Provinzialrömische Forschungen: Festschrift für Günter Ulbert zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Wolfgang Czysz et al. (Espelkamp, 1995), 321–38. Although the *Wachsspachtel* is virtually absent from all later Western medieval depictions (cat. no. 6 below may be an exception), it is not uncommon in Byzantine depictions, e.g., Anna Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Christina Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece. I. Manuscripts of New Testament Texts 10th–12th Century,* Academy of Athens (Athens, 1978), fig. 4 (Cod. 56, s. X med., fol. 95v). The form of the double-compartment inkwell is also more common in Byzantine depictions than in Western medieval images; see *Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece,* figs. 3 (Cod. 56, fol. 4v), 5 (Cod. 56, fol. 154v). The locking mechanism of the dividers can be compared to similar devices on artifacts from Pompeii; see *Homo Faber. Natura, scienza e tecnica nell'antica Pompei,* ed. Annamaria Ciarallo and Ernesto De Carolis (Milan, 1999), 304 (no. 379), 307 (no. 386), 308 (no. 388) (note these correspond to cat. nos. 378, 385, and 387 in the English edition, *Pompeii: Life in a Roman Town).* It also occurs on an ornate late-Byzantine artifact (Athens, Benaki Museum), and is shown in some Byzantine depictions; see V. H. Elbern, "Bronzo. Area Bizantina," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* 3 (Rome, 1992), 777; and Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *The Great Libraries, from Antiquity to the*

Renaissance (3000 B.C. to A.D. 1600), trans. Timothy Cullen (New Castle, Del., and London, 2000), 357 (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. 6.18, Constantinople, s. X, fol. 139v). The tentative identification of the two objects next to the book on the bottom shelf of the *armarium* as a pencase and an inkhorn is that of John Willis Clark, *The Care of Books: an Essay on the Development of Libraries and Their Fittings, from the Earliest Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1902), 42. It is notable that the artist has chosen to show most of the scribal instruments strewn about the floor, rather than placed on a table, as became the practice with Byzantine depictions. This device of mild disorder effectively conveys an impression of someone seen at work. This feature may derive from an exemplar—should there have been one—but no link has been convincingly established with the few antique images showing writing tools floating in an undifferentiated ground about a figure, such as the schoolboy's shrine in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (C.G. 33269, s. I–II), or the wall painting of Trebius Justus (Rome, Hypogium of Trebius Justus, s. IV ex.); see Mario Capasso, "L'*instrumentum scriptorium* in un ritratto conservato al museo egizio del Cairo," *Rudiae: Ricerche sul mondo classico* 5 (1993): 69–72; and Carla Casalone, "Note sulle pitture dell'ipogeo di Trebio Giusto a Roma," *Cahiers archéologiques, fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge* 12 (1962): 53–64.

2. Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek A 14, Epistolae Pauli et epistolae canonicae, Laon (or possibly the Rhineland), s. $IX^{1/3}$, fol. 119v, s. IX–X.

Description. i) subject: St. Titus writing (presumably in epistolary exchange with St. Paul). **ii) activity:** Titus seated, type II pen grip, body right. **iii) tools:** α) two quill pens (one in an inkhorn), stylus; β) penknife, two sponges (or sponge and pumice); γ) two inkhorns, and one other container (also for ink, or for another pigment or water); δ) writing in a bifolium, with a codex placed on a lectern; ζ) writing board, reading lectern, and footstool.

Select bibliography. Good plates are in Gerhard Karpp and Heinz Finger, *Kostbarkeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf. Mittelalterliche Handschriften und alte Drucke,* Schriften der Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf (Wiesbaden, 1989), 22–23, cat. no. 4 (plate on 23), and Katrin Graf, *Bildnisse schreibender Frauen im Mittelalter 9. bis Anfang 13. Jahrhundert* (Basel, 2002), ill. 53 (this reproduces the opening with the companion portrait of Paul on fol. 120r); also David Ganz, "The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 18 (1987): 23–44, fig. 1 at p. 44; Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisitgotischen). Teil I. Aachen–Lambach* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 228, cat. no. 1060 (magisterially compressed description, no plate). The version on the cover of the paperback edition of Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), is not accurately drawn. I have been unable to consult Gerhard Karpp, "Bemerkungen zum Bücherbesitz des Essener Damenstifts um 900," in *Octogenario. Dankesgabe für Heinrich Karpp,* ed. Jürgen Hönscheid and Gerhard Karpp (Düsseldorf, 1988), 51–115, ill. 14.

Commentary. The image of Titus shows an unusually full complement of writing instruments, in sharp contrast to the nearly undeviating Carolingian preference for a display of the minimum of scribal tools; e.g., see Florentine Mütherich and Joahim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* (New York, 1976), nos. II (pl. 6), III (pls. 8, 10), VI (pl. 14), XI (pls. 21, 23), XII (pl. 26), XV (pl. 30), XVI (pl. 32), XVII (pl. 35), and XVIII (pl. 40). The accompanying image of St. Paul from the same opening only shows pen, inkhorn, penknife, writing board, and footstool; see Adolf Goldschmidt, *Die deutsche Buchmalerei,* 2 vols. (Florence and Munich, 1928), vol. 1, pl. 88; Metzger, "Writing Desks," pl. XVIII; and Graf, *Bildnisse schreibender Frauen,* ill. 53. Western medieval parallels to Titus (i.e., which show an abundance of tools) do not occur until the twelfth century (e.g., cat. nos. 11a–d and 17 below) and are still then rare, but there are more abundant Byzantine parallels dating from the tenth to the thirteenth century, although I am unaware of a correspondence close enough to posit a particular pre-tenth-century Byzantine model for Titus. The form of the inkhorns is of some interest. Their sides are faceted, and each horn meets the top of the writing board with a faceted collar whose diameter exceeds that of the rest of its body, and of the hole in the writing board in which it nests—a feature which may have served to prevent the inkhorns from slipping through the holes. Most inkhorns in images are not shown with faceted sides, nor with the collars of the Düsseldorf Titus inkhorns (e.g., the inkhorn in the companion image of St. Paul does not have either feature). If the Düsseldorf Titus collared inkhorns do reflect contemporary objects it is reasonable to hazard they may have been carved out of single pieces; and the materials suitable (and available) for their manufacture need not have been limited to horn. An ivory artifact with some comparable though not identical features (it is straight, not curved; it is faceted in its lower portion only, and its diameter is greatest there), is Cologne, Schnütgen-Museum, Inv. Nr. B 95, s. IX–XI; see Reiner Dieckhoff and M. Klewitz, "Schreibutensilien," in *Ornamenta ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle,* ed. Anton Legner, 3 vols. (Cologne, 1985), 1:284–87 at 287 (cat. no. B 71), and fig. at 284. The pair of portraits of Paul and Titus provides a good visual image of epistolary exchange, adapting the common iconography of portraits of the Evangelists.

3. Madrid, Archivo Historico Nacional 1097B (olim 1240), Beati Liebanensis in Apocalypsin, "San Salvador de Tábara Beatus," or "Tábara Beatus," Tábara, 970, fol. 139r.
   Description. i) subject: The priests Senior and Emetrius, and assistant, in the Tábara scriptorium. **ii) activity:** Senior seated, type of pen grip uncertain, body right, Emetrius seated, type of pen grip uncertain, body left, assistant seated, cutting, body right. **iii) tools:** α) two reed (?) pens; δ) three text supports (none placed on work surfaces); ε) scissors; ζ) table for tools, or for work.
   Select bibliography. On this manuscript, see *Los Beatos,* ed. Luis Revenga (Madrid, 1986), 111, no. 12; and John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse. I: Introduction* (London, 1994), 10, 12, and *II: The Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (London, 1994), 43–49, ills. 257. There

is a good colour reproduction of this much worn image in Irmgard Hutter and Hans Holländer, *Kunst des frühen Mittelalters,* ed. Christoph Wetzel, Neue Belser Stilgeschichte 3, 2d ed. (Stuttgart and Zürich, 1987), fig. 266. There is a most helpful line drawing of fol. 139r reproduced as the frontispiece to John Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination* (New York, 1977), and in *Illustrated Beatus I,* 12 (ill. 1). Also see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* 9.

Commentary. This image, containing an early depiction of scissors, is clearly the direct model for cat. no. 18 below. The copying is not slavish, however, for there is variation between the two images as regards scribal activity and tools. Scissors are more common in the Byzantine iconography of scribes, than in the Western medieval iconography of book production; see *Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece,* fig. 210 (Cod. 76, s. XI^2, fol. 189v).

4. Berlin, *quondam* Kaiser Friedrich Museum, inv. no. 2788/89, pair of tablets of elephant ivory, Metz (or Trier), ca. 980, said to have been found on the inside cover of a s. XII missal (reputedly from Hildesheim), the tablets are pierced in such as way as to suggest they originally formed a diptych; they were almost entirely destroyed in the second World War. (The tablet with the inscription SANCTUS MARTINUS EPISCOPUS includes scenes of book production, while the tablet with the inscription ROMA CIUITAS does not—hence this entry concentrates on the former.)

Description. i) subject: The upper register shows an architectural scene with an unidentified bearded figure, seated beneath an arch, in the middle register the largest figure is probably St. Martin, accompanied by five standing clerics (at least one of whom is swearing an oath to Martin), and four seated clerics. **ii) activity:** the cleric at the bottom right of this middle register facing away from the other figures is a scribe, seated, type II pen grip, body right, and in the bottom register are two clerics facing each other, seated, cooperating in ruling (or possibly cutting; folding seems less likely), one body right and the other body left, and a third cleric is seated, reading, body left. **iii) tools:** α) one pen; γ) one inkhorn (attached to the column of the lectern-style writing desk through a bracket); δ) two codices (or bifolia or quires) and one *volumen* in the scenes of book production (three codices or bifolia or quires and three *volumina* distributed throughout the two tablets); ε) long-handled ruling device (or knife) with triangular end (or blade), straight-edge; ζ) lectern-style writing desk, reading lectern, ruling (or writing or cutting) board, footstool (used by the scribe in the middle register).

Select bibliography. On this object, see Adolph Goldschmidt, P. G. Hübner, and O. Homburger, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser VIII.–XI. Jahrhundert,* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1914), 1:73–74, cat. no. 153, ill. 153a–b (Goldschmidt dates the ivories to the ninth century, but more recent scholarship favours the end of the tenth century); and Ulrike Surmann, *Studien zur ottonischen Elfenbeinplastik in Metz und Trier,* Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte 5 (Witterschlick, Bonn, 1990), 145–62, ill. 13. The ruling (or cutting) board is discussed in V. I. Mažuga, "Techniques of Writing in the Medieval Latin World (s. VIII ex.–XI). First Part [in Russian]," in *Vspomogatel'nye istoričeskie discipliny* 12 (1981): 297–

312 at 300, fig. 1;[41] and Vladimir I. Mazhuga, "Les instruments d'écriture dans les représentations des évangélistes pendant le haut moyen âge," in *Le statut du scripteur au moyen âge. Actes du XIIe colloque scientifique du Comité international de paléographie latine (Cluny, 17–20 juillet 1998)*, ed. Marie-Clotilde Hubert, Emmanuel Poulle, and Marc H. Smith, Matériaux pour l'histoire publiés par l'École des Chartes, no. 2 (Paris, 2000), 113–19, fig. 26. The image is also reproduced in Peter Bloch and Hermann Schnitzler, *Die ottonische Kölner Malerschule*, 2 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1967–70), 2:149–50, fig. 647.

Commentary. The iconography of these tablets is complex, unusual, and appears to be a composite from various sources; it is consequently difficult to interpret. Goldschmidt and others believe that the tablets show "The Introduction of Ecclesiastical Music" (*Einführung der Kirchenmusik*), i.e., the "invention" of the Roman style of chant by Gregory I, and its introduction into Charlemagne's dominions, according to the accounts of Notker Balbulus, John the Deacon, and Ekkehard IV.[42] Unfortunately, the iconography of the tablets varies considerably from the objects and events of the texts, and this must raise doubts regarding their connection. Surmann believes the tablet's book production scenes are derived from iconographies showing Jerome, and Gregory I; however the most distinctive book-making activity shown on the tablet, the ruling (or cutting), does not appear in the images of those Church fathers. Images of ruling are generally rare (see cat. nos. 13, 14e [?], 20a below), but the tablet's scene of ruling as a two-man operation is unique—assuming this image does indeed show ruling; yet an image of two men cooperating in cutting or trimming parchment, or in folding bifolia, would be equally rare. The ruling (or cutting) board (similar in appearance to simple writing boards) is balanced between two seated clerics, one end on the knees of each of the respective figures. The cleric on the right uses both hands to hold the straight-edge by one end onto the parchment (a codex, bifolio, or quire—the first is iconographically possible but logically less likely than the others), and the cleric on the left runs the long-handled ruling device (or knife) in his right hand down the parchment along the straight-edge, while he holds the straight-edge onto the parchment by the end nearest himself with his left hand. The long-handled ruling device (or knife) is of an unusual form; its end (or blade) in contact with the parchment is a scalene triangle whose "base" runs along the left side of the handle, probably indicating that that end (or blade) is let in to the left side of the handle (if the tool it represents was not all of one piece). The side of the triangular end (or blade) in contact with the parchment has a slight positive curve. The form of this tool is not unlike that of one of the specialized knives currently used for cutting leather.

[41] I wish to thank Dr. Mažuga for informing me of his paper and generously making a copy available for my use.

[42] For a succinct account, see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1995), 503–13; also see Randall A. Rosenfeld and Andrea Budgey, "The Portrait of the Music Scribe in Hartker's Antiphoner," in *Pen in Hand,* ed. Gullick and Rosenfeld (forthcoming).

5. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek 334 Gud. Lat. 8° (cat. 4641), Guidonis Opera varia de musica, Augsburg, monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra, s. XI, fol. 4r.

Description. i, subject: Guido of Arezzo. ii) activity: seated, type II pen grip, inkhorn held in left hand, body right. iii) tools: α) one pen; γ) inkhorn; δ) codex; ε) two "parchment" clips of wood (?), one on either side of opening holding leaves together; ζ) lectern-style writing desk, footstool.

Select bibliography. On this manuscript, see Michel Huglo and Christian Meyer, *The Theory of Music, Vol. III: Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c. 1500 in the Federal Republic of Germany (D-brd)*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, ser. B, pt. 3, vol. 3 (Munich, 1986), 212–17. The image is reproduced (black and white) in Joachim Prochno, *Das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei. I. Teil: Bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts (800–1100)*, Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsinstitute an der Universität Leipzig, Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, Die Entwicklung des Menschlichen Bildnisses (Leipzig, 1929), ill. to p. 44; Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *De musico-paedagogico et theoretico Guidone Aretino eiusque vita et moribus* (Florence, 1953), pl. 2, between pp. 48 and 49; idem, "Guido von Arezzo," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 17 vols. (Kassel and Basel, 1956), 5:1071–78 at col. 1072, ill. 1.

Commentary. Depictions of parchment clips in Western European art are rare, particularly in this form (which may indicate manufacture out of wood). The Lyons Bible image (cat. no. 16 below) shows a single and similar parchment clip in use. These can be compared to clips of a different form which appear to be of metal, as in the image of Peter the Deacon (?) in Assisi (cat. no. 21 below), and are more frequently found in Byzantine and sub-Byzantine images; see Guy Petherbridge, "Sewing Structures and Materials: A Study in the Examination and Documentation of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Bookbinding," in *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale*, ed. Dieter Harlfinger et al., 2 vols. (Alexandria, 1991), 1:382–84 and 2:204–5, figs. 8–9. Inkhorns in Carolingian and Ottonian depictions are usually shown held by the scribe in his left hand, and the convention continues, although much diminished, into the eleventh and twelfth centuries—as in this portrait of Guido of Arezzo. The practice can be found as late as the second half of the fourteenth century, as in the portrait (ca. 1357) of Gregory I in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, Karlštejn Castle, Prague, by Master Theodoric; see Antonín Friedl, *Magister Theodoricus: Das Problem seiner malerischen Form*, trans. Richard Messer (Prage, 1956), pl. 151, 153 (detail). By the eleventh century most scribal images show the inkhorn nestled in a hole in the desk top or otherwise attached to the desk (this iconography does occur earlier, as in the companion portrait to the Düsseldorf Titus, St. Paul; see cat. no. 2 above). Contemporary with this portrait of Guido of Arezzo is the interesting iconographic exception of a figure with a long curved inkhorn slung from his belt, part of an unusual cycle of illustrations to Ezekiel in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 6³, Biblia, Roda (Catalonia), s. XI, fol. 45v; see C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 3 (London, 1975), 36 (fig. 33).

6. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. Mm 394r, Quattuor evangelia (incomplete), Cologne (?), ca. 1070, single leaf (of two surviving).

Description. i) subject: St. John. **ii) activity:** seated, meditating, body right. **iii) tools:** α) two pens (?) (on [or stuck into] lectern table, or in inkwells [?]), stylus (stuck into top of lectern-table, with its triangular erasing-end uppermost); β) penknife (stuck into top of lectern-table); γ) inkhorn, and inkwell (?); δ) codex on lap; ζ) lectern-table, and a footstool; θ) two unidentifiable objects stuck into top of lectern-table (the object that appears to be in the background of the other tools may be a *Wachsspachtel;* the longest tool may be a pair of dividers).

Select bibliography. Bloch and Schnitzler, *Kölner Malerschule* 1:99–100, pl. 367.

Commentary. This image is in a poor state of preservation, consequently not all of the tools can be identified with certainty. The similarity of the iconography of cat. nos. 7d and 8d provides some guidance when identifying the scribal instruments, although the two unidentifiable tools are not parallelled in those images. The stylus without a wax tablet may be synecdochic of the earliest stages in the production of a text, or it could be an allusion to the practice of dry-point glossing. Should one of the unidentifiable tools indeed prove to be a *Wachsspachtel*, it would be both a rare occurrence in Western medieval iconography and the latest Western image known (cf. cat. no. 1 above)—but it is necessary to emphasize that this is only a possible identification, not a probable one. If the other unidentifiable tool is a pair of dividers, its form is otherwise unattested—unless it can be compared to the images in: i) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz Theol. lat. fol. 269–70, Homeliarium, Maria Laach, s. XII²/⁴, fol. 224r (Andreas Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften deutscher Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin. 8.–12. Jahrhundert. Teil 2: Abbildungen*, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kataloge der Handschriftenabteilung, dritte Reihe: illuminierte Handschriften [Wiesbaden, 1991], cat. nos. 51–52, 1:50–51, 2:75, ill. 165); ii) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek lat.1226, Psalterium cum glossa, Diocese of Trier, or Straßburg, s. XII², fol. 60r (Hermann Julius Hermann, *Die deutschen romanischen Handschriften*, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich 2.2, 2d ed. [Leipzig, 1926], 90–93, cat. no. 52, fig. 47); or iii) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek lat. 341, De origine, fundatoribus et regulis monachorum et monacharum, Florence (?), ca. 1400, fol. 1v (Hermann, *Die italienischen Handschriften des Dugento und Trecento. 3: Neapolitanische und toskanische Handschriften der zweiten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich 5.5, 2d ed. [Leipzig, 1930], 307–23, cat. no. 341, pl. CXXVI). A pair of dividers recently excavated (1998–99) from the Beaumont Palace/White Friars site in Oxford can be compared to these; see Daniel Poore, David R. P. Wilkinson, et al., *Beaumont Palace and the White Friars: Excavations at the Sackler Library, Beaumont Street, Oxford*, Oxford Archaeological Unit, Occasional Papers, 9 (Oxford, 2001), SF 604, pp. 34 (pl. 11), 58 (fig. 18, 6), 60–61 (the find spot, apparently unphased plough soil, does not date the artifact). In its pleonastic treatment of some of the writing tools, this scribal image of St. John can be compared to cat. no. 17 below. Presumably the appearance of the scribal tools stuck

into the top of the lectern-table does not represent the practice of casually driving them into the surface but rather shows them set in purpose-built apertures (in the manner occasionally used for inkhorns; see cat. no. 2 above), as the former treatment would inevitably result in their being damaged. Cat. nos. 7a–d, 8a–d, and 12 show the same use, as do the portraits of IPOCHRAS (Hippocrates) and GALIENUS (Galen) in the crypt of Anagni Cathedral, 1255 (Juan Ainaud, *Romanesque Painting,* trans. Jean Stewart [London, 1963], ill. 23). One of the Jehan Miélot portraits attests to the continuance of the practice; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier 9278, s. XV^2, fol. 10r (Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators,* Medieval Craftsmen [Toronto, 1992], front cover).

7a. London, British Library Harley 2820, Quattuor evangelia, Cologne (?), ca. 1070–ca. 1080, fol. 14r.

Description. i) subject: St. Matthew. **ii) activity:** seated, repose (but holding pen in type II pen grip), body frontal, gaze left. **iii) tools:** α) pen, stylus (stuck into top of lectern-style writing desk, with triangular erasing-end uppermost); β) penknife (stuck into top of lectern-style writing desk); γ) two inkhorns (?); δ) two codices (or quires or bifolia; or codex/quire/bifolium and roll); ζ) lectern-style writing desk, footstool.

Select bibliography. Bloch and Schnitzler, *Kölner Malerschule* 1:106–10, pl. 419.

Commentary. What was said in cat. no. 6 on the possible symbolism of the stylus, as well as the manner of affixing some of the tools, applies here as well. This image and cat. no. 8a are based on the same model.

7b. London, British Library Harley 2820, fol. 78r.

Description. i) subject: St. Mark. **ii) activity:** seated, type IVa pen grip (?), body right. **iii) tools:** α) four pens (?) (one in hole in lectern-style writing desk [?], two in inkhorns), stylus (stuck into top of lectern-style writing desk, with triangular erasing-end uppermost); β) penknife (stuck into top of lectern-style writing desk); γ) two inkhorns; δ) one codex (or quire or bifolium); ζ) lectern-style writing desk, footstool.

Select bibliography. Bloch and Schnitzler, *Kölner Malerschule* 1:106–10, pl. 423.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 7a. This image and cat. no. 8b are based on the same model. In its pleonastic treatment of some of the writing tools this image can be compared to cat. no. 17 below.

7c. London, British Library Harley 2820, fol. 120r.

Description. i) subject: St. Luke. **ii) activity:** seated, dipping (type IVa pen grip?), body left. **iii) tools:** α) four pens (two in holes in desk, one in inkhorn), stylus (stuck into top of desk, with triangular erasing-end uppermost); β) penknife (stuck into top of desk); γ) three inkhorns; δ) two codices; ζ) desk (pedestal desk), reading lectern, footstool.

Select bibliography. Bloch and Schnitzler, *Kölner Malerschule* 1:106–10, pl. 427.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 7b. This image and cat. no. 8c are based on the same model.

7d. London, British Library Harley 2820, fol. 191r.

Description. i) subject: St. John. **ii) activity:** seated, repose, body right. **iii) tools:** α) two pens (one in hole in lectern-style table, the other in an inkwell), stylus (stuck into top of lectern-style table, with triangular erasing-end uppermost); β) penknife (stuck into top of lectern-style table); γ) inkwell, and inkhorn; δ) one codex; ζ) lectern-style table, footstool.

Select bibliography. Bloch and Schnitzler, *Kölner Malerschule* 1:106–10, pl. 431.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 7b. This image and cat. nos. 6 and 8d are based on the same model.

8a. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 3, Quattuor evangelia, "Abdinghof Gospels," Cologne (?), ca. 1080, fol. 16r.

Description. i) subject: St. Matthew. **ii) activity:** seated, repose (pen in type IIIa pen grip), body frontal, gaze left. **iii) tools:** α) pen, stylus (stuck into top of lectern-style writing desk, with triangular erasing-end uppermost); β) penknife (stuck into top of lectern-style writing desk); γ) two inkhorns; δ) two codices (or quires or bifolia); ζ) lectern-style writing desk, footstool.

Select bibliography. Bloch and Schnitzler, *Kölner Malerschule* 1:110–13, pl. 447.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 7a above. This image and cat. no. 7a are based on the same model; the only difference in the writing tools is in the placement of the stylus, which is near the top of the lectern-style writing desk in 7a, whereas here it is near the bottom. The tops of the inkhorns appear to have narrow openings similar to those on surviving Roman inkwells (e.g., Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Inv. Nr. N 1620, terra sigillata, s. I, reproduced in *Ornamenta ecclesiae* 1:286–87, cat. no. B 67; also see Peter Webster, *Roman Samian Pottery in Britain,* with contributions by G. B. Dannell, Practical Handbooks in Archaeology 13 [York, 1996], 72 [Ritterling 13]; and John W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* [London, 1972], 174, 177 [NARS form 124≅Ritterling 13]).

8b. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 3, fol. 87r.

Description. i) subject: St. Mark. **ii) activity:** seated, type IIIa pen grip, body right. **iii) tools:** α) two pens (one in inkhorn), stylus (stuck into top of lectern-style writing desk, with triangular erasing-end uppermost); β) penknife (stuck into top of lectern-style writing desk); γ) two inkhorns; δ) one codex; ζ) lectern-style writing desk, footstool.

Select bibliography. Bloch and Schnitzler, *Kölner Malerschule* 1:110–13, pl. 451.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 7a. This image and cat. no. 7b are based on the same model, but cat. no. 7b includes more quills.

8c. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 3, fol. 130r.

Description. i) subject: St. Luke. **ii) activity:** seated, dipping (type IVa pen grip?), body left. **iii) tools:** α) four pens (two in holes in desk, one in inkhorn), stylus (stuck into top of desk, with triangular erasing-end uppermost); β) penknife (stuck into top of desk); γ) four inkhorns; δ) two codices; ζ) desk (pedestal desk), reading lectern, footstool.

Select bibliography. Bloch and Schnitzler, *Kölner Malerschule* 1:110–13, pl. 455.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 7a. This image and cat. no. 7c are based on the same model, but this image includes more inkhorns than cat. no. 7c. The tops of the inkhorns appear to have narrow openings similar to those on extant Roman inkwells (see the commentary to cat. no. 8a).

8d. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 3, fol. 206r.

Description. i) subject: St. John. ii) activity: seated, repose, body right. iii) tools: α) three pens (one in hole in lectern-style table, the other two in inkhorns), stylus (stuck into top of lectern-style table, with triangular erasing-end uppermost); β) pen-knife (stuck into top of lectern-style table); γ) two inkhorns; δ) one codex; ζ) lectern-style table, footstool.

Select bibliography. Bloch and Schnitzler, *Kölner Malerschule* 1:110–13, pl. 459.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 7a. This image and cat. nos. 6 and 7d are based on the same model. They differ in the number of quills, and the type of ink containers and their exact placement. Cat. no. 6 appears to show a more unusual selection of scribal tools than either this image or 7d.

9. Rossano, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, s.n., *Quattuor evangelia* (incomplete), "Rossano Gospels" ("Codex Rossanensis"), Syria or South Italy (?), s. VI²–VII in., fol. Vr., South Italy (?), s. XI–XII.

Description. i) subject: St. Mark, with inspiring figure, perhaps σοφία (not labelled here). ii) activity: Mark seated, type I pen grip, body right, σοφία (?) standing. iii) tools: α) five reed pens (one in inkwell, three in *calamarium*); γ) cone-shaped inkwell; δ) roll; ζ) footstool; η) *calamarium* (pencase).

Select bibliography. On this image, see Otto Kresten and Giancarlo Prato, "Die Miniatur des Evangelisten Markus im Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Eine spätere Einfügung," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 27 (1985): 381–99; and Anthony Cutler, "The End of Antiquity in Two Illuminated Manuscripts," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2 (1989): 401–9 at 407. For a colour reproduction, see Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, pl. 33, or the facsimile volume, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Museo dell' Arcivescovado, Rossano Calabria*, ed. G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, and W. Loerke, Codices selecti phototypice impressi 81 (Rome and Graz, 1987). William Loerke, "Incipits and Author Portraits in Greek Gospel Books: Some Observations," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. D. Mouriki et al. (Princeton, 1995), 377–81, is an attempt to reassert the traditional s. VI²–VII in. date for this image.

Commentary. This form of pencase can be compared to several recorded *calamaria*, one found at Antinoupolis (Cheikh Abadeh, Egypt), and dated pre-642, and the other formerly in the Treasury of St. Denis, Paris, and dated to the twelfth century, but subsequently lost during the French Revolution (1798); for the former, see Henri Omont, "Communication" in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France 1898*, 330–32; and for the latter, Jannic Durand, "Écritoire de saint Denis," in *Le trésor de Saint-Denis, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 12 mars–17 juin 1991* (Paris,

1991), 221–22, no. 40. The similarity of these two objects and the six centuries which are estimated to stand between them indicate that this form of *calamarium* enjoyed a notable longevity; unfortunately, that fact means that the object's presence in Rossanensis fol. Vr cannot be used to settle the date of the image. It is interesting to note that Mark is holding his pen with the nib upside down, a technique which is rarely shown (cf. its appearance three and a half centuries later in the Brussels Miélot portrait (see commentary to cat. no. 6 above).

10. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS S. Marco 190, Martiani Capellae De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae, France (?), s. XI–XII, fol. 15v.

Description. i) subject: Personification of *Grammatica,* with eight *grammatici* (an interpretation in part of *De nuptiis* 3, 223–26). **ii) activity:** *Grammatica* seated, repose (?), body frontal, gaze right, and beneath her are the *grammatici* (and/or authors, students), five seated on a long bench, three standing behind the bench, seven looking up at *Grammatica* with body frontal, and six of these gesturing with one arm (either left or right) held aloft in acclamation, five with rolls, tablets, or codices in the raised hand, and three with a codex (?) in the other hand, one with arms crossed on chest (in the form of a Stafford knot, a gesture perhaps implying contradiction, untrustworthiness, or bad intent; see François Garnier, *La langue de l'image au moyen âge. II: Grammaire des gestes* [Paris, 1989], 145–52), and one type II pen grip, body right, gaze right. **iii) tools: α)** two pens (one in the inkhorn on the round top of *Grammatica*'s lectern-style table, and one held by the scribe on the bench), stylus (on *Grammatica*'s lectern-style table); **β)** penknife (on *Grammatica*'s lectern-style table); **γ)** inkhorn (on *Grammatica*'s lectern-style table); **δ)** codex (or quire or bifolium) in *Grammatica*'s right hand (with whip and unidentified object), scroll on scribe's writing board; **ζ)** lectern-style table, writing board; **θ)** three unidentified objects on top of a lectern-style table (codex, roll, and tablet?), eight unidentified objects in the hands of the *grammatici* (rolls, tablets, or codices?), one unidentified object in *Grammatica*'s right hand.

Select bibliography. On this manuscript, see Claudio Leonardi, *I codici di Marziano Capella* (Milano, 1959–60), cat. no. 60 (=*Aevum* 34 [1960]: 47–48); Ludwig H. Heydenreich, "Eine illustrierte Martianus Capella-Handschrift des Mittelalters und ihre Kopien im Zeitalter des Frühhumanismus," in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann,* ed. Wolfgang Braunfels (Berlin, 1956), 59–66 at 61, and ill. 4. A good black and white reproduction is M. W. Evans, *Medieval Drawings* (London, New York, Sydney, Toronto, 1969), 33, pl. 76.

Commentary. The comparatively nonrepresentational style of the tinted drawing makes it difficult to interpret some of the writing tools. In the *De nuptiis* various medicaments and implements used to ensure the grammatical health of *Grammatica*'s disciples are introduced, but the physical properties of these allegorical symbols make it clear that, with one possible exception, they are in fact writing tools (*De nuptiis* 3.223–26; the possible exception is the *lima artificialiter expolita* [file/polisher skilfully finished], at 226. Monique Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda presents another possible exception, believing the reference to *gallarum gummeosque commixtio* at 225 does

not refer to ink; see *Les encres noires au moyen âge (jusqu'à 1600)*, Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes [Paris, 1983], 146 n. 12. The context of the other writing tools, however, makes the ink identification virtually certain, thus restoring the *De nuptiis* to the company of the earliest textual references to gallo-tannate ink.) The medieval artist was certainly aware of this aspect of the text he was illustrating, although some of the commentators on his image were less perceptive. Heydenreich to his credit did recognize that scribal tools are depicted (but he did not connect the penknife [*De nuptiis* 3.224: *scalprum*] to the other writing tools, and he thought that at least one of the unidentified instruments was a "container of medicine for the throat" and that the unidentified object in *Grammatica*'s right hand was the *lima*). Evans was content to identify the tools on *Grammatica*'s lectern-style table as "surgical equipment." The artist's recognition that the allegorical symbols were writing tools did not, however, mean that he or she was a slave to the text. Some of the scribal tools are not mentioned directly in the relevant passage, such as the pens, stylus, inkhorn, and writing board, but these are certainly implied by the text (e.g., the reeds mentioned at 224 are updated in the quills, the wax and beechwood tablet at 225 requires the stylus, the inks at 224 are represented by the inkhorn, and all of these by s. XI–XII presuppose the option of the writing board). If the three unidentified tools on *Grammatica*'s lectern-style table represent text supports of various forms, they are in partial conformity with the text (*De nuptiis* 3.225). Given the medical nature of the allegorical symbolism referring to the writing tools it is interesting to note that styli occur in the grave assemblages of some doctors—or those now interpreted as such (the evidence is chiefly ancient); see E. Künzl, F. J. Hassel, and S. Künzl, "Medizinische Instrumente aus Sepulkralfunden der römischen Kaiserzeit," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 182 (1982): 1–131 at 26, 45–46, 91–93, 110, 112–13, 116, 121; and Sophie de Ganay and Matthieu Pinette, "Cinq stylets," in *Autun/Augustodunum, capitale des Éduens,* ed. Matthieu Pinette et al. (Autun, 1987), 126.

11a. Venice, Basilica di San Marco, Tesoro, antependium, "Pala d'Oro," gold, silver, enamel, precious and semiprecious stones, Venice (?), 976?–1343, central panel, St. Mark (s. XII in.).

Description. i) subject: St. Mark. **ii) activity:** seated, reading, right hand holding pen and closed codex (or bifolium) against thigh (type I pen grip [?]; or the pen may be held "casually," i.e., with the nib in the reverse direction relative to the orientation of the digits when writing), left hand on edge of the codex (or quire or bifolium) placed on the lectern, body right. **iii) tools:** α) two pens (one on inkwell); β) penknife, sponge (?); γ) rectangular double-compartment inkwell, vessel (for water?) on the top shelf of the cabinet; δ) text support (closed codex or bifolium) held (together with pen) on right thigh, and one codex (or quire or bifolium) on the lectern, and another on the bottom shelf of the cabinet; ε) *punctorium* (?), sickle-shaped knife, dividers; ζ) cabinet for writing implements, with lectern, footstool; η) open casket on top shelf of lectern; θ) two like unidentifiable objects (cloths? rolls?), one on top of the cabinet on the right, and the other on the bottom shelf of the cabinet.

Select bibliography. Sergio Bettini, "Venice, the *Pala d'Oro,* and Constantinople," in *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice,* ed. David Buckton et al. (Milan, 1984), 35–64, colour pls. at 40–41, and W. F. Volbach, "Gli smalti della Pala d'oro," in *La Pala d'oro,* ed. H. R. Hahnloser and R. Polacco (Venice, 1994), 3–71 at 14–15.

Commentary. These images are clearly in a Byzantine idiom. The writing tools are, however, competently rendered and understood, unlike cat. nos. 19a–d below. Depicting the work placed on the lap, rather than on a working surface, is an ancient (e.g., cat. no. 1 above) and Byzantine convention. It is interesting that this is also the method shown in cat. no. 3 above.

11b. Venice, Basilica di San Marco, Tesoro, "Pala d'Oro," central panel, St. Matthew.

Description. i) subject: St. Matthew. **ii) activity:** seated, type II pen grip, body right. **iii) tools:** α) two pens (one on inkwell); β) penknife, sponge (?); γ) rectangular single-compartment inkwell, vessel (for water?) on top shelf of cabinet; δ) codex (or quire or bifolium) on Matthew's left knee; ε) sickle-shaped knife, dividers; ζ) cabinet for writing implements, with lectern, footstool; η) casket (?) on top shelf of cabinet.

Select bibliography. *Treasury of San Marco; Pala d'oro,* 15–16.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 11a.

11c. Venice, Basilica di San Marco, Tesoro, "Pala d'Oro," central panel, St. Luke.

Description. i) subject: St. Luke. **ii) activity:** seated, type I pen grip (or type II pen grip, or type of pen grip uncertain), body left. **iii) tools:** α) two pens (one on top of the cabinet for writing implements); β) penknife, two sponges (?); γ) rectangular single-compartment inkwell, one vessel (for water?) on top of cabinet, a second vessel (for water?) on top shelf of cabinet, two further vials (for ink?) on top shelf of cabinet; δ) two codices, one on Luke's right thigh, the other on the bottom shelf of the cabinet; ε) sickle-shaped knife; ζ) cabinet for writing implements, with lectern, footstool; θ) unidentifiable object (portable case for writing tools, vial, or knife) on bottom shelf of cabinet.

Select bibliography. *Treasury of San Marco; Pala d'oro,* 16–17.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 11a.

11d. Venice, Basilica di San Marco, Tesoro, "Pala d'Oro," central panel, St. John.

Description. i.subject: St. John. **ii) activity:** seated, reading (pen resting on Evangelist's right knee, type IVa pen grip [?]; or the pen may be held "casually," i.e., with the nib in the reverse direction relative to the orientation of the digits when writing), body left. **iii) tools:** α) two pens (one resting on inkwell); β) penknife, three sponges (?); γ) rectangular double-compartment inkwell, vessel (for water?) on the top shelf of the cabinet, "chalice"-shaped cup (for water?) on top shelf of cabinet; δ) codex (or quire or bifolium) on the lectern, and a codex on the bottom shelf of the cabinet; ε) sickle-shaped knife, dividers, two pieces of pumice (?); ζ) cabinet for writing implements, with lectern, footstool; θ) two unidentifiable objects (cloths? rolls?), one on top of the cabinet on the left, and the other on the top shelf of the cabinet.

Select bibliography. *Treasury of San Marco; Pala d'oro,* 16.
Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 11a.

12. Prague, Knihovna metropolitní kapituly A XXI/1, Augustini De civitate Dei, Bohemia, s. XII$^{2/4}$, fol. 153v.

Description. i) subject: The scribe Hildebertus and his assistant Everwinus. **ii) activity:** Hildebert seated, in the act of throwing a sponge (?) at a "most mischievous" mouse, body left, head right, Everwinus seated (on a low stool), painting (type II pen grip), body left. **iii) tools:** α) three pens (one tucked behind Hildebert's ear, and two stuck into holes in the top of the lectern-style writing desk), one brush (used by Everwinus); β) penknife in Hildebert's left hand, sponge (?) in his right hand; γ) two inkhorns; δ) codex on lectern-style writing desk, Everwinus painting on a folio or a board (writing board?); ζ) lectern-style writing desk, footstool (?); θ) unidentified object (a second penknife or other type of knife?) near the top-right corner of the lectern-style writing desk.

Select bibliography. Vera Trost, *Skriptorium: Die Buchherstellung im Mittelalter,* Heidelberger Bibliotheksschriften 25 (Heidelberg, 1986), 23; also in de Hamel, *Scribes,* 61, fig. 53. Also see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* 15, fig. 19.

Commentary. The motif of tucking the pen behind the ear occasionally occurs in scribal depictions (e.g., cat. no. 14e below).

13. Manchester, John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester lat. 11, Quattuor evangelia, "Dinant Gospels," Flanders, s. XII^{1}, fol. 14r.

Description. i) subject: St. Matthew, with the symbol of the man. **ii) activity:** Matthew seated, ruling, body frontal, gaze left. **iii) tools:** γ) two inkhorns, only the lids being visible; δ) bifolium or quire being ruled, and a roll is displayed by the symbol of the man; ε) rectangular ruling device (bone? wood? ivory? metal?), straight-edge; ζ) ruling (or writing) board, table for writing equipment and work.

Select bibliography. Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in The John Rylands Library at Manchester,* 2 vols. (Manchester and London, 1921), 1:30–32, no. 11, plates in vol. 2. A colour plate is reproduced in De Hamel, *Scribes,* 22, fig. 14.

Commentary. This rectangular ruling device is rare in images, if not unique (cat. nos. 14e [?] and 20a below show objects which may be ruling devices, but they have different forms, and 20a could be a quill; cat. nos. 15c, 15d, and 15e [?] show straight-edges but, the quills aside, no tools to use with them). Such a device may be what Conrad de Mure refers to as a *ligniculum* (*Die Summa de arte prosandi des Konrad von Mure,* ed. Walter Kronbilchler, Geist und Werk der Zeiten 17 [Zürich, 1968], 63). It should be noted that markings are never depicted on medieval straight-edges. The volutes on either end of this straight-edge are no doubt primarily decorative in function, yet they may have served on occasion as "French curves." For a parallel to the inkhorn lids, see Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln W 312 (olim treasury of the church of St. Gereon), fol. 110r, Quattuor evangelia, ca. 990–1000; plate in

Holländer, *Frühen Mittelalters,* pl. 253. The best depiction of an inkhorn lid is probably Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale 263, fol. 10v, C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historia, England, s. XII med.; see *Ornamenta ecclesiae* 1:220, 234, cat. no. B 32. The well-known self-portrait by Laurence of Durham in Durham, University Library Cosin V.III.1, fol. 22v, Laurentii Dunelmensis Opera varia, s. XII med.–XII^2, shows an object at the top of his writing desk which is probably a capped inkwell; see De Hamel, *Scribes,* 37, fig. 29. Inkhorn lids, and inkhorns and inkwells which are shown stoppered rarely occur in images and do not become a regular feature of the iconography of writing tools until the widespread appearance of *cuir-bouilli* penners in the fifteenth century.

14a. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Misc. Patr. 5, Ambrosii Mediolanensis Opera varia, Bamberg (Monastery of St. Michael), s. XII$^{2/4}$, fol. 1v, top left roundel.
　　Description. i) subject: monk. **ii) activity:** standing (?), trimming, body right. **iii) tools:** α) pen; β) penknife.
　　Select bibliography. Fridolin Dressler, "Zum Titelbild des bamberger Codex Patr. 5," in *Scriptorum opus: Schreiber-Mönche am Werk. Prof. Dr. Otto Meyer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1971), ed. Fridolin Dressler, 4–14; Marc Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy: Its History and Technique* (1980, Montclair, N.J.; rpt. New York, 1989), 10, pl. 2; Trost, *Skriptorium,* 9, 12; Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* 12, 20, 36, fig. 15; Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften des 12. Jahrhunderts der Bibliothek Bamberg,* Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg 2 (Wiesbaden, 1995), 31–32, cat. no. 30, p. 133, ill. 81; Christopher Clarkson, "Some Representations of the Book and Book-Making, from the Earliest Codex forms to Jost Amman," in *The Bible as Book: the Manuscript Tradition,* ed. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly van Kampen (London and New Castle, Del., 1998), 197–203 at 201–2, and pl. 27. The text of Dressler's paper was virtually unchanged when it was issued as a separate work; see *Scriptorum opus: Schreiber-Monche am Werk: zum Titelbild des Bamberger codex Patr. 5,* 2d ed. (Wiesbaden, 1999). Clarkson has the best discussion of the image of the sewing frame (cat. no. 14f below) but is not quite as reliable as Dressler and Trost on the other roundels. Suckale-Redlefsen's descriptions of the monks' activities frequently exceed the information in the images, and she does not offer sufficient alternative identifications for the tools and activities.

14b. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Misc. Patr. 5, fol. 1v, roundel on left, second from top.
　　Description. i) subject: monk. **ii) activity:** standing (?), type I pen grip, body right. **iii) tools:** α) stylus; δ) tablets.
　　Select bibliography. Dressler, "Zum Titelbild"; Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy,* 10, pl. 2; Trost, *Skriptorium,* 9, 10.
　　Commentary. This image is formulaic in its scribal iconography, but with the formula as it is commonly "translated" into terms of a wax-based rather than an ink-based communications technology.

14c. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Misc. Patr. 5, fol. 1v, roundel on left, third from top.

Description. i) subject: monk. **ii) activity:** standing (?), scraping, body right. **iii) tools:** δ) partially prepared skin; ε) parchmenter's half-moon knife, herse.

Select bibliography. Dressler, "Zum Titelbild"; Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy*, 10, pl. 2; Trost, *Skriptorium*, 9, 10.

Commentary. For other images of half-moon knives, see cat. nos. 19a, c, and 20b below.

14d. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Misc. Patr. 5, fol. 1v, bottom left roundel.

Description. i) subject: monk. **ii) activity:** standing (?), fashioning (trimming?) board (?) for cover, body right. **iii) tools:** δ) cover for text support/board (or boards); ε) small hand-axe (T-hatchet; this is unlikely to be an adze).

Select bibliography. Dressler, "Zum Titelbild"; Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy*, 10, pl. 2; Trost, *Skriptorium*, 9, 15.

  Commentary. This iconography is unique for the period. It is difficult to be certain of the particular activity depicted, for the axe somewhat obscures the material being worked. The image probably shows some stage in the manufacture of a board for a cover. Although the dearth of direct descriptions of Romanesque binding techniques hinders absolute confidence in any interpretation, it can be said that the Bamberg image is almost certainly not an image of edge trimming, given the presence of an axe and the absence of a lying or cutting press. Cf. the orthodox image of edge trimming in the fresco of St. Matthew, Mount Athos, Karyes, Protaton Church, ca. 1300; reproduced in Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Left-Handed Evangelist: A Contribution to Palaeologan Iconography* (London, 1988), fig. 26 (St. Matthew uses a drawknife, and the text block is clamped in a lying/cutting press).

14e. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Misc. Patr. 5, fol. 1v, top right roundel.

Description. i) subject: monk. **ii) activity:** standing (?), folding bifolia (or ruling), body left. **iii) tools:** α) pen (tucked behind monk's ear); δ) two quires (?), one lying partially atop the other (if read literally, one is a binion and the other is indeterminate), or three bifolia, two already folded and assembled into a quire, with the third (illuminated?) about to be added (?); ε) rectangular folder (or ruling device; a knife—or penknife—seems less likely, but is not impossible) with curved end (bone? wood? ivory? metal?).

Select bibliography. Dressler, "Zum Titelbild"; Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy*, 10, pl. 2; Trost, *Skriptorium*, 9, 14.

Commentary. The iconography of folding is very rare for this period (also see cat. no. 4 above)—if that operation is indeed shown. This is less likely to be a depiction of ruling, for, unlike the images in the Dinant Gospels (cat. no. 13 above) and the Hamburg Bible (cat. no. 20a below), lines of ruling are not indicated on the text support. No straight-edge—a tool which could be thought necessary for the success of either operation (folding or ruling)—is unequivocally present. Drogin interprets the scene as "painting or trimming pages." Neither seems particularly likely, for although one of the folios could be construed as decorated, the scribe is not currently painting, nor

does he hold a quill or brush in his hand, or a straight-edge to aid in trimming. Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften,* believes the scene shows a corrector comparing a copy to its exemplar (this requires the folder [or ruling device] to be interpreted as a knife). There is not enough information in the image to confirm this interesting suggestion. It must be said that any of the myriad of depictions of someone with writing tools and two writing supports (potentially a copy and its exemplar) could portray a corrector, or a scribe or author fulfilling that function (e.g., the Düsseldorf Titus, cat. no. 2 above); yet such an interpretation is nearly impossible to prove. For another image of a figure with a pen tucked behind his ear, see cat. no. 12 above.

14f. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Misc. Patr. 5, fol. 1v, roundel on right, second from top.

    Description. i) subject: monk. **ii) activity:** seated (?), sewing quire(s?), body left. **iii) tools:** δ) quires being sewn; ε) sewing frame.

    Select bibliography. Dressler, "Zum Titelbild"; Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy,* 10, pl. 2; Trost, *Skriptorium,* 9, 14; Clarkson, "Some Representations," 201; J. A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot and Burlington, 1999), 140–41 (Szirmai's wise caution [at 171 n. 1] that fol. 1v may not have originally belonged to this manuscript should also be noted).

    Commentary. This iconography is unique for this period. Clarkson observes that the horizontal bar of the sewing frame "is slotted exactly like the modern German sewing frame," that the folded quires are being sewn on three bands, and that—on account of the limited space available to the artist—"single lines are used to represent the heavy double whittawed bands used at the period." Clarkson's final comment is open to question, as there is sufficient room between one band and the next for the artist to have drawn additional bands of the same thickness, had he (or she) so wished. From the vantage point of this image slits in the bands (slit-thong supports) would not necessarily be visible.

14g. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Misc. Patr. 5, fol. 1v, roundel on right, third from top.

    Description. i) subject: monk. **ii) activity:** standing (?), cutting, body left. **iii) tools:** δ) text support (skin?); ε) knife (or penknife; cf. cat. no. 14a above), straight-edge.

    Select bibliography. Dressler, "Zum Titelbild"; Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy,* 10, pl. 2; Trost, *Skriptorium,* 9.

    Commentary. Another image of parchment being cut with a knife whose blade does not take the form of a half-moon is one of the Hamburg Bible portraits of St. Jerome (cat. no. 20c below; the St. Martin panel of the Berlin diptych, cat. no. 4 above, may also show this). The choice of a knife in these two (or possibly three) images contrasts with the employment of scissors in both the "Tábara Beatus" and the "Las Huelgas Beatus" depictions (cat. nos. 3 above and 18 below). It is possible that the knife and the scissors indicate slightly different operations; the knife signifying the cutting of a bifolium from a skin, and the scissors the trimming of a folio, or bifolium. Although it may seem this interpretation can be confirmed from other

details of these images (e.g., the parchment in the Hamburg image shows in part the contours of a skin; the parchment in the Bamberg image is larger than most of the parchments in its companion roundels; and the parchment being cut with the scissors in the Las Huelgas Beatus image is the smallest in that depiction), other details may speak against it, such as the Bamberg parchment not having the contours of a skin (neither does the parchment in cat. no. 4), and the Las Huelgas parchment being cut not on its edge but up its centre. Drogin suggests the image might show someone "scoring lines for lettering," as an alternative to cutting parchment. This is not impossible, but the figure's posture is less natural for its activity (ruling) than are the postures of the figures in the other roundels for their respective tasks. Further, should the image show ruling and relative scale carry any significance, the format of the folio can be seen to differ from that of the text supports in the other roundels, as if the ruling is for a page *in carta transversa* (=with writing parallel to the short side of a document). Suckale-Redlefsen describes this scene as the "preparation" (layout?) of a leaf for writing. As it is clear that the monk is using the cutting edge of the knife, her interpretation seems most unlikely.

14h. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Misc. Patr. 5, fol. 1v, bottom right roundel.
   Description. i) subject: monk. **ii) activity:** standing (?), smithing a hasp (a fastener seems more probable than any other furnishing), body left. **iii) tools:** δ) fitting for cover of text support/metal hasp (less likely to be a frame for a title label, clip for a chain, or a boss); ε) small two-faced hammer, small anvil (?).
   Select bibliography. Dressler, "Zum Titelbild"; Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy*, 10, pl. 2; Trost, *Skriptorium*, 9, 15.
   Commentary. This iconography is unique.

15a. Chartres, Cathedral, "Royal Portal," right portal, innermost archivolt, right side, limestone, Chartres, ca. 1145–ca. 1155.
   Description. i) subject: Boethius (or Pythagoras) placed under personification of Music. **ii) activity:** seated, type of pen grip uncertain (type II? or IIIa?), body right. **iii) tools:** α) four (?) pens (that held by Boethius [or Pythagoras] is damaged, and three others are stuck into holes in the wall-bracket); β) penknife, two sponges (on the wall-bracket); γ) inkhorn; ζ) portable desk, wall-bracket (holding the sponges, and three of the pens).
   Select bibliography. Whitney S. Stoddard, *Sculptors of the West Portals of Chartres Cathedral: Their Origins in Romanesque and Their Roles in Chartrain Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952; rpt. New York and London, 1987). The best black and white photographs are those in E. Houvet, *Cathédrale de Chartres: Portail occidental ou royal, XIIe siècle* (Chartres, n.d.), 72. Good plates (colour, and black and white) are in Willibald Sauerländer, *Das Königsportal in Chartres: Heilsgeschichte und Lebenswirklichkeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), 41–44, fig. 22, and back cover. An excellent reproduction of the Houvet plate appears on the dust-jacket of M. B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London and Rio Grande, 1991).

Commentary. The documentary value of the Chartres images for scribal technology resides in their three-dimensionality and the relative realism with which their scribal attributes are represented. Houvet's photographic record of the series, taken before the ravages caused by modern airborne pollutants, clearly shows where the nibs of the quills are split and reveals the troughs in the rachides. The Chartres images can be compared to the scribes shown on the tympanum of the inner west portal at the abbey church of Sainte-Madelaine at Vézelay (ca. 1125–ca. 1135), and to those on the tympanum of the north portal of the abbey church of Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier, although the evidence provided by these *comparanda* is limited by the extent of the damage they have suffered; see Véronique Rouchon Mouilleron, *Vézelay: Livre de pierre* (Paris, 1997), 58–59, and Lydwine Saulnier and Neil Stratford, *La sculpture oubliée de Vézelay: Catalogue du Musée Lapidaire,* Bibliothèque de la Société française d'archéologie 17 (Geneva, Paris, 1984), pl. 105 (Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier). The Evangelists as scribes on the tympanum of the Puerta del Sarmental of Burgos Cathedral offer comparative material from approximately one hundred years later than the Chartres scribes (these are not given separate discussion in this list because they show neither rarely depicted tools nor techniques); see Henri Focillon, *The Art of the West: Part Two, Gothic,* ed. Jean Bony, trans. Donald King, 2d ed. (London and New York, 1969), pl. 97–98. The type of wall-bracket shown in the Chartres sculptures is rare but not unique to these images. A similar arrangement can be seen in the portraits of SS. Ambrose and Gregory the Great among the cycle of saints in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, Karlštejn Castle; see Friedl, *Magister Theodoricus,* colour pl. XI (Ambrose) and pls. 151 (Gregory), 154 (Gregory), 159 (Ambrose), 162 (Ambrose). A possible iconographic echo of this method of storing pens (i.e., upright through holes in brackets) is the quill set in the upper border of the horizontal band on the wall in the background of cat. no. 17 below; unquestionably an instance of a technological habit in common rather than of direct artistic influence. An intriguing and rare variation on the wall bracket appears in the portrait of St. Mark (fol. 164v) in the "Trivulzio Hours," a book recently rediscovered to the scholarly community after a seventy-year hiatus, and now in the The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek SMC 1. Two features which are probably to be read as brackets holding four or more pens are built perpendicular to the upper part of the sloped writing surface of the Trivulzio Evangelist's desk, allowing the pens to be arrayed in a plane parallel to and over the surface of the desk (it is possible, although less likely, that the brackets are in fact taut ribbon/cord, but this would not alter their purpose or mode of use). Somewhat more usual is the placing of pens upright in holes set directly into the top of writing surfaces, as was the practice for inkhorns (cat. no. 12 above and also the portrait of Jehan Miélot mentioned in the commentary to cat. nos. 6 and 9 above).

15b. Chartres, Cathedral, "Royal Portal," right portal, outermost archivolt, right side.
     Description. i) subject: Donatus, or Priscian (?) placed under personification of Grammar. **ii) activity:** seated, type of pen grip uncertain (type II?), body left. **iii) tools:** α) five (?) pens (that held by Donatus [or Priscian] is damaged, and four others are stuck into holes in the wall-bracket); β) penknife (damaged, only the blade re-

maining); γ) inkhorn; ζ) portable desk, wall-bracket.

Select bibliography. Stoddard, *Sculptors*. Plates in Houvet, *Cathédrale,* 70; Sauer-länder, *Das Königsportal,* fig. 22, and back cover.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 15a.

15c. Chartres, Cathedral, "Royal Portal," right portal, outermost archivolt, left side.

Description. i) subject: Aristotle placed under personification of Dialectic. **ii) activity:** seated, dipping (type II [?] pen grip), body right. **iii) tools: α)** four (?) pens (that held by Aristotle is damaged and three others are stuck into holes in the wall-bracket); **β)** penknife (damaged, only the blade remaining), sponge (on the wall-bracket); **γ)** inkhorn; **ε)** straight-edge with elaborate scroll-work on one side; **ζ)** portable desk, wall-bracket.

Select bibliography. Stoddard, *Sculptors*. Plate in Houvet, *Cathédrale,* 61; Sauer-länder, *Das Königsportal,* fig. 23.

Commentary. The fine state of preservation of the sponge's surface detail when Houvet recorded it enables the similar objects in cat. no. 15a to be identified. The form of the straight-edge is the most elaborate known from the Middle Ages or early modern period. If this form does reflect an actual twelfth-century scribal tool, its decorative curved surfaces—those opposite the straight-edge proper—may have been intended as "French curves" (cf. cat. no. 13 above).

15d. Chartres, Cathedral, "Royal Portal," right portal, outermost archivolt, left side.

Description. i) subject: Cicero (?) placed under personification of Rhetoric. **ii) activity:** seated, trimming, body right. **iii) tools: α)** four (?) pens (that held by Cicero [?] is damaged, and three others are stuck into the wall-bracket); **β)** penknife (the blade is partly damaged); **γ)** inkhorn; **ε)** straight-edge (of plainer design than in cat. no. 15c); **ζ)** portable desk, wall-bracket.

Select bibliography. Plate in Houvet, *Cathédrale,* 63; Stoddard, *Sculptors,* fig. 58.

Commentary. The form of the straight-edge bears a resemblance to that in cat. no. 13 above.

15e. Chartres, Cathedral, "Royal Portal," right portal, outermost achivolt, right side.

Description. i) subject: Ptolemy placed under personification of Astronomy. **ii) activity:** seated, type of pen grip uncertain, body left. **iii) tools: α)** five (?) pens (that held by Ptolemy is damaged, and four others are stuck into the wall-bracket); **β)** pen-knife (?; now completely obliterated); **γ)** inkhorn; **ε)** straight-edge (?); **ζ)** portable desk, wall bracket (holding four of the pens).

Select bibliography. Plate in Houvet, *Cathédrale,* 68.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 15a.

15f. Chartres, Cathedral, "Royal Portal," right portal, outermost archivolt, right side.

Description. i) subject: Pythagoras (or Boethius), placed under personification of Arithmetic. **ii) activity:** seated, repose, body left, gaze right. **iii) tools: α)** four (?) pens (if a pen was in Pythagoras's [or Boethius's] hand, it is know completely ob-

literated; three other pens are stuck into holes in the wall-bracket); β) sponge (on the wall-bracket); γ) inkhorn; ζ) portable desk, wall bracket (holding the sponge, and three of the pens).

Select bibliography. Plate in Houvet, *Cathédrale,* 66.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 15a.

15g. Chartres, Cathedral, "Royal Portal," right portal, outermost archivolt, left side.

Description. i) subject: Euclid placed under personification of Geometry. ii) activity: seated, type II pen grip (?), body right, gaze left (the head is turned slightly left). iii) tools: α) pen (damaged); β) penknife (damaged); γ) inkhorn; ζ) portable desk.

Select bibliography. Plate in Houvet, *Cathédrale,* 65.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 15a.

16. Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale 410, Biblia, "Lyons Bible," Lyons (?), s. XII$^{4/4}$, fol. 79r, column b.

Description. i) subject: St. Jerome (?) inhabiting a zoomorphic initial "T". ii) activity: seated, feet resting on animal's tail, dipping (type II pen grip), body left. iii) tools: α) pen; β) penknife (?); γ) inkhorn; δ) folio or bifolium; ε) parchment clip of wood (?); ζ) portable desk.

Select bibliography. The manuscript is described in Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century, Volume II, Catalogue, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France* (London, 1996), no. 54, 65–66. A reproduction (black and white) is in Randall A. Rosenfeld, "A Parchment Clip in a Romanesque Image," in *Pen in Hand,* ed. Gullick and Rosenfeld (forthcoming).

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 5 above. It is notable that the parchment clip in this image is weighing down a single leaf (or bifolium), as in cat. no. 21, rather than preventing an opening in a quire or book from closing, as in cat. no. 5. The form of this parchment clip, which can be likened to a "torpedo" shape, is quite different from that shown in cat. no. 21, which is "tweezer"-shaped. The former, which was possibly made of wood, bone, ivory, or metal, has not yet been identified in the archaeological record, but the latter is well attested by artifacts of copper-alloy.

17. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, B–22, 920, Biblia, Tuscany, s. XII ex.

Description. i) subject: St. Mark, with the symbol of the lion. ii) activity: Mark seated, repose, body left. iii) tools: α) five pens (two in the cylindrical case, two in inkhorns, one suspended in the light upper border of the coloured horizontal band in the background of the image); β) penknife, sponge (?); γ) three inkhorns (one attached to the lectern-style writing desk through a bracket, two more in the table for writing equipment), three vessels (for water [?], two suspended from the lectern-style writing desk and one suspended from Mark's stool); δ) a codex, quire, or bifolium is placed on the lectern-style writing desk, another codex is held by the image of the lion, and a scroll (?) lies on the table for writing equipment; ζ) lectern-style writing desk, a writing board, a table for writing equipment, and a footstool; η) cylindrical case (*pharetra*

form) for pens (suspended from the lectern-style writing desk), and a container (?; placed on the table for writing equipment.

Select bibliography. Carl Nordenfalk et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 6–11, no. 2, figs. 2a, c.

Commentary. The other Evangelist portrait (St. Luke) from the same book in the Rosenwald fonds (B–22, 919; see Nordenfalk, *Medieval and Renaissance,* figs. 2b, d) is utterly conventional and could, on stylistic grounds, be attributed to a different artist. If the profusion of scribal tools in the image of St. Mark does not derive from a model, perhaps the artist of the image, or the scribe, or the patron of the manuscript chose to mark his or her special devotion to the saint in this way. The *pharetra* style pencase, open at one end, is a rarely shown form. The type and disposition of the writing board is reminiscent of that held by St. John in Trier, Stadtbibliothek 24, Quattuor evangelia, "Codex Egberti," Reichenau, ca. 983, fol. 6r; see *Codex Egberti. Teilfaksimile-Ausgabe des MS 24 der Stadtbibliothek Trier,* ed. Gunther Franz and Franz J. Ronig, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden,1983). It is interesting that both a writing board and a lectern-style writing desk appear in the Rosenwald St. Mark. While there is the possibility that the artist conflated an image of a scribe using a writing board with another image of a scribe using a lectern-style writing desk, a further possibility is that the Rosenwald St. Mark implies some scribal task which could be performed using the two pieces of furniture simultaneously, such as the entry of text into two text supports *alternatim,* or correction of two texts with reference to each other, or simple copying or correction from an exemplar (the exemplar would be the codex on the lectern-style writing desk)—yet these must remain suggestions, for there is no text support on the writing board, and Mark is depicted in repose.

18. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 429, Beati Liebanensis in Apocalypsin, "Las Huelgas Beatus," or "Burgos Beatus," Tábara?, 1220, fol. 183r.

Description. i) subject: Two scribes, and assistant. **ii) activity:** scribe on left seated, type of pen grip uncertain, body right, scribe on right seated, laying out page with dividers (possibly pricking top and bottom bounds for the text space or illumination (?), or guidelines for a vertical line (?), or measuring some element or portion of the intended page design?), body left, assistant, seated, cutting, body right; α) pen; β) penknife; δ) three text supports (folios?); ε) dividers, scissors; ζ) writing desk.

Select bibliography. On this manuscript, see *Los Beatos,* 117, no. 20; *Illustrated Beatus I,* 11; and *Illustrated Beatus V: The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (London, forthcoming). Plate (black and white) in Marc Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy,* 9, pl. 1.

Commentary. One of the differences between the present image and its exemplar, cat. no. 3 above, is that the figure on the left is now shown with his work placed on a surface. It is difficult to say whether this is meant to be a change in the conventions of representation or in the actual technique depicted. Also see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* 9, fig. 9.

19a. Goslar, Stadtarchiv, s.n., Quattuor evangelia, "Goslar Gospels," Goslar, ca. 1230–ca. 1240, fol. 10v.

Description. i) subject: St. Matthew, with an angel appearing before Joseph (the angel also a reference to the Evangelist's symbol of the man). **ii) activity:** Matthew seated, type IIIa pen grip, body right. **iii) tools: α)** pen; **β)** penknife, sponge (?); **γ)** rectangular double-compartment inkwell, one vessel (for water?) on top of the table for writing implements, another vessel (for water?) on the bottom shelf of the table; **δ)** codex on the lectern-style writing desk, scroll (?) on top of the table for writing implements, tablets (triptych?) on the top shelf of the table; **ε)** half-moon shaped knife; **ζ)** lectern-style writing desk, table for writing implements, footstool.

Select bibliography. On this manuscript, see Barbara Klössel-Luckhardt, *Studien zur Bildausstattung des Goslarer Evangeliars* (Greven, 1983), and see 68–79 for the Evangelist miniatures and 70–72 for this particular image. For a colour reproduction, see *Das Goslarer Evangeliar,* ed. Renate Kroos and Frauke Steenbock, Glanzlichter der Buchkunst 1 (Graz, 1991).

Commentary. It has been demonstrated that these images depend, in part, on Byzantine models. This is nowhere more evident than in the depiction of the writing tools, some of which the artist of the Goslar Evangelists seems to have misconstrued (e.g., the half-moon shaped knife, details of the rectangular double-compartment inkwell, and the shape of the penknife in the portrait of St. Matthew; and the half-moon shaped knife, and the shape of the penknife in the portrait of St. Luke [cat. no. 19c below]).

19b. Goslar, Stadtarchiv, s.n., "Goslar Gospels," fol. 44v.

Description. i) subject: St. Mark, with lions on fol. 45r (the lions doubtless a reference to the Evangelist's symbol). **ii) activity:** Mark seated, trimming, body right. **iii) tools: α)** pen; **β)** penknife; **γ)** double-compartment oval inkwell; **δ)** codex and scroll (or schedula), on the lectern-style writing desk; **ζ)** lectern-style writing desk, table for writing implements, footstool; **η)** case (or second scroll) on table for writing implements.

Select bibliography. Klössel-Luckhardt, *Goslarer Evangeliars,* 72–73; *Das Goslarer Evangeliar* facsimile.

Commentary. See the commentary to cat. no. 19a.

19c. Goslar, Stadtarchiv, s.n., "Goslar Gospels," fol. 69v.

Description. i) subject: St. Luke, with slaughter of a bull before Herod on fol. 71r (the bull also a reference to the Evangelist's symbol); **ii activity:** Luke seated, type IIIa pen grip (reed pen [?] in left hand), body right. **iii) tools: α)** three reed pens (?; two on the table for writing implements); **β)** penknife; **γ)** rectangular double-compartment inkwell, vessel (for water?); **δ)** two codices (the copy [?] is on the scribe's lap, and the exemplar [?] is on the lectern); **ε)** half-moon shaped knife; **ζ)** lectern, table for writing implements, footstool.

Select bibliography. Klössel-Luckhardt, *Goslarer Evangeliars,* 73–77; *Das Goslarer Evangeliar* facsimile.

Commentary. The pens in this image are different in appearance from those in the companion portraits of SS. Matthew and Mark (cat. nos. 19a–b). The pens in the

present image lack barbs, have a more uniform profile, and are longer than those in the latter two images, which have visible barbs. These differences suggest that the pens in this portrait of Luke are meant to be reeds and those in the latter are quills; but the visual evidence is not conclusive. The appearance of reed pens in an image from the Western high Middle Ages could find sufficient explanation in the use of Byzantine models were it not that the companion images, equally dependant on Byzantine models, so clearly show quill pens. On problems with our present comprehension of the chronology and geographical distribution of materials for pens, see Rosenfeld, "Summary List of Classes," 159–61.

19d. Goslar, Stadtarchiv, s.n., "Goslar Gospels," fol. 105v.

Description. i) subject: St. John, with birds on the roof (the birds most likely a reference to the Evangelist's symbol of the eagle). **ii) activity:** John seated, reading, body right. **iii) tools:** γ) double-compartment oval inkwell, two vessels (for water?) on the stretcher of the table for writing implements; δ) a codex is on the lectern, and a second codex is on the scribe's lap, a scroll is unrolled in the scribe's hands, and two leaves (or schedulae) are placed on the lectern; ζ) reading lectern, with a device consisting of a line and weight for holding a book open (?), table for writing implements, footstool.

Select bibliography. Klössel-Luckhardt, *Goslarer Evangeliars,* 77–79; *Das Goslarer Evangeliar* facsimile.

Commentary. The line and weight have near analogues in several Byzantine images: i) San Marino, Huntingdon Library 1081, Quattuor evangelia, text s. XI, Evangelist figures s. XIII², vol. 1, fol. 1v, St. Matthew; and ii) London, British Library Burney 20, Quattuor evangelia, 1285, fol. 205r, St. John; see Robert S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites, a Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator,* plate volume, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik 4 (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 217) (Vienna, 1991), pl. 49, fig. 20d, and pl. 85, fig. C–16, respectively.

20a. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Biblioteket Gl. kgl. Saml. 4 2°, Biblia, "Hamburg Bible," Hamburg, 1255, vol. 1, fol. 137v.

Description. i) subject: St. Jerome. **ii) activity:** seated, ruling, body right. **iii) tools:** δ) bifolium/-a; ε) device for ruling, straight-edge; ζ) lectern-style writing desk.

Select bibliography. On this manuscript, see Erik Petersen, "The Bible as Subject and Object of Illustration: the Making of a Medieval Manuscript, Hamburg 1255," in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use,* ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), 205–22, with an inventory of the images at 210–11. For a colour plate, see Trost, *Skriptorium,* 12. Also see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* 20, fig 32.

Commentary. The few parts of the ruling device which can be seen mark it as quite different from the device depicted in cat. no.13 above (and in cat. nos. 4 and14e, should they be ruling devices). In the portrait of the blessed Augustine of Trau, O.P., by Tomaso da Modena, 1352, in the chapter house of S. Nicolò, Treviso, the form of

the ruling device is likewise largely obscured by the scribe's hand. The ruling devices in both the Hamburg Bible depiction and the S. Nicolò depiction are clearly meant to be smaller than the quills shown elsewhere in the larger iconographic programmes in which they are imbedded; for a reproduction of the latter, see Robert Gibbs, *Tomaso da Modena: Painting in Emilia and the March of Treviso, 1340–80* (Cambridge, 1989), pl. 33. The archaeological parallels thus far advanced for these ruling devices are not entirely convincing (most are bone finds from eleventh- to twelfth-century Scandinavian contexts, which, if they have been identified accurately, were probably meant for ruling drypoint—thus introducing a chronological disjunction of sorts between the artifacts, the images, and the prevalent though not exclusive practice of ruling manuscripts in ink wash from the twelfth to the fourteenth century); see Rosenfeld, "Summary List of Classes," 169.

20b. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Biblioteket Gl. kgl. Saml. 4 2°, vol. 2, fol. 183r.

Description. i: subject: St. Jerome and parchment maker. **ii) activity:** standing, the parchment maker holds some rolled skins under his right arm, with a skin held open by both Jerome and the parchment maker, while another skin is stretched on the herse. **iii) tools:** δ) prepared skins; ε) parchmenter's half-moon knife, herse.

Select bibliography. Petersen, "Bible as Subject and Object of Illustration," passim; Trost, *Skriptorium,* 7; and Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* fig. 30.

Commentary. Medieval images of the parchmenter's herse are rare; see cat. no. 14c above. Nataša Golob has recently suggested that the unusual iconography of the February scene from the "Labours of the months" on the portal of Trogir Cathedral (ca. 1240) may show a stage in the manufacture of parchment when the skin is off the herse. The proportions of the Trogir "skin" can be compared to the skin Jerome is cutting, even though one does not exactly parallel the shape of the other; see Nataša Golob, "Obsecro te: Images of Manuscript Workers," in *Arte medievale,* 2d ser., 8 (1994, no. 2), 97–112 at 111, and ill. 20.

20c. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Biblioteket Gl. kgl. Saml. 4 2°, vol. 2, fol. 195r.

Description. i) subject: St. Jerome. **ii) activity:** seated, cutting, body right. **iii) tools:** δ) prepared skin; ε) knife for cutting parchment, straight-edge; ζ) chair with integral writing board.

Select bibliography. Petersen, "Bible as Subject and Object of Illustration," passim; Trost, *Skriptorium,* 11.

Commentary. This type of knife for cutting parchment is not shown in other images; its form is, however, quite plausible. Also see comments in cat. no. 14g above.

20d. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Biblioteket Gl. kgl. Saml. 4 2°, vol. 3, fol. 142v.

Description. i) subject: SS. Paul and Timothy (?); **ii) activity:** Paul seated, trimming, body right, Timothy (?), seated, raising nap on the parchment (or removing grease from the parchment; polishing or washing the writing surface seem less likely), body left; **ii. tools:** α) pen; β) penknife; δ) bifolium or quire on Paul's lap, bifolium on a writing board on Timothy's (?) lap; ε) pounce(?; the object appears dark, and

could be powdered pumice or a powder of calcium carbonate and resin [*vernix*] in a dark-coloured pounce bag); ζ) writing board.

Select bibliography. Petersen, "Bible as Subject and Object of Illustration," passim; Trost, *Skriptorium*, 11.

Commentary. Timothy's (?) activity is unique to this image.

20e. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Biblioteket Gl. kgl. Saml. 4 2°, vol. 3, fol. 208r.

Description. i) subject: illuminator. **ii) activity:** seated, painting (type II pen grip; the artist uses his left hand to support his right), body right; **iii) subject:** α) brush (a quill pen seems less likely, since the quills in the companion image are white, whereas this tool is black); γ) four paint dishes on writing board, with a further dozen or more stacked in several columns in a box (apparently open at the side) in front of the illuminator's chair; δ) quire, bifolium, or codex; ζ) chair with integral writing board.

Select bibliography. Petersen, "Bible as Subject and Object of Illustration," passim; Trost, *Skriptorium*, 13; Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 22, fig. 33.

Commentary. The particular manner of stacking and storing the paint dishes is rare, if not unique. The closest comparisons are to images such as that of St. Luke as a painter in the "Gospel Book of John of Troppau"/"Evangeliary of Jan of Opava" (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1182, Evangelarium, Bohemia, ca. 1368, fol. 91v), in which the paint dishes are nestled (and possibly stacked) in an oval box, or to the portrait of the illuminator in James le Palmer's *Omne bonum* (London, British Library Royal 6.E.vi, London, ca. 1360, fol. 329r), in which the paint dishes are loosely stacked and floating against an open ground; see Paul Binski, *Painters,* Medieval Craftsmen (Toronto, 1991), 14, fig. 13 (Jan of Opava), and 52, fig. 51 (*Omne bonum*); Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 40, fig. 59 (*Omne bonum*); Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Omne bonum: A Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge (British Library MSS Royal 6 E VI–6 E VII). Vol. II: Illustrated Catalogue* (London, 1996), 117. Paint dishes in general are, however, a fairly common feature of medieval depictions of painters.

21. Assisi, Upper Basilica, Vault of the Doctors, "The Inspiration of Gregory I," fresco, attributed to Giotto di Bondone and assistants, ca. 1290.

Description. i) subject: Peter the Deacon (?; facing companion image of St. Gregory the Great). **ii) activity:** seated, type II pen grip, body left. **iii) tools:** α) three pens (two in inkwell); β) penknife; γ) inkwell; δ) folio, with second leaf (or cloth) underneath; ε) two parchment clips ("tweezer"-shaped) attached by a chain; ζ) desk.

Select bibliography. Colour reproductions in Giorgio Bonsanti and Ghigo Roli, *The Basilica of St. Francis of Assisi: Glory and Destruction,* trans. Stephen Sartarelli (New York, 1998), 54–55, 57, figs. 25, 27; Francesca Flores D'Arcais, *Giotto* (Milan, 1995), 18–19.

Commentary. This is one of a few Western images which show metal parchment clips attached by a chain; the same tool appears in the portrait of Mercury in London, British Library Add. 23770, Varia astronomica, Italy, ca. 1350, fol. 36rA; see Fritz Saxl and Hans Meier, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter*

Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters. III: Handschriften in englischen Biblio-theken, ed. Harry Bober, 2 vols. (London, 1953), 1:66–68, vol. 2, pl. LXXVIII, ill. 200. In the portrait of Mercury, the clips and chain hold open a bifolium, quire, or codex. The metal clip and chain is much more common in Byzantine depictions, although it is usually not shown in use; exceptions are the mosaic of St. Matthew in Nicaea, Church of the Koimesis, s. IX[1], and Mount Athos Dionysiou 588, Quattuor evangelia, Constantinople (?), s. X ex., fol. 225v; see Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London, 1947–48), ill. 16b; and Sotiris N. Kadas, "5.2 Four Gospels," in *Treasures of Mount Athos,* ed. Athanasios A. Karakatsanis et al., trans. Andrew Hendry et al. (Thessaloniki, 1997), 199. As in the Giotto portrait of Peter the Deacon (?), and the Lyons Bible image of St. Jerome (cat. no. 16 above), the Koimesis St. Matthew shows the chain and clips attached to a single leaf. Clips of a different form ("torpedo"-shaped), and possibly a different material, are shown in earlier Western depictions (cat. nos. 5 and 16 above).

22. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 25526, Roman de la Rose, Paris, ca. 1300, fol. 77v.

Description. i) subject: scribe, and illuminator. **ii) activity:** scribe (male) seated, type of pen grip uncertain, body right, illuminator (female) seated, painting (type IIIa pen grip), body right. **iii) tools:** α) two pens; δ) three quires (hanging on racks), five leaves or folios (two on the scribe's writing desk, three on the illuminator's); ζ) two lectern-style writing desks, two racks (suspended wooden [?] bars) for hanging folios or quires between stages of work (probably to allow for drying, and to keep them out of harm's way and in order).

Select bibliography. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* 120, fig. 204; colour plate in Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts,* 2d ed. (London, 1994), fig. 130.

Commentary. The image of hanging bifolia is rare but not unique. Bars, apparently of wood, are shown used as drying racks in the vault fresco of the Evangelists and Doctors of the Church, Chapel of San Nicola a Tolentino, Pietro da Rimini (?) and workshop, 1324–25; see *Il cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino* (n.p., 1992), 97, 108. These can be compared to an image from a century later showing a similar device with a line/cord in place of a rack: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 72 A 22, Augustini De civitate Dei, Paris, s. XV in., fol. 6r (the line placed behind Gregory the Great in a composite image of the four Fathers of the Church as scribes); see R. E. O. Ekkart, A. S. Korteweg, and C. A. Chavannes-Mazel, *Schatten van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek. Acht eeuwen verluchte handschriften. Tentoonstelling in Het Rijks-museum Meermano-Westreenianum/ Museum van Het Boek 17 December 1980–15 Maart 1981* (The Hague, 1980), 84–85, cat. no. 33, colour pl. XIX.

TYPOLOGICAL CODE AND ICONOGRAPHICAL INDEX

The typological code has been adapted for the above images from Randall A. Rosen-
feld, "Medieval Depictions of Scribes from Manuscript Sources: Their Codicologi-
cal Significance," 2 vols. (M.S.L. thesis, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies,
Toronto, 1991), vol. 1, tables 1, 2, and 4, graphs 1, 3–6 between pp. 59 and 60, sum-
mary catalogue on pp. 85–96, and vol. 2, pls. 1–164; and idem, "*Tres digiti scribunt:
A Typology of Late-Antique and Medieval Pen Grips,*" in *Music and Medieval
Manuscripts: Palaeography and Performance: Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes,*
ed. John Haines and Randall A. Rosenfeld (Aldershot and Burlington, forthcoming
2004).

ACTIVITY:

body frontal = body in full frontal orientation: 7a, 8a, 10, 13

body left = body oriented to viewer's left: 3, 4, 7c, 8c, 11c, 11d, 12, 14e, 14f, 14g,
    14h, 15b, 15e, 15f, 16, 17, 18, 20d, 21

body right = body oriented to viewer's right: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7b, 7d, 8b, 8d, 9, 10,
    11a, 11b, 14a, 14b, 14c, 14d, 15a, 15c, 15d, 15g, 18, 19a, 19b, 19c, 19d, 20a, 20c,
    20d, 20e, 22

cutting = figure is cutting, or trimming text support: 3, 4 (?), 14g, 18, 20c

dipping = figure is dipping pen in ink: 7c, 8c, 16

fashioning board for cover: 14d

folding = figure is folding parchment: 4 (?), 14e (?)

gaze left = figure's gaze directed towards the viewer's left (only specified when
    direction of gaze differs from body orientation): 7a, 8a, 13, 15g

gaze right = figure's gaze directed towards the viewer's right (only specified when
    direction of gaze differs from body orientation): 10, 12, 15f

holding inkhorn: 5 (in scribe's left hand)

laying out page (also see ruling below): 18

meditating: 6

painting: 12, 20e (left hand used to support right), 22

pen tucked behind ear: 12, 14e

reading: 4, 11a, 11d, 19d

repose = figure is in repose: 7a, 7d, 8a, 8d, 10 (?), 15f, 17

ruling: 4 (?), 13, 14e (?), 20a

scraping = figure is scraping skin: 14c

seated: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d, 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 9, 10, 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, 12, 13,
    14f (?), 15a, 15b, 15c, 15d, 15e, 15f, 15g, 16, 17, 18, 19a, 19b, 19c, 19d, 20a, 20c,
    20d, 20e, 21, 22

sewing quires: 14f

smithing a cover fastener, or other furnishing: 14h (?)

standing: 4 (not a scribe), 9 (not a scribe), 10 (not a scribe), 14a (?), 14b (?), 14c (?),
    14d (?), 14e (?), 14g (?), 14h (?), 20b

trimming = figure is trimming, cutting, or splitting nib (it is frequently not possible to distinguish these operations in the images): 14a, 15d, 19b, 20d

type I pen grip = index finger and thumb on either side of the pen barrel, middle finger beneath the barrel: 9, 11a (?), 11c (?), 14b

type II pen grip = middle finger and index finger on one side of the pen barrel, thumb on the opposite side of the pen barrel: 1, 2, 4, 5, 7a, 10, 11b, 11c (?), 12, 15a (?), 15b (?), 15c (?), 15g (?), 16, 20e, 21

type IIIa pen grip = ring finger, middle finger, and index finger on one side of the pen barrel, thumb on the opposite side of the pen barrel: 8a, 8b, 15a (?), 19a, 19c, 22

type IVa pen grip = little finger, ring finger, middle finger, and index finger on one side of the pen barrel, thumb on the other side of the pen barrel: 7b (?), 7c (?), 8c (?), 11d (?)

type of pen grip uncertain: 3, 11c, 15a, 15b, 15c, 15e, 18, 22

pen held "casually" while figure is reading or in repose (i.e., with the nib in the reverse direction relative to the orientation of the digits when writing): 11a (?), 11d (?)

WRITING AND OTHER BOOKMAKING TOOLS:

armarium: 1

anvil: 14h

axe (T-hatchet): 14d

binding furniture: 14h

board for a cover: 14d

bracket for tools: 15a, 15b, 15c, 15d, 15e, 15f, 17

brush: 12, 20e (?)

cloth: 11a (?), 11d (?), 21 (?)

cabinet: 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d

casket: 11a, 11b (?)

codex (or quire or bifolium, unless otherwise noted): 1, 2, 4 (?), 5, 6, 7a (?), 7b, 7c, 7d, 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 10 (?), 11a (?), 11b (?), 11c, 11d (?), 12 (and folio?), 13 (?), 14e (?), 14f, 16 (folio?), 17 (?), 18 (folios?), 19a, 19b, 19c, 19d, 20a, 20d, 20e (?), 21 (folio), 22 (folios?)

cup ("chalice" shaped): 11d

desk (flat surface, usually inclined, on a pedestal, cabinet, or two or more legs/supports in contact with the ground; also see lectern, portable desk, and writing board below): 7c (pedestal), 8c (pedestal), 18, 21

dividers: 1 (locking), 6 (?), 11a, 11b, 11d, 18

drying rack: 22

folder: 14e (?)

footstool: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d, 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 9, 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, 12 (?), 17, 19a, 19b, 19c, 19d

"French" curve: 13 (?), 15c (?)

half-moon knife (also see cat. nos. 4, 14g [?], and 20c [?] for possible parchment cutting knives with blades of different forms): 14c (parchmenter's), 19a (scribe's?), 19c (scribe's), 20b (parchmenter's)

hammer: 14h

herse: 14c, 20b

inkhorn (secured to or resting on writing furniture, unless otherwise noted): 1 (?), 2, 4, 5 (held by scribe), 6, 7a (?), 7b, 7c, 7d, 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 10, 12, 13 (by implication), 15a, 15b, 15c, 15d, 15e, 15f, 15g, 16, 17

inkhorn lid:13

inkwell (double-compartment, unless otherwise noted): 1, 2 (?; single-compartment), 6 (?; single-compartment), 7d (single-compartment), 9 (single-compartment), 11a, 11b (single-compartment), 11c (single-compartment), 11d, 19a, 19b, 19c, 19d, 21 (single-compartment)

knife (other than penknife, or half-moon shaped knife): 4 (?), 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, 12 (?), 14e (?), 20c

lectern (flat surface, usually inclined, on a narrow column [occasionally figural]; writing-desk lectern, unless otherwise noted): 2 (reading lectern), 4 (one writing-desk lectern, and one reading lectern), 5, 6 (lectern table), 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d (lectern table), 8a, 8b, 8c (reading lectern), 8d (lectern table), 10 (lectern table), 11a (reading lectern), 11b (reading lectern), 11c (reading lectern), 11d (reading lectern), 12, 17, 19a, 19b, 19c (reading lectern?), 19d (reading lectern?), 20a, 22

paint dishes: 20e

parchment or paper clip: 5 (pair, ornamented sub-conical, wood?), 16 (single, ornamented sub-conical, wood?), 21 (pair, flat and chained, metal?)

pen (of quill, unless otherwise noted; * indicates more than one): 1* (reed), 2*, 3* (reed?), 4, 5, 6*, 7a, 7b*, 7c*, 7d*, 8a, 8b*, 8c*, 8d*, 9* (reed), 10*, 11a*, 11b*, 11c*, 11d*, 12*, 14a, 14e, 15a*, 15b*, 15c*, 15d*, 15e*, 15f*, 15g, 16, 17*, 18, 19a, 19b, 19c* (reed?), 20d, 20e (?), 21*, 22*

pencase: 1 (?), 9, 11c (?), 17 (*pharetra* style), 19b (?)

penknife: 2, 6, 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d, 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 10, 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, 12, 14a, 14e (?), 14g (?), 15a, 15b, 15c, 15d, 15e (?), 15g, 16 (?), 17, 18, 19a, 19b, 19c, 20d, 21

portable desk (writing board with a base or other elaborations): 15a, 15b, 15c, 15d, 15e, 15f, 15g, 16

pounce bag: 20d (?)

pumice: 2 (?), 11d (?), 20d (?)

punctorium: 1 (?),11a (?)

roll/scroll: 7a (?), 9, 10 (?), 11a (?), 11d (?), 13, 17 (?), 19a (?), 19b, 19d

ruling device: 4 (?), 13,14e (?), 20a

schedula: 19b (?), 19d (?)

scissors: 3, 18

sewing frame: 14f

skin: 14c, 14g (?), 20b, 20c

sponge: 2 (?), 11a (?), 11b (?), 11c (?), 11d (?), 12 (?), 15a, 15c, 15f, 17 (?), 19a (?)

straight-edge: 4, 13, 14g, 15c, 15d, 15e (?), 20a, 20c

stylus: 1 (?), 2, 6, 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d, 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 10, 14b
table (other than a lectern table): 1, 3, 13, 17, 19a, 19b, 19c, 19d
tablets: 10 (?), 14b, 19a (?)
vessel: 1, 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, 17, 19a, 19c, 19d
Wachsspachtel: 1, 6 (?)
weight: 19d
writing board (simpler than a portable desk; merely a portable level surface): 2, 4 (or
    ruling or cutting board),10, 12 (?), 13 (ruling board), 17, 20c (fit into chair), 20d,
    20e (fit into chair)

Concordance of the typological code with the typologies of Herbert Hunger, in Her-
bert Hunger and Klaus Wessel, "Evangelisten," in vol. 2 of *Reallexikon zur byzan-
tinischen Kunst,* ed. Marcel Restle and Klaus Wessel (Stuttgart, 1971), cols. 452–507
at 457–66 (abbreviated as H.), and Ioannis Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated
Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453,* Byzantina Neerlandica, fasc. 8, I (Leiden,
1981), 4 (abbreviated as Sp.):

reading = 6 (H.), Rd (Sp.)
repose = 1, and 2a, and 2b (H.), Rp, and P (Sp.)
scraping = 5 (H.)
seated = sitzende E. (H.)
trimming = 4 (H.), S (Sp.)
type I–IV, and uncertain pen grip (i.e., writing) = W (Sp.)

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

ISBN Prefix: 0-88844-

Series Codes

EGS   Etienne Gilson Series
MST   Mediaeval Sources in Translation
PMS   Papers in Mediaeval Studies

SM   Subsidia Mediaevalia
ST   Studies and Texts
TMLT Toronto Mediaeval Latin Texts

Recent Publications

Amstutz, Renate. **Ludus de decem virginibus. Recovery of the Sung Liturgical Core of the Thuringian Zehnjungfrauenspiel.** ST 140. 2002; xxxvi, 412 pp.; 1 fiche. Casebound. ISBN -140-1. $89.95

A study of the Latin elements of the fourteenth-century Ten-Virgins Play from Thuringia, with a reconstruction of the words and music of the Latin chants.

Armstrong, Lawrin. **Usury and Public Debt in Early Renaissance Florence: Lorenzo Ridolfi on the *Monte Comune*.** ST 144. 2003. xiv, 460 pp. Case-bound.-144-4 • $85.95

Money, politics and law were intimately linked in the merchant republics of medieval and Renaissance Italy. Nowhere was this more evident than in the realm of public finance. This study of Lorenzo Ridolfi (1362–1443) and his *Treatise on Usury* will be of interest to legal historians, as well as to historians of medieval political economic thought, and to students of early Renaissance Florence.

Boyle, Leonard E. **A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of Its Medieval Holdings.** SM 1. Revised edition. 2001; x, 250 pp. ISBN -417-6. $29.95

This guide is an introduction to one of the world's most remarkable historical resources. This second edition is updated with cross-references to *Vatican Archives*, by Francis X. Blouin et al., and to the recent publications found there that supplement the original text of the *Survey*.

A British Book of Kings, 1200 BC – 1399 AD. Edited by A. G. Rigg. TMLT 26. 2000; viii, 112 pp. ISBN -476-1. $7.95

Edited from British Library MSS Harley 3860, Cotton Claudius D. vii, and Harley 1808. Texts that recount the history of Britain from its legendary foundation by Brutus in 1200 BC to the fall of Richard II in 1399 AD.

Burley, Walter. **Quaestiones super librum Posteriorum.** Edited by Mary Catherine Sommers. ST 136. 2000; x, 214 pp. Casebound. ISBN -136-3. $39.95

An edition of Burley's twelve Questions on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, probably connected with his teaching as part of the arts curriculum and organized around themes of Aristotelian scientific method; with an introduction to the author and his work and an extensive index.

Capgrave, John. **Life of Augustine.** Edited from British Library Additional MS 36704, together with Jordanus of Saxony's *Vita s. Augustini* from Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 251, by Cyril Lawrence Smetana. ST 138. 2001; x, 138 pp. Casebound. ISBN -138-2. $33.95

This edition of a unique Middle English manuscript written about 1451 provides a diplomatic transcription of the text, expanding Capgrave's abbreviations, and includes modern punctuation, capitalization, word division, and paragraph breaks.

Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West. Proceedings of a Colloquium of the Commission Internationale de Diplomatique (Princeton and New York, 16–18 September 1999). Edited by Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth. PMS 17. 2002; x, 186 pp. ISBN -817-1. $34.95

These papers, ranging over a wide chronological and geographic scope, focus on various ways in which charters were preserved, copied, and transmitted.

Chatton, Walter. **Reportatio super Sententias. Liber I, distinctiones 1-9.** Edited by Joseph C. Wey and Girard J. Etzkorn. ST 141. 2002; xvi, 580 pp. Casebound. ISBN -141-X $95.95

———. **Reportatio super Sententias. Liber I, distinctiones 10-48.** Edited by Joseph C. Wey and Girard J. Etzkorn. ST 142. 2002; xiv, 502 pp. Casebound. ISBN -142-8 $95.00

These two volumes continue the critical edition of Chatton's masterwork on the *Sentences*. The text is amplified with notes documenting Chatton's sources and his relation to his opponents.

Cogs, Cargoes, and Commerce: Maritime Bulk Trade in Northern Europe 1150-1400. Edited by Lars Berggren, Nils Hybel and Annette Landen. PMS 15. 2002; xxii, 286 pp. ISBN -815-5. $39.95

Nine papers study various aspects of and shed new light on the trade in bulk goods (e.g., beer, timber, stone, grain) around Northern Europe during a period of substantial economic growth.

Dictionary of Old English: A–F on CD-ROM. 2003; 1 CD-ROM; user guide. ISBN -928-3. Institutions (with site license) US $200. Individuals US $75.00

Revised electronic versions of *A–E* and the first release of *F*. Uprgrades and additional letters will continue to be published in this format.

Dodd, Erica Cruikshank. With James Martin, John J. C. McCullough, Kassem Toueir, and Nicholas Zammuto. **The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi: A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria.** ST 139. 2001; xxii, 204 pp.; 25 colour plates, 158 black-and-white plates; 8 line drawings. Casebound. ISBN -139-8. $89.00

The book relates the history of the monastery through the Middle Ages and presents a detailed study of the paintings and inscriptions in the church, including those uncovered recently by the Istituto del Restauro.

Gilson, Etienne. **Thomism: The Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas.** Translated by †Laurence K. Shook and Armand Maurer. EGS 24. 2002; xvi, 454 pp.; Casebound. ISBN -724-8. $74.95

The six editions of Gilson's study devoted to the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas cover much of the

scholarly life of their author. His revised sixth and final edition, published in 1965 and here put into English for the first time, presents his thoughts on the subject with new clarity and precision.

Guerric of Saint-Quentin. *Quaestiones de quolibet.* Edited by †Walter H. Principe, with Editorial Revision and a Preface by Jonathan Black. Introduction by Jean-Pierre Torrell. ST 143. 2002; xxxvi, 463 pp. Casebound. ISBN -143-6. $84.95

The nine Quodlibets and fragments of five others attributed to this early Dominican master are among the earliest known quodlibetal questions. They are presented with an introduction (in French) examining the various theological subjects in the Latin text.

North, John D. **Time and the Scholastic Universe.** EGS 25. 2003; 32 pp. ISBN -725-6.   Available on request

McGeer, Eric. **The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors.** MST 38. 2000; xii, 146 pp. ISBN -88-2. $22.95

Fourteen legal decrees issued by the Macedonian Emperors that constitute the most important source for the internal history of tenth-century Byzantium. Translation, commentary, maps, glossary, bibliography.

The Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna (Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 179, pp. 1–64). Edited by Charles Hilken. ST 135 / Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana 2. 2000; x, 178 pp. Casebound. ISBN -135-5. $34.95

An edition and study of a necrology from a dependency of Montecassino. This record of death anniversaries gives insights not only into the community itself but into its relation to the larger Beneventan brotherhood as well as to its secular neighbors.

Religion, Text, and Society in Medieval Spain and Northern Europe: Essays in Honor of J.N. Hillgarth. Edited by Thomas E. Burns, Mark D. Meyerson, and Leah Shopkow. PMS 16. 2002; xx, 374 pp. Casebound. ISBN -816-3. $84.95

Seventeen essays on the history of medieval Spain, Ramon Lull, and the history of Christianity and its institutional practices.

Reynolds, Roger E. **The** *Collectio canonum Casinensis duodecimi saeculi (Codex terscriptus).* **A derivative of the South-Italian** *Collection in Five Books.* **An implicit edition with introductory study.** ST 137; Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana 3. 2001; x, 129 pp. Casebound. ISBN -137-1. $31.95

This twelfth-century collection of ecclesiastical law reflects reforming trends of both the Ottonian and Salian emperors of the early eleventh century and the so-called Gregorian reformers from the later eleventh century.

Walter of Châtillon. **Saints' Lives: Brendan, Alexis, Thomas Becket.** Edited by Carsten Wollin. TMLT 27. 2002; viii, 104 pp. ISBN -477-X. $7.95

These three poetic saints' lives were written anonymously but ascribed to Walter of Châtillon (ca. 1130-1200) because of their stylistic features.

Wolf, Kirsten, ed. **The Old Norse-Icelandic Legend of Saint Barbara.** ST 134. 2000; x, 188 pp. Casebound. ISBN -134-7. $39.95

An edition (diplomatic and normalized) of the Old Norse-Icelandic legend of Saint Barbara extant in Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket Perg. 2 fol. from ca. 1425–1445 and also in Copenhagen, Det arnamagnæanske Institut AM 429 12mo from ca. 1500.

MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

An annual journal of scholarship on the Middle Ages

Volumes 1–58 (1939–1996)	per volume $40.00
Volumes 59–65 (1997–2003)	per volume $75.00
Volumes 1–60 (1939–1998) (including indexes)	set $870.00
General Index, volumes 1–25 (1939–1963) ISBN -625-X.	$11.00
First Supplement Index, volumes 26–30 (1964–1968) ISBN -631-4.	$3.00
Second Supplement Index, volumes 31–40 (1969–1978) ISBN -648-9.	$12.00

A full listing of our currently available publications can be found at our website:

http://www.pims.ca

or write to us for a catalogue

Department of Publications
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
59 Queen's Park Crescent East
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2C4
telephone: 416-926-7143
facsimile: 416-926-7258

All correspondence regarding submissions should be addressed to

> Jonathan Black, Ph.D.
> Managing Editor
> *Mediaeval Studies*
> 59 Queen's Park Crescent East
> Toronto, Ontario
> Canada M5S 2C4
>
> Electronic Mail:
> jonathan.black@utoronto.ca

Mediaeval Studies does not accept books for review.

Prospective authors must submit three copies of all materials, including photocopies of manuscript sources. Text and endnotes must be double-spaced. *Mediaeval Studies* conforms to *The Chicago Manual of Style* but omits publishers' names in citations.

English and French are the primary languages of *Mediaeval Studies,* but articles in other languages will be considered.	*Mediaeval Studies* accepte des articles rédigés en anglais et en français et, exceptionnellement, en autres langues.

Additional information, including a description of the journal and a list of the contents of the most recent volumes, is available at the website of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: http://www.pims.ca

All correspondence regarding orders and subscriptions should be addressed to

> Ron B. Thomson, D. Phil.
> Director of Publications
> 59 Queen's Park Crescent East
> Toronto, Ontario
> Canada M5S 2C4
>
> Electronic Mail:
> pontifex@chass.utoronto.ca

Subscription $75.00 yearly. All back issues are still available.